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A HISTORY OF AMERICAN MAGAZINES 1741-1850

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MAGAZINE EDITORS

ISAIAH THOMAS NOAH WEBSTER

THOMAS PAINE

CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN MATHEW CAREY

Thomas (*Royal American Magazine* and *Worcester Magazine*) from a copper engraving in the *Polyanthos*, August, 1814. Webster (*American Magazine*) from the copper-engraved frontispiece to the *American Literary Magazine*, Vol. II (1848). Paine (*Pennsylvania Magazine*) from a copper engraving after the Romney portrait. Brown (*Monthly Magazine and American Review* and *Literary Magazine and American Register*) from a copper engraving after a miniature by William Dunlap. Carey (*American Museum*) from an engraving by Simpson in his *Eminent Philadelphians*.

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN MAGAZINES

1741-1850

BY

FRANK LUTHER MOTT

DIRECTOR OF THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

ILLUSTRATED

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1930

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FRANK LUTHER MOTT

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A HISTORY OF AMERICAN MAGAZINES 1741-1850

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN MAGAZINES

INTRODUCTION

IT was once the fashion, as it continues to be with a certain kind of critic, to assert that periodicals have in them little or nothing of reliable information or admirable literature. Macaulay, to cite but one example, criticised Fonblanque as late as 1842 for reprinting his London *Examiner* articles,[1] and refused to have his own reviews put into book form in England until the importation of an American edition of them convicted him of the folly of his attitude. However much the fair-minded critic (that ideal wraith we are always citing) may abhor certain faults and failings in periodical literature, he is constrained, when he considers the great extent of its actual dissemination and the high quality of a part of it, to recognize its great importance. He may not agree wholly with the long-time editor of *Harper's Monthly*, Henry Mills Alden, who said that "Periodical literature has done more for the American people than any other,"[2] although that dictum is defensible; but he might be expected to give at least respectful consideration to the statement of another commentator who was not a special pleader—George Washington, who wrote in stately phrase to Editor Carey: "I consider such easy vehicles of knowledge as more highly calculated than any other to preserve the liberty, stimulate the industry, and meliorate the morals of an enlightened and free people."[3] But let us not borrow our opinions on the subject; let us go directly to the magazine files, as the student must.

[1] Sir G. O. Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Macaulay* (London, 1876), II, 101, 112. Letters to Napier, June 24 and Nov. 16, 1842.

[2] H. M. Alden, *Magazine Writing and the New Literature* (New York, 1908), p. 49.

[3] *American Museum*, Preface to Vol. V. Letter dated June 25, 1788.

An examination of American magazines and an investigation into their history show that their importance rests upon three services which they perform and which may be noted briefly here. First, they provide a democratic literature which is sometimes of high quality. The general magazine's audience must perforce be a popular one, and even the specialized periodicals whose appeal is limited to particular classes are subject to the referendum and recall of an annual subscription campaign just as the general magazine is. Periodicals must keep very close to their public; they must catch the slightest nuances of popular taste. Dr. Holland, editor of *Scribner's Monthly*, once spoke of the magazine as "the intellectual food of the people"; then he added, doubtless expressing an aspiration rather than describing an attainment: "It stands in the very front rank of the agents of civilization." [4] Some features of some magazines are far from the best means of civilization; but, viewing the matter by and large, it would be difficult to avoid the conclusion that, on the whole, the people have greatly profited by magazine reading. Gail Hamilton, in one of those lively and acute sketches with which she regaled our fathers and mothers, remarked that there are a great many magazine readers "who without the magazines would not only not read Bacon and Plato, but would not read anything." [5]

Moreover, democratic as the magazines have very generally been, they have printed some literature of excellent quality. One needs but to mention the *Spectator*, Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*, the *Journal des Débats*, the Boston *Dial*, the *Atlantic Monthly* under Lowell, in order to suggest the wealth in the treasuries of old magazine files. Even the cheap weeklies and the frequently ridiculed and ridiculous women's journals have published no little matter that the world will not willingly let die. Robert Bonner's New York *Ledger* printed Bryant, Longfellow, Mrs. Stowe, Tennyson, and Dickens; and *Godey's Lady's Book* published work by nearly all the leading American writers of the forties and fifties. So far as that is concerned, it would be difficult to find a prominent author in the last hundred years

[4] *Scribner's Monthly*, V, 635 (March, 1873).
[5] Gail Hamilton, *Skirmishes and Sketches* (Boston, 1865), p. 228.

who has not contributed more or less to the magazines. "In *belles-lettres* at least," wrote William Dean Howells some three decades ago, "most of the best literature now sees the light in the magazines, and most of the second-best appears first in book form." [6]

Second, the magazine has played an important part in the economics of literature. Since about 1840, publishers of American magazines have paid more or less adequately for contributions. In 1885 a leading book publisher testified before a Senate committee:

> It is impossible to make the books of most American authors pay unless they are first published and acquire recognition through the columns of the magazines. Were it not for that one saving opportunity of the great American magazines . . . American authorship would be at a still lower ebb than at present.[7]

This was true for fifty years and more after the Civil War. Moreover, the magazines have unquestionably done much to stimulate the book trade by inculcating reading habits, by the discussion of books in their pages, and by familiarizing their readers with literary reputations.

Third, periodical files furnish an invaluable contemporaneous history of their times. This fact has found increasing recognition among historians during the last forty years. The session of the American Historical Association for 1908 was devoted to a consideration of the use of periodicals in historical studies.[8] Even the writing of literary history shows some signs in these days of catching up with the procession and recognizing the importance of social, economic, geographical, industrial, and educational factors in the development of literature. The time is happily past when biographical sketches plus criticisms of masterpieces may be accepted as literary history. Much of our literary history

[6] W. D. Howells, *Literature and Life* (New York, 1902), p. 9.

[7] Dana Estes, of Estes, Lauriat & Co., before the Senate Committee on Patents, considering international copyright. Senate Reports, 1st Session, 49th Congress, Vol. VII, Report 1188, p. 55.

[8] See James Ford Rhodes, article "Newspapers as Historical Sources," *Atlantic Monthly*, CIII, 650 (May, 1900). Lucy Maynard Salmon's *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York, 1923) is an elaborate and valuable compendium upon the subject.

must be rewritten from the standpoints of geography and the social sciences. No longer can we consider literature as of the mountain top, dissociated from social and economic pressures; it has come too close to the people.

Few fields of investigation are of more lively interest than that of the course of popular ideas. The thoughts and feelings of the people, the development of their taste in art and music and letters, their daily work and play, and even their fads, are inexhaustibly entertaining and instructive. Where is there such a record of these things as we have in the magazine files? Not in the newspapers, which tell of them with less skill and less order; not in the books, which neglect some details of this web of life to overemphasize others.

Throughout the present work, the possibilities which periodicals offer to the investigator have been sedulously remembered. The editor of a text, seeking the *editio princeps* of a poem, story, or essay; the historian of criticism, examining either the contemporaneous reputation of a particular writer or artist, or the development of some type, movement, or influence in literature, in art, or in criticism itself; and the researcher investigating social currents either for themselves or for backgrounds of other studies, find invaluable aid in the various periodicals. Such problems as the relationships subsisting at various times between American and certain foreign literatures, shifting regional emphasis in the United States, the development of the publishing business, and many other subjects for investigation present themselves to any attentive reader of old magazines.

But it is obvious that not all periodicals are equally authoritative; nor is a single periodical equally authoritative under different managements; nor are two articles in the same issue of a given periodical necessarily of equal authority. This question of authority is, of course, one of the chief difficulties which the magazine researcher meets. He must, in considering reliability, take into consideration two kinds of evidence—external and internal. External, for example, are paper, presswork and illustration: cheap paper, smudgy printing, and garish and sensational pictures are obvious signs of warning. External also are the diverse pieces of evidence to be gathered from the correspond-

ence, reminiscences, journals, and other records left by editors, publishers, and contributors. Internal evidence, on the other hand, is to be sought in the writings themselves. Alliances of editors and publishers with organizations, movements, schools of thought, or economic forces are to be watched for; the investigator must be on his guard not only against such factors as advertisers' domination, propaganda, and prejudices, but also against insincerity, carelessness, and flippancy. An effort has been made in the following work to furnish some aid in this complicated matter.

In short, this volume is intended as an introduction to the magazines of which it treats, and an outline history of magazine development in America to 1850. Even in the separate sketches of specially treated magazines, there are few if any cases in which the writer feels that he presents a definitive history. He is, however, inclined to believe, or at least to hope, that the larger number of periodicals envisaged and the reasonably careful study given to the less known as well as to the familiar files, have enabled him to present a clearer and more trustworthy view of the course of periodical development in America than any attempted in the more or less fragmentary studies hitherto available. Since the most important fact about any magazine is what it contained, much space is necessarily given to analyses of contents, with numerous though brief illustrative quotations.

Certain matters of definition should be cleared up at the outset. What is the difference between a magazine, a periodical, a journal, a paper, a review, a publication? Should form, contents, or periodicity afford the basis of a proper classification and terminology?

To begin with the easiest term, a *publication* (in its common meaning, and the one employed in this study) is any issue of the press. It may be book, pamphlet, magazine, newspaper, or broadside, and may or may not be issued at regular intervals.

A *periodical*, on the other hand, possesses periodicity: it is issued at intervals more or less regular.[9] The term appears to have been first applied, as an adjective, to the essay type of

[9] A publication which purports to issue "every now and then" or "occasionally" may be considered a periodical, even though the periods are irregular.

journal as distinguished from the general magazine;[10] but by the end of the eighteenth century it was being used to designate all regularly issued publications excepting, perhaps, newspapers.[11] The exception of newspapers from this term appears to be as old as the term itself, but it has never been universally accepted, perhaps because it is not indicated by the etymology. But the census of 1840 makes newspapers and periodicals different categories, as does S. N. D. North's report on *The Newspaper and Periodical Press* in the census of 1880.[12] Dictionaries today agree that newspapers are not usually called periodicals.

The term *magazine* has undergone some change since it was first applied to publications. The first such application seems to have been in the title of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, founded in London in 1731.[13] In the "Introduction" to Volume I of that publication, it is described as "a Monthly Collection, to treasure up, as in a Magazine, the most remarkable Pieces on the Subjects abovementioned, or at least impartial Abridgements thereof." As to the "Subjects abovementioned," let us quote the subtitle of an eighteenth century American magazine—the *Massachusetts* —which was similar in content:

Monthly Museum of Knowledge and Rational Entertainment, Containing Poetry, Musick, Biography, History, Physick, Geography, Morality, Criticism, Philosophy, Mathematicks, Agriculture, Architecture, Chemistry, Novels, Tales, Romances, Translations, News, Marriages and Deaths, Meteorological Observations, Etc., Etc.

Alexander Pope, in one of his notes to the *Dunciad*, defined magazines, in 1743, as "upstart collections" of dullness, folly, and so on.[14] Thus the term, as taken over from the meaning of

[10] See Richard Hurt Thornton, *The Periodical Press and Literary Currents in England—1785-1802* (University of Chicago dissertation, 1926), p. 11.

[11] Throughout most of the eighteenth century, the word was used chiefly as an adjective, as periodical literature, periodical essay, periodical publication. So it is with the first two quotations given in the *New English Dicitonary*, for 1716 and 1766, and so it is with Washington's use of it in the letter to Carey (1788) referred to *supra*. The first two uses of it as a substantive quoted in the *N. E. D.* are American, 1798 and 1839.

[12] *Report of the Tenth Census* (1880), VIII, 58.

[13] The first quotation of the use of the word in this sense in the *New English Dictionary* is the title of this publication.

[14] Pope's *Dunciad*, Book I, line 42, lists "Journals. Medleys, Mercuries, Magazines," and the note referred to is on the word "Magazines" in this line.

magazine as *storehouse,* and applied figuratively by Edward Cave to his new publication in 1731, came to be accepted as designating the whole class of the *Gentleman's* imitators, including the first American magazines of 1741.

Originally the term referred to contents only and had no connotation of form. The *Universalist Magazine* of 1819 was a four-page paper. Byron in *Don Juan* refers to daily magazines,[15] which were, of course, unbound papers. The term is now understood, however, to refer to a stitched or stapled pamphlet, usually with a cover—a fact which the dictionaries recognize.

While the word *magazine* is therefore to be defined as a bound pamphlet issued more or less regularly and containing a variety of reading matter, it must be observed also that it has a strong connotation of entertainment. A professional and technical periodical for psychiatrists would scarcely call itself the *Psychiatrists' Magazine,* but rather the *Psychiatrists' Journal* or *Review.*

The term *review* is much more loosely used today than it was a hundred years ago. The classic form of the review was that of the *Edinburgh Review* and its followers; it contained a number of long articles each of which took a book or books as a basis or starting point for its discussion. No American periodical now adheres wholly to that system, and even the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly Review* occasionally print articles nowadays that make no pretense of being book reviews. Publications which print chiefly serious or informative articles are still frequently called reviews, however, the word being applied to the review of current thought.

For many years there was much rivalry between the miscellaneous, entertaining, and mercurial magazines on the one hand, and the dignified, learned, and lumbering reviews on the other. As early as 1828 the English *Paisley Magazine* commented on the inroads which magazines were making in review patronage.[16] There were many attempts to combine the merits of both types, as in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review,* the

[15] "All other magazines of art or science: Daily, or monthly, or three-monthly;" —*Don Juan,* Canto I, Stanza ccxi.

[16] *Paisley Magazine,* I, 169-79 (April, 1828).

Western Magazine and Review, and the *American Magazine and Critical Review,* to name but three. The review was traditionally a quarterly, and the magazine a monthly publication—though there have been monthly reviews and quarterly magazines.

The word *journal* originally meant "daily," being related etymologically to the word *diurnal;* but it early departed from that narrow path: the *Journal des Savans* of 1665 was a weekly. The term has traveled far, and is now of broader application than the word *periodical.* It is common in the titles of both daily and weekly newspapers, as well as in those of monthly and quarterly periodicals which have little or nothing to do with the news. As applied to the latter, the term usually connotes a more serious or technical publication; one speaks of the learned and professional "journals."

The word *paper,* though loosely used, commonly refers to a publication without stapling, stitching, or cover. Nathaniel Willis the elder, contending for the honor of having founded the first religious newspaper, argued that a "proper newspaper" was folio in size.[17] Times have changed since Willis started his *Boston Recorder,* but he was right in making the term *paper* refer to form. Any other interpretation is untenable and leads to inextricable difficulties.[18] Throughout the eighteenth century, news gathering and reporting were so little developed, and the newspaper editors were so imbued with literary dignity, that almost any newspaper might have passed as a magazine by a mere change in format.[19]

It is thus seen that these terms are all more or less indistinct

[17] Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1873* (New York, 1872), p. 293.

[18] Professor William B. Cairns, in his *On the Development of American Literature from 1815 to 1833* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, 1898) decides to call a periodical a newspaper "if reporting of current events is at all prominent." (p. 36). Applied to later times, this would make the *Review of Reviews* a newspaper; in his own period, the same could be said of the *American Annual Register,* which he records. Likewise, Clarence S. Brigham in the preface to his admirable *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820,* says his test for newspapers "has generally been the inclusion of current news" (Proc. Amer. Antiquarian Socy., N. S. XXIII, 248. October, 1913); yet very properly he omits practically all the octavo and duodecimo publications, which, though they generally call themselves magazines, publish some news. The fact is that current events are a legitimate part of a magazine's contents; indeed we have news-magazines as well as newspapers.

[19] See sketch of *Worcester Magazine* on page 92ff.

and confused in common usage, and the more so when one looks back over the last two hundred years. It would be pedantry to insist upon erecting in this study arbitrary distinctions which do not actually exist in usage, and it would be bad philology and bad history as well. *Periodicals* would perhaps be the most concise word to use in the title of this study, but *magazines* has been selected as the more popular and meaningful term. All types of serial publications have been included in the study, with four exceptions, as follows: (1) newspapers,[20] (2) annuals, (3) formal reports, and (4) foreign language publications. The first belong to a special field of investigation; the second and third partake but slightly of the magazine nature and spirit; and the fourth are subject to so many special conditions and influences that they should be considered separately.

It remains to say a word of the arrangement of this volume. The difficulty of writing a history of the general development of American magazines and at the same time giving adequate treatment to important individual periodicals has been met by giving each magazine only sufficient attention in the main narrative to place it in relation to the general stream of magazine development, and postponing more elaborate consideration of important magazines to the separate sketches which appear at the close of the treatment of each period. Thus, when the story comes down to 1830, the year in which *Godey's Lady's Book* was founded, it is not necessary to stop the narrative in order to relate the whole of *Godey's* interesting career (which lasted until 1898) before going on with the magazines and events of the thirties. This makes some slight repetition, but not enough, it is hoped, to be either offensive or wasteful.

A second volume is in preparation. It will carry the story through the Period of the War (1850-65), the Post-War Period (1865-80), the Period of Advertising Development (1880-1902), and the Muckraking Period (1902-15) to the Recent Period (since 1915).

[20] Some attention, however, has been given religious newspapers, which were slightly more literary and less journalistic than their contemporaries of the secular press.

PART I

THE PERIOD OF BEGINNINGS

1741-1794

The Lean Years

CHAPTER I

MOTIVES, NATURE, AND PROBLEMS OF THE FIRST MAGAZINES

DIFFICULTIES

THE poverty of production during the first half-century of the history of American magazines will cause no surprise to the student of those times who reflects upon the difficulties which confronted editors and publishers. The wonder is that so many fledgling periodicals fluttered, for periods however brief, here and there in the colonies. Surely a faith born of enthusiasm, rather than a prospect of success derived from calm calculation, presided over these early ventures. "The expectation of failure is connected with the very name of a Magazine," wrote Noah Webster in his *American Magazine* in 1788.[1] The chief difficulties which such periodicals encountered may be listed as follows: (1) Indifference, (*a*) of readers, and (*b*) of writers; (2) lack of adequate means of distribution; (3) losses in the collection of subscription accounts; and (4) manufacturing embarrassments.

The first of these impediments to success was, of course, the fundamental one. If there had really been an active demand for a magazine on the part of any considerable proportion of the American people, the other obstacles would have been overcome without too much trouble; but Americans had not yet formed periodical-reading habits, and they were too fully occupied with making a living to think much about making a civilization. One of the two longest-lived of the eighteenth century ventures, the *New-York Magazine,* utters a complaint as oft-repeated as plaintive at the end of its sixth year: "It is impossible to arrest the attention of those attached to the active scene of business."[2] And when two years later it gave up the struggle, it ended its life with a question: "Shall every attempt of this nature desist

[1] *American Magazine,* I, 130 (February, 1788).
[2] *New-York Magazine,* Preface, Vol. VI (1795).

in these States? Shall our country be stigmatised, odiously stigmatised, with want of taste for literature?" [3] But the best index to the common indifference toward magazines is to be found in circulation figures. Probably the most successful of American magazines in the eighteenth century was Mathew Carey's *American Museum;* it began with twenty subscribers [4] and rapidly progressed to about 1,250.[5] The *Pennsylvania Magazine* had a brief success in 1775, reaching "upwards of fifteen hundred," according to Editor Thomas Paine.[6] It is doubtful if any magazine in eighteenth century America surpassed that figure. Charles Brockden Brown calculated that when his *Monthly Magazine and American Review* should reach four hundred it would be self-supporting; [7] it lasted less than two years. Thomas Condie boasted that his *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine* had reached the nine-hundred mark; [8] but most magazines maintained silence upon a point which success commonly emphasizes. It is extremely doubtful if the aggregate number of copies of magazines circulated in America reached five thousand at any one time in the period under consideration.[9] Moreover, as we shall see a little later, a considerable proportion of these subscribers did not pay their dues.

Only less discouraging than the indifference of the general public was the unresponsiveness of possible contributors. As will be shown, the greater part of the contents of the early magazines was reprinted from books, newspapers, and other magazines; but from the first, and increasingly as time went on, editors realized the necessity for original contributions. There was no writing class, and it was difficult to persuade professional and business men to take time from their leisure hours for writing; consequently, there was much wheedling of correspondents.

[3] *Ibid.*, Preface, N.S. Vol. II (1797).

[4] *American Museum*, Preface to Vol. II (1792).

[5] According to the list of subscribers printed to go with Vol. II.

[6] Letter to Franklin quoted in nearly all lives of Paine. Mary Agnes Best, *Thomas Paine* (New York, 1927), p. 39.

[7] William Dunlap, *The Life of Charles Brockden Brown* (Philadelphia, 1815), II, 11.

[8] *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine*, I, 360 (June, 1798).

[9] Twice in the period 1741-94 there were seven magazines at one time—at the beginning of 1790 and in the fall of 1792. It is highly improbable that either group of seven had an average circulation of seven hundred. See chart on p. 70.

Isaiah Thomas, for example, begs "*those gentlemen who will favour* the Royal American Magazine *with their* LUCUBRATIONS" to do so at once.[10] "Let not the inexperienced be intimidated from assuming the pen," wrote the editors of the *Columbian Magazine*,—"we shall receive, with gratitude, the favours of all correspondents."[11] The *American Museum* was driven in 1789 to the offering of prizes for contributions, and there is a kind of despair in the wail found in the preface to the penultimate volume of the *New-York Magazine:* "The want of originality has been much complained of. . . . Numbers of the Sons and Daughters of Columbia are well qualified to shine in the walks of Literature; let each, then, lend a helping hand." But the editor concludes: "In the present state of this Western World, voluntary contributions are not to be depended upon . . . —Not that an American community is less enlightened than any other; but . . . our pursuits are directed to other objects."[12] Noah Webster, editor of the *American Magazine* (fifth of that name), prints a letter which he probably wrote himself but which is signed "Jemima Loveleap," containing the encouraging information that "We females have many good ideas to communicate"; whereupon the editor invites "the ladies, who are the favourites of Minerva and the Muses," to contribute.[13] That the ladies did contribute not a little verse to Webster's magazine and to many others we may assume from the number of feminine pen names. Much of it was bad enough in all conscience, but we know that not all the bad verse submitted was printed: witness the notices "To Correspondents" frequently found in the magazines. "*Minerva* has assumed a name to which we fear she has no good claim; at least, not on the score of *wisdom*. Her communication is of too frivolous a nature." So the editor of the *Universal Asylum*. And again: "*Myrtilla's* verses have some merit, as to sentiment; but not sufficient to counterbalance their poetical defects."[14] In short, the magazines in this Period of Beginnings, and in the

[10] *Royal American Magazine,* I, 80 (February, 1774).
[11] *Columbian Magazine,* Introduction to Vol. I (1787).
[12] *New-York Magazine,* Preface to N.S. Vol. I (1796).
[13] *American Magazine,* I, 26 (December, 1787). Three years before, the *Gentlemen and Lady's Town and Country Magazine* had solicited "the elegant polish of the Female Pencil" (Preface, May, 1784).
[14] *Universal Asylum,* VI, 2 (July, 1792).

following period, are full of indications of editorial difficulties in finding suitable original contributions.

It is probable that next to the troubles springing from indifference, those encountered in the distribution of the magazines perplexed publishers most sorely. "The thin population of the United States renders it impossible to procure sufficient support from any one city," wrote Charles Brockden Brown in the preface to the third volume of his New York *Monthly Magazine;* "and the dispersed situation of readers, the embarrassments attending the diffusion of copies over a wide extent of country, and the obstacles to a prompt collection of small sums" furnish difficulties that are almost insuperable.[15] This was a few years after the end of the period now under consideration, but it expresses well the conditions from the issuance of the first magazine in 1741 to the end of the century. The population of the British colonies in America in 1741 was probably not much over a million, while at the end of our period, in 1794, it was about four and a half millions, whites and blacks. This population was scattered over an area which measured over twelve hundred miles northeast to southwest along the seaboard, and, at some points, a thousand miles to the westward. In most regions the roads were "wretched, not to say shameful."[16] Even from Boston to New York, stage-coach time was eight to ten days,[17] while travel westward was much more difficult.

Of course the mails made faster time, but the mail system was very primitive. Postoffices were scattered and few, numbering only seventy-five as late as 1789, with but a thousand miles of post roads. Moreover, neither magazines nor newspapers were regularly admitted to the mails. Queen Anne's Act of 1710, "Establishing a General Post Office for All Her Majesty's Dominions" had made no provision for carrying periodicals in the

[15] *Monthly Magazine,* Preface to Vol. III, dated Jan. 1, 1801.

[16] "The wretched, not to say shameful state of the highways in Pennsylvania, which sometimes are almost impassable, is a public grievance. Even the entrances into this city, where so many roads unite, . . . are in so bad a condition as to risque the safety of every traveller passing over them in the dark."—"Remarks on Roads, addressed to the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture," *American Museum,* II, 351 (October, 1787).

[17] Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (New York, 1920), IV, 4. Nicholas Brown advertised a stage coach from Boston to New York every fourteen days in the *Royal American Magazine* in 1774.

mails, and in America as in England extra-legal means for utilizing the services of postriders had to be devised by the publishers. In America postmasters frequently became the publishers of newspapers and franked their papers through the mails, or they sent out their home-town papers free even when published by others. The fact that the postmasters might send periodicals through the mails free or not at all, as they pleased, gave them great power over the press and led to discrimination against competitors and political opponents. Benjamin Franklin, who had been appointed postmaster at Philadelphia in 1737, undoubtedly refused to allow his postriders to carry the first magazine published in America; but when his own competing magazine came out a little later, he must have franked it through the mails.[18] For fifty years thereafter the various magazines either utilized the mails gratis or by means of small fees paid by the subscribers to postriders and postmasters[19] (a practice legalized in the Ordinance of 1782), or else they devised local delivery systems of their own or made use of independent "newscarriers."[20] In 1774 Isaiah Thomas promised to send his *Royal American*

[18] Franklin admitted in his *Gazette* of Dec. 11, 1740, that he had forbidden his postriders to carry Bradford's newspaper, the *Mercury,* giving the orders of the Postmaster General (with whom Bradford would not settle some accounts) as his reason; there can be little doubt that he would keep Bradford's *American Magazine* of January, 1741, out of the mails for the same reason, nor would he be moved to indulgence by the bitter rivalry between the *American* and his own magazine.

[19] Two actions in regard to periodicals in the mails should be noted. In 1757 the Pennsylvania Council complained of the advantage which Franklin, who had then become joint Postmaster General for the northern colonies, was able to exercise in "circulating his Papers free"; the next year he and his colleague William Hunter issued a regulation providing that subscribers to all papers without discrimination should be charged ninepence a year postage for each hundred miles, one-fifth to go to the local postmaster and four-fifths to the postrider. The efficacy of this ruling may be doubted, since the matter was left to local administration. Free carriage undoubtedly continued to be common (see quotation from *Columbian Magazine, infra*) and it is certain that authority discriminated against outspoken newspapers through the postmasters. The organization by William Goddard, editor of the *Maryland Journal,* of his "Constitutional Post" in 1774 was a protest against such discrimination. Thus the relation of periodicals to the post remained until the Ordinance of Oct. 21, 1782, which specifically allowed postriders to carry papers at rates made by them, and to retain the fees.

[20] In the *Worcester Magazine* for the first week in December, 1787, IV, 125, Edward Houghton "informs the Publick that he has again commenced Newscarrier, and will be happy to supply his former customers. . . . He will leave magazines for those who become his customers at the usual places. . . . Where there are a number in a town who wish to take, he would be glad if some of them would become accountable for the whole number, and save him the trouble of

Magazine to subscribers in the country "by the first opportunity," [21] and desired his patrons "living on or near the Post-Roads, . . . to inform the Publisher, whether they would have their Magazines sent by the Post or not." [22]

However unsatisfactory such arrangements may have been, they were highly desirable in comparison with the conditions which magazines had to face upon the enactment of the Postal Act of 1792. In this law Congress specifically allowed postmasters to authorize postriders "to carry newspapers other than those carried in the mail," but it voted down by a large majority a proposal to include magazines as well as newspapers in this provision.[23] This action was interpreted by the Philadelphia postmaster, and perhaps by others, as an order to charge letter postage upon such magazines as were sent by the postriders. This was prohibitive, and the two Philadelphia magazines—the *Columbian* and the *Museum,* two of the best eighteenth century periodicals—were forced to suspend forthwith. The *Columbian* died protesting against the "unequal and oppressive" postal law

which totally prohibits the circulation of monthly publications through that channel on any other terms than that of paying the highest postage on private letters.[24] . . . While the states were colonies of Great Britain the people enjoyed the privilege . . . of having both newspapers and magazines conveyed to them without

settling numerous small accounts." On the covers of many magazines are printed lists of agents in various towns who were thus "accountable" both to carrier and publisher.

21 *Royal American Magazine,* Prospectus.

22 *Ibid.,* I, 80 (February, 1774).

23 See *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 2d Congress, 1st Session; Chap. 7, Sec. 22. See also the *Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine,* VI, 362 (December, 1792), and VI, 2 (January, 1792).

24 The *Museum,* in its swan song, speaks of "the construction, whether right or wrong, of the late Post-Office law, by which the Post Master here has absolutely refused to receive the *Museum* into the Post-Office on any terms." (XII, 302. December, 1792). This has a controversial sound, and could scarcely have been a sober interpretation of the law. A search of the letterbooks of the General Post Office for this period reveals little. A letter to Jonathan Hastings, postmaster at New Bedford, Mass., says: ". . . all papers conveyed in the mail are subject to postage, *as letters,* except what are called, and known to be, *newspapers.*" This is dated June 9, 1792, a few days after the law of 1792 went into effect, and is in reference to the *Marine Journal* (New Bedford, 1792-99), which is said to be "chargeable with the same postage as single letters." (Letterbook A, page 495).

any cost whatever. For some years after the Revolution this privilege was continued. . . .[25]

There were doubtless confusion and inequality in the application of the regulation of 1792; Boston, New York and Baltimore magazines seem not to have been affected. The *Massachusetts Magazine* and the *New-York Magazine* continued steadily on their way to tie the record for longest life in the eighteenth century; it is possible that they depended less upon postriders than their Philadelphia contemporaries, though both had some subscribers at considerable distances.[26] Indeed half a dozen new magazines were begun in the interim between the troublesome Postal Act of 1792 and the more indulgent law of 1794.

By the latter statute, magazines were admitted to the mails under certain conditions. This seems to have been the signal for the starting of a great many new magazines, and as a result more were begun in the final six years of the eighteenth century than in all the years from 1741 to 1794. These magazines were a kind of overture to a new period of development, so that it seems fitting to regard the Postal Act of 1794 as marking the end of the Period of Beginnings.

A further and often disastrous difficulty confronted by the early magazine publisher, as well as by his successors throughout the next two periods, was the "delinquent subscriber." Most eighteenth century magazines have occasional pleas for payment of subscriptions, either on the cover or in editorial notices. Mathew Carey wrote, shortly after beginning his *Museum:*

After a careful examination of the various shoals on which periodical publications have been wrecked in this and other countries, I am in dread of only one—which I am almost afraid to intimate. This shoal is a want of due punctuality in paying the subscriptions. These being small, each individual is but too apt to suppose it a matter of great indifference whether he pays *his* quota at the time

[25] *Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine,* VI, 362 (December, 1792).

[26] The towns at which the *New-York Magazine* listed agents in 1793 were Goshen, Poughkeepsie, and Albany, in New York; Elizabeth-Town and Newark, in New Jersey; Philadelphia; Boston; Danbury, Conn.; Charleston, S. C.; while "several other gentlemen in different parts of the Continent" were also agents. See Covers. The *Royal American,* of Boston, had agents as far away as South Carolina in 1774.

appointed or in six or twelve months afterward. This is a great mistake. It is further to be observed, that the expence of sending twice or thrice, or, as is often the case, four times, for the amount of a subscription, bears no small proportion to the sum received.[27]

How often, oh, how oft, those identical thoughts were rehearsed in American magazines in the hundred years before their publishers were able to place their circulations on a pay-in-advance basis! And in his last volume Carey admits that "the heavy losses sustained by too many delinquencies in point of payment have more than once led to a determination to relinquish the undertaking."[28] The *Massachusetts Magazine* was accustomed to print this motto after the dunning notice which it ran on its cover: "Without the Rain from Heaven, the Corn shall wither on its Stalk." Isaiah Thomas, in his *Worcester Magazine,* repeatedly offers to take wood, cheese, pork, corn, and other produce on account. For example, when the Thomas family is out of butter: "The editor requests all those who are indebted to him for Newspapers and Magazines, to make payment.—Butter will be received for small sums, if brought within a few days."[29]

Lastly, the difficulties of manufacture were enough to discourage the early magazine publisher. Presses, type, paper, and ink had, for the most part, to be imported from England, before the Revolutionary War began; thereafter for a long time supplies of these materials were inadequate both in quantity and quality.[30] Satisfactory plates for illustration were, as we shall see, difficult to obtain and expensive. As a result of these conditions, costs were almost invariably higher than the small subscription lists would warrant. Let us take the four chief magazines of the times. The *Columbian,* after reviewing the discouraging history of American magazines to date, asserted that "had the proprietors of this work been actuated by motives of profit alone, it must also have been discontinued."[31] The *American Museum,* appealing for aid, says, "Several times it has been on the verge

[27] Preface to Vol. II, *American Museum.*
[28] *Ibid.,* Vol. XII.
[29] *Worcester Magazine,* III, 181 (1st Week, July, 1787).
[30] Isaiah Thomas, *History of Printing in America* (Worcester, 1810), I, 343. See also Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States, 1690-1872,* pp. 114-17.
[31] *Columbian,* Preface to Vol. III, p. ii (1789).

of *decease.*" [32] The *Massachusetts Magazine* excuses its neglect in printing, paper, and engraving by pleading its lack of financial success.[33] And the last of the quartette says: "The profits of the *New-York Magazine* have not heretofore afforded a *reasonable* compensation for the trouble and expence of *printing*, exclusive of the labour of editing." [34] But the best evidence that printing costs outran subscription receipts is the fact that the average life of a magazine in the period under consideration was only eighteen months.[35] Sixty per cent of the magazines of 1741-94 did not outlast the first year, and only four reached the ripe age of three and a half years. Four died a-borning at one month.

WHY WERE MAGAZINES ATTEMPTED?

If, then, prospects for the incipient magazine were so dark, why were forty-five of them started in this period of slightly over half a century—nearly one for each year? What motives were most prominent in these attempts?

Though the record discouraged such hopes, and though such a magazine as the *Columbian* renounced profit as a sole motive, there can be no doubt that the publishers of practically all the magazines begun in this period had some anticipation of financial reward. The fact is that they did have something to build hopes upon: the success of such magazines as the *Gentleman's* and the *London Magazine* in England incited them to emulation. It must not be forgotten that these American ventures were, until the Revolution, British magazines published in the Colonies; and even after that time there was no radical alteration to Americanize them very markedly. As we shall see when we come to analyze the contents of these periodicals, many were derived chiefly from the pages of English publications; and still more noticeable is the resemblance to the British magazines in format, purpose, and policy. Apparently certain examples of British magazine prosperity were responsible for most of the American

[32] *American Museum,* Preface to Vol. IV, p. vii (1788).
[33] *Massachusetts Magazine,* Preface to Vol. V (1793).
[34] *New-York Magazine,* Preface to N.S. I, p. iii (1796).
[35] These figures are based on William Beer's *Checklist of American Magazines 1741-1800* (Worcester, 1923. Reprinted from Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society, October, 1922). The figures for the whole of the eighteenth century show an average life of fourteen and a half months.

attempts. The publishers of the first two American magazines freely acknowledged this motive. Bradford's *American Magazine,* while claiming a wide variation from its "*British* Models," begins its prospectus thus: "The Success and Approbation which the MAGAZINES, published in *Great-Britain,* have met with for many Years past, among all Ranks and Degrees of People, *Encouraged* us to *Attempt* a Work of the like Nature in *America.*" [36] Franklin's *General Magazine* is acknowledged to be "in imitation of those in England." [37]

But there was at least one other motive quite as effective as hope of profit, and that was the desire to show America favorably to the world, and especially to England. The first magazine gives as one of the reasons for its establishment "That the Parliament and People of Great Britain may be truly and clearly informed of the Constitution and Government in the Colonies, whose great Distance from the Mother-country seems in some sense to have placed them out of her View." [38] The *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle,* started sixteen years later in the midst of the French war, begins its preface with these words:

> It has long been a matter of just complaint, among some of the best friends of our national commerce and safety, that the important concerns of these Colonies were but little studied and less understood in the mother-country, even by many of those, who have sustained the highest offices of trust and dignity in it. . . . The present war . . . has rendered this country, at length, the object of a very general attention, and it seems now become as much the mode, among those who would be useful or conspicuous in the state, to seek an acquaintance with these colonies, their constitutions, interests and commerce. . . . This favorable disposition, if duly cultivated, may have a happy influence. . . .[39]

With the coming of the Revolution this motive developed into a desire to demonstrate American abilities along cultural lines, and

[36] *American Magazine,* January, 1741, "Plan of the Undertaking," p. i.
[37] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* Nov. 7, 1740.
[38] *American Magazine,* January, 1741. "Plan of the Undertaking," p. viii. The subtitle of this magazine was *A Monthly View of the Political State of the British Colonies.*
[39] *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies,* Preface to Vol. I, p. i. (1744).

later into an expression of nationality. Brackenridge's *United States Magazine,* one of the two ventures of the kind during the war, says in its preface:

It was the language of our enemies at the commencement of the debate between America and what is called the mother-country, that in righteous judgment for our wickedness, it would be well to leave us to that independency which we seemed to affect, and to suffer us to sink down to so many Ouran-Outans of the wood, lost to the light of science which, from the other side of the Atlantic, had just begun to break upon us. They have been made to see, and even to confess the vanity of this kind of *auguration.* The British officers who are, some of them, men of understanding, on perusal of our pamphlets in the course of the debate, and the essays and dissertations in the news-papers, have been forced to acknowledge, not without chagrin, that the rebels, as they are pleased to call us, had some *d-mn'd* good writers on their side the question, and that we had fought them no less successfully with the pen than with the sword. We hope to convince them yet more fully, that we are able to cultivate the *belles lettres,* even disconnected with Great-Britain; and that liberty is of so noble and energetic a quality, as even from the bosom of a war to call forth the powers of human genius, in every course of literary fame and improvement.[40]

And after the war, editors again and again appeal to the patriotic motive in asking support. "Shall we not then exert ourselves to appear as respectable abroad as we really are at home?" [41] asks one.

Another motive often referred to editorially is that of utility. "My inducements to begin, as well as to persevere in this undertaking," writes Mathew Carey, "have arisen as much from its general utility as from any view of private emolument"; [42] while the *Columbian* hopes to be "a future criterion of the opinions and characters of the age." [43] The inculcation of religious principles is an avowed purpose with many,[44] nor is the purpose of entertainment without its partisans.[45]

[40] *United States Magazine,* Preface, pp. 3-4.
[41] *New-York Magazine,* Preface to N.S. Vol. I (1796).
[42] *American Museum,* Preface to Vol. IV, p. viii (1788).
[43] *Columbian Magazine,* Preface to Vol. I.
[44] There were a dozen or more magazines largely devoted to religious teaching in the eighteenth century.
[45] This purpose is often avowed, and sometimes in the subtitles.

These purposes, then, were strong enough to impel editors and publishers to face the many difficulties which lined the path of eighteenth century magazines, and to found about a hundred of such publications before 1801.[46] This total is less significant than it appears, however, since the lives of these periodicals were so brief and their circulations so limited. It is perhaps more illuminating to note that the aggregate of the files of all the magazines of the Period of Beginnings, 1741-94, would cover only sixty-seven years; the thinness of magazine production is perceived when we realize that the average number of magazines available at one time throughout the period was one and one-fourth.[47]

THE FIRST MAGAZINES

Let us now consider summarily the record of the successive ventures in the period under consideration. The first two American magazines were issued within three days of one another. The first plan for an American magazine was Benjamin Franklin's, but Andrew Bradford anticipated Franklin's publication by three days when, on February 13, 1741, he issued in Philadelphia his *American Magazine, or A Monthly View of the Political State of the British Colonies.*[48] Close upon the heels of its rival, then, came Franklin's *General Magazine, and Historical Chronicle, For all the British Plantations in America,*[49] also published in Philadelphia. Both were published with the dating of January, 1741. A pretty quarrel grew out of this competition—to no effect, for Bradford's magazine, edited by John Webbe, lasted for three months only, and Franklin's but six. Both were given over largely to state papers, but the *General Magazine* had more pages and more variety than its rival.

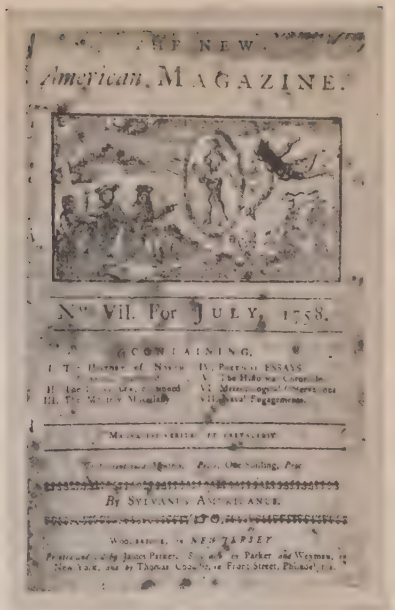
[46] The first checklist of eighteenth century magazines was P. L. Ford's *Checklist of American Magazines Printed in the Eighteenth Century* (Brooklyn, 1889. In *Library Journal,* XIV, 373: September, 1889). It listed fifty-four magazines, and ended with 1799. This was superseded in 1923 by William Beer's list, referred to *supra,* which gives ninety-eight titles. It is, of course, not always possible to distinguish between newspapers and magazines; but Beer's *Checklist* is a very satisfactory piece of work.

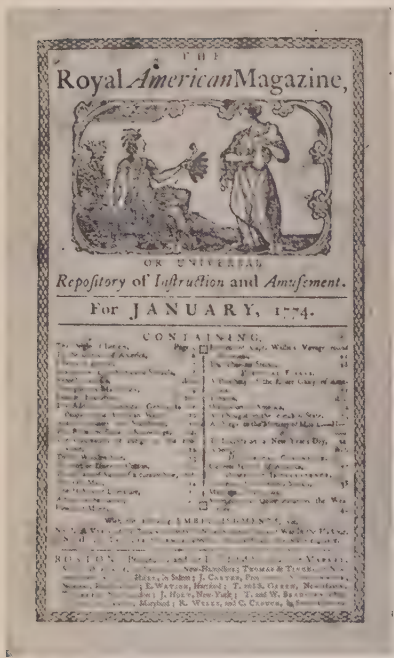
[47] These figures are based upon Beer's list, with the omission of two reprints and three foreign language periodicals.

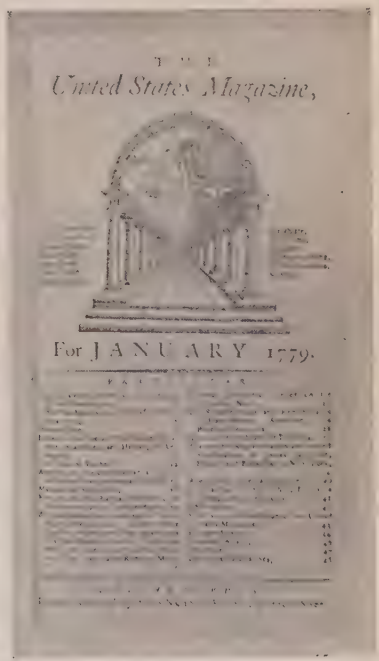
[48] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 71-72.

[49] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 73-77.

THE
GENERAL MAGAZINE
AND
Historical Chronicle,
For all the *British* Plantations in *America.*
[To be Continued Monthly]
JUNE, 1741.
VOL. I. Num. VI.
PHILADELPHIA
Printed and sold by B. FRAN-


THE NEW
American MAGAZINE.
No. VII. For JULY, 1758.
CONTAINING,
By SYLVANUS AUCKLAND.


THE
Royal *American* Magazine,
OR
UNIVERSAL
Repository of *Instruction* and *Amusement.*
For JANUARY, 1774.
CONTAINING,


THE
United States Magazine,
For JANUARY 1779.

TITLE PAGES OF FOUR OF THE EARLIEST AMERICAN MAGAZINES

The first magazines carried, in lieu of covers, individual title pages for the successive numbers. The emblematic cut on each was a kind of trade mark. Thus the Prince of Wales' coronet on Franklin's magazine and symbolical pictures of the enlightenment of America on the *American* and the *Royal American.* Note the fourteen columns in the *United States Magazine's* colonnade of states.

Two years later, the Boston printers, Rogers and Fowle, printed three numbers of their *Boston Weekly Magazine* (March 2, 9 and 16, 1743). This was an eight-page pamphlet containing chiefly periodical essays drawn from old English magazines, with some verse and a page or so of news each week. The *Boston Weekly* proved to be an exordium to the more pretentious *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle,*[50] which Rogers and Fowle undertook in September of the same year with the co-operation of certain Boston booksellers. This was the first really important American magazine. It lasted for more than three years and was edited by the versatile Jeremy Gridley. Like its Philadelphia predecessors, it was much occupied with politics, and especially with the War of the Austrian Succession and the siege of Louisburg.

In the meantime *Christian History,* less a magazine than a chronicle of the "Great Awakening," was published in weekly numbers for two years from March 5, 1743. After the end of Gridley's *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle* there was an arid stretch of more than ten years, broken only by four brief experiments in New York;[51] then came the most brilliant magazine issued up to that time, the *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle,*[52] published by William Bradford at Philadelphia and edited by that leader in colonial culture, Provost William Smith, of the College of Philadelphia. This magazine lasted for only thirteen months, but it bears comparison with any year's file of the *Gentleman's* or the *London Magazine.* Emphasis is given to political matters; but comment on manners and society is also important, chiefly through Addisonian essay series. There is more original material than had yet appeared in an American magazine, and much that is genuinely amusing. Contemporary with Smith's magazine during most of

[50] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 78-79.

[51] These were the *Independent Reflector* (Nov. 30, 1752 – Nov. 22, 1753), a weekly political paper in folio by James Parker; the *Occasional Reverberator* (Sept. 7 – Oct. 5, 1753), a similar experiment by the same publisher; the *Instructor* (March 6 – May 8, 1755), this time a quarto, by Parker and William Weyman; and *John Englishman* (April 9 – July 5, 1755), by the same publishers, again a political folio. The first number of the last of the series was called *John Englishman's True Notion of Sister Churches;* thereafter it carried the subtitle *in Defence of the English Constitution.*

[52] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 80-82.

its short life, and outlasting it by about a year and a half, was Judge Samuel Nevill's *New American Magazine,* published at Woodbridge, New Jersey, by James Parker. It was less entertaining, though it had some essays, tales, and verse to go with its history and current events. Thomas calls it "a valuable literary work." [53] Judge Nevill had been editor of the London *Evening Post;* he edited the *New American* under the gentlemanly sobriquet "Sylvanus Americanus."

Came then another dry spell—ten years with but a single unimportant attempt.[54] The Stamp Act was passed in the midst of this lean decade and the political state of the Colonies was unfavorable to literature. Indeed, from 1760 to 1774 there were only three magazines started,[55] the least unsuccessful of which was a nine months' wonder. In January, 1774, there appeared in Boston the first number of the *Royal American Magazine,*[56] founded by Isaiah Thomas, but relinquished by him after six months to Joseph Greenleaf, who kept it going nine months longer. It was a good magazine for those times. Its distinctive feature was a little series of engravings by Paul Revere in which British oppression of the Colonies was held up to obloquy. The *Royal American* was the first magazine in the Colonies to use illustration somewhat liberally. Its editor later attributed part of its troubles to "the disordered state of public affairs;" [57] certain it is that it was discontinued on the eve of the battle of Lexington.

In the meantime the *Pennsylvania Magazine* [58] had been started, in spite of the threats of storm, by Robert Aitken, who employed Thomas Paine, recently arrived from England with Doctor Franklin's letters of recommendation in his pocket, as

[53] Thomas, *op. cit.,* II, 321.

[54] The *New England Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure,* an eclectic duodecimo printed and published by Benjamin Mecom, of Boston. There were only three numbers, the first dated August, 1758, and the other two undated.

[55] The *American Magazine, or General Repository* (January – September, 1769), published in Philadelphia by William and Thomas Bradford and edited by Lewis Nichola; the *Censor* (Nov. 23, 1771 – May 2, 1772), a weekly political paper in folio by Ezekiel Russell, of Boston; and the *Royal Spiritual Magazine, or the Christian's Grand Treasury,* published for a few months in 1771 in Philadelphia by John MacGibbons.

[56] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 83-86.

[57] Thomas, *op. cit.,* II, 260.

[58] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 87-91.

editor. The *Pennsylvania Magazine* lasted for nineteen months, printing a running account of the war, and, in spite of difficulties, a good variety of material taken from both British and American sources, together with some original contributions and an engraving for each issue. The only other American magazine during the war was H. H. Brackenridge's *United States Magazine,* probably the most brilliant performance of the whole period. Doubtless much of it was written by Brackenridge himself. It was John Witherspoon, however, the editor's former "prexy" at the College of New Jersey, who wrote the famous lampoon called "The Humble Representation and Earnest Supplication of James Rivington." Rivington was a famous Tory printer of New York who had long been a thorn in patriot flesh, and now that the British had evacuated New York he was represented as throwing himself on the mercy of Congress. The petitioner (so runs the travesty) had no desire to flee the States: "he had no desire at all, either to be roasted in Florida, or frozen to death in Canada." "Not being courageous, he doesn't wish to fight," he is made to say, adding: "Many of them became tories for no other reason than that they might avoid fighting." Therefore Rivington proposes himself to "your High Mightinesses," the Congress, as a teacher of manners:

> I believe many of your officers want politeness; they are, like old Cincinnatus, taken from the plough, and therefore must still have a little roughness in their manners and deportment. Now I myself am the very pink of courtesy, a genteel, portly, well-looking fellow, as you will see in a summer's day . . .[59]

Distinctly more scurrilous were the passages with General Charles Lee over a certain *jeu d'esprit* of the general's. It seems that a certain pretty young lady had whispered to a merry companion that Lee wore "green breeches patched with leather." Now Lee was something of a dandy, and he claimed that he wore "true Sherry-vallies," which were ankle-length trousers with leather on the inside of the thigh. In a gay letter the gallant general offered to send the young lady a pair of them for her to

[59] *United States Magazine,* I, 34-39 (January, 1779).

examine. This was not in good taste, perhaps, when one considers that the salt of the jest was in the fact that such garments were "unmentionables" in the eighteenth century. When Brackenridge printed the letter (which had been widely circulated by hand) in his magazine, the general became very angry. He wrote to the papers about "the impertinence and stupidity of the compiler of that wretched performance, with the pompous title of *The Magazine of the United States,*" who wrote such "damnable verses"; and by way of rejoinder Brackenridge called his opponent by the names of enough animals belonging to the lower orders of creation to populate a zoo.[60] The sequel to this paper war is related by H. M. Brackenridge in his memoir of his father: Lee called at the office of the magazine with a horsewhip, but when he knocked at the door it was not opened. The editor at length stuck his head out of an upstairs window and asked what was wanted. "Come down," said the irate general, "and I'll give you as good a horse-whipping as any rascal ever received!" "Excuse me, general," replied Brackenridge; "I'd not come down for two such favors!" Brackenridge later became as thorough a democrat as he had been federalist, and a judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.[61]

MAGAZINES AFTER THE REVOLUTION

After the Revolution was over there was more activity in magazine publishing. The *Boston Magazine,* edited by a society consisting of John Eliot, James Freeman, George R. Minot, and others, ran through three years, 1783-86.[62] It was well illustrated with copperplates by John Norman, one of the publishers. Its subtitle called it "A collection of instructive and entertaining

[60] *Ibid.,* I, 41, 163-72 (January, May, 1779).

[61] *Memoir* prefaced to illustrated edition of Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry* (Philadelphia, 1846). Quoted in Duyckinck's *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* (revised ed., Philadelphia, 1881) I, 305.

[62] *Boston Magazine,* Vol. I, October, 1783 – December, 1784; II, 1785: III, 1786. Vol. III has only ten numbers, September and October, and November and December being combined. Each number about 48 pp. 12mo. Norman and White were publishers October, 1783 – January, 1784. Norman and White and Edmund Freeman, February – June, 1784, and Greenleaf and Freeman, July, 1874 – December, 1786. See, for this magazine, Samuel A. Green, *The Boston Magazine, the Geographical Gazeteer of Massachusetts, and John Norman, Engraver* (Cambridge, 1904)—a paper read at the meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, May 12, 1904.

essays, in the various branches of useful, and polite literature, together with Foreign and Domestic Occurrences, Anecdotes, Observations on the Weather, &c, &c." The *et ceteras* of its subtitle are significant, for it was greatly varied in contents. It published a considerable amount of original material, and some music.

With the advent of the *Gentlemen and Lady's Town and Country Magazine,* of Boston, a new element entered into the American magazine field: for the first time women were given special and explicit attention to any considerable extent. Here was more fiction than usual, much advice to young ladies, much about matrimony, much of the sentiments deemed appropriate to Female Bosoms. The typography was as bad as the syntax of the title, and the magazine lasted through only eight numbers, May-December, 1784.[63]

Exactly half the magazines of our period were published in its last eight years—1786-94. Up to that time there had never been more than three magazines printed in America at once, and that had happened only twice and for but a month or two each time. Six magazines tried their wings in 1786, and there were times in the next few years when as many as seven were going at once: there were never less than three, and usually five. In 1786 the novelty in the field was the *American Musical Magazine,* which printed music in twelve quarto numbers at New Haven. Three years later the first sectarian magazine appeared—the *Arminian Magazine* (1789-90), edited by Bishops Coke and Asbury, of Philadelphia. There was also another "first" in that year—the initial venture in juvenile periodicals. Three numbers of the *Children's Magazine* were published at Hartford. They were precocious children to whom it addressed its "Easy Introduction to Geography," its "Moral Tales," its Addisonian letters, and its sentimental verses.

Noah Webster's notable *American Magazine,*[64] of New York, ran for a year beginning with December, 1787. Its contents were varied, "calculated both for instruction and amusement," and it

[63] One number of the *American Monitor; or, the Republican Magazine* was published in Boston by Ezekiel Russell, October, 1785.

[64] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 104-07.

gave especial attention to the subject of education. There were some plates by Maverick and others.

The four most important magazines of this period, however, and likewise the four longest-lived magazines of the eighteenth century in America, are, in the order of their appearance, the *Columbian Magazine,*[65] and the *American Museum,*[66] of Philadelphia, the *Massachusetts Magazine,*[67] of Boston, and the *New-York Magazine.*[68] Since they, like the other leading magazines mentioned in this chapter, are given separate treatment somewhat later in this work (following Chapter II), they need be only generally described here. The *Columbian* was perhaps the most ambitious periodical of the time. John Trenchard, one of the original group of five proprietors, and sole owner in the second year, was an engraver by profession; and he attended to the embellishments. There were occasional changes of ownership in the magazine's six years, and a change of name to the *Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine* in 1790. In the later years much attention was given to the history of the Revolution and to politics. One of the original proprietors of the *Columbian* was Mathew Carey, who withdrew to begin a rival magazine, the *American Museum,* after a few months. Carey was the greatest of eighteenth century magazine editors; he had the qualities necessary for editorial success—versatility and wide interests, personal magnetism, industry, and optimism. The *Museum* is perhaps the most important American magazine file of its century: it is invaluable for a study of the society, economics, and politics of 1787-92, and it is far more American in materials than most of its contemporaries. In 1789 Isaiah Thomas returned to the magazine field and, with his partners, founded the *Massachusetts Magazine,* which he published for five years; then for three years more, various other publishers kept it going. It was regularly illustrated with engravings and had very great variety in its contents, with some original material. It is much like the *New-York Magazine,* published by the Swords brothers, with which it shares the honor of longest existence in the eighteenth century:

[65] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 94-99.
[66] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 100-03.
[67] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 108-11.
[68] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 114-16.

each lasted eight years. Neither was very lively, but then liveliness cannot be said to have been, in general, a virtue of the American magazines of these times. Though their Philadelphia rivals succumbed to the unfair postal law of 1792, these two magazines weathered the difficulty and lived to see the new law of 1794. They were the only magazines founded in this period which lived over into the next.[69]

MAGAZINE GEOGRAPHY

Passing from the chronology of the magazines to their geography, we may note that honors were even between Philadelphia and Boston as publishing centers in this period. Each had its round dozen of magazines, and the aggregate of years issued is practically the same for both cities. It is interesting to note that the first two magazines were issued from Philadelphia, the next three from Boston, and the next four from New York. After these four attempts on the part of New York—all made by James Parker as publisher—there were only two other magazines started there in this period. The publishers of the first American magazine set forth the advantages of Philadelphia as the proper magazine center as follows:

As the city of Philadelphia lies in the centre of the British Plantations, and is the middle stage of the Post from Boston in New England down to Charles-town in Carolina; and as that city, besides its frequent intercourse with Europe, drives a continual trade with the rest of the colonies on the continent, we therefore fixed

[69] Other magazines published in 1786-94 were: *The New Haven Gazette, and the Connecticut Magazine* (Feb. 16, 1786 – June 18, 1789), weekly quarto published by Meigs and Dana; the *Worcester Magazine,* treated at length on pp. 92-93; *The New-Jersey Magazine,* three numbers of which (December, 1786 and January and February, 1787) were published at New Brunswick by Frederick Quequelle and James Prange; *The Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's Magazine,* treated on pp. 112-13; a second *Gentlemen and Ladies Town and Country Magazine* (February, 1789 – August, 1790), published in Boston by Nathaniel Coverly; *The American Apollo* (Jan. 6 – Sept. 28, 1792), a weekly octavo by Joseph Belknap and partners; the *Lady's Magazine,* noticed later in Chapter II; *The Columbian Museum,* published in a single number, January, 1793, by John Parker; *The Free Universal Magazine* (June, 1793 – 1794), a quarterly by the Rev. Abel Sarjent, of Baltimore; the *New Hampshire Magazine* (June – November, 1793), a monthly by Elijah Russell, of Concord, N. H.; a second *United States Magazine* (April – August, 1794), a monthly by John Woods, of Newark, N. J.; and *The Monthly Miscellany or Vermont Magazine* (April – September, 1794), by A. Haswell, of Bennington, Vt.

upon it as the properest place and more commodiously situated than any other for carrying on the various correspondences which the nature of the Work renders necessary.[70]

As for Boston, it was not without a consciousness of culture even then. It was particularly proud of Harvard College, and the *Boston Magazine* was happy to have it in its power to announce the effusions of "the sons of Harvard."[71] But Noah Webster wrote in his *American Magazine* of 1787: "New-York, for its situation and other advantages, is the most eligible place for a publication of this kind."[72] And so the rivalry went on, as it was destined to go on for many years more.

There was no magazine south of Philadelphia until the very end of our period, when the *Free Universal Magazine* was begun at Baltimore in 1793; the only magazine south of Baltimore in the eighteenth century was the *South Carolina Weekly Museum* at Charleston (1797-98). There was none west of Philadelphia until the *Medley*, of Lexington, Kentucky, in 1803. There was much interest in the West, however, on the part of the leading magazines. The *Worcester Magazine*,[73] for example, printed a letter protesting against the treaty which Congress had authorized Jay to make with Spain, written by "a Gentleman at the Falls of the Ohio [Louisville] to his friend in Newengland." Shutting off the navigation of the Mississippi "has given this western country an universal shock, and struck its inhabitants with amazement. . . . To sell us, and make us vassals to the merciless Spaniards, is a grievance not to be borne."[74] The *Worcester Magazine* later published the Ordinance of 1787, and followed the operations of the Ohio Company. The *American Museum* occasionally printed matter about the West: in January, 1791, it gave the "number of Souls in the territory of the united states, northwest of the river Ohio" as 4,280, including forty white families "in the town of Vincennes upon the Oubashe"

[70] "Plan of the Undertaking" prefaced to the *American Magazine* for January, 1741.

[71] Preface to *Boston Magazine*, Vol. II (1785).

[72] *American Magazine*, I, 4 (December, 1787).

[73] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 92-93.

[74] *Worcester Magazine*, III, 221. Letter dated Dec. 4, 1786. (3d Week, July, 1787.)

and as many on the east bank of the Mississippi; while "upon the Spanish side of the Mississippi, above the confluence of the Ohio," it reported 1,820, including 720 at St. Louis.[75]

RECEIPTS FROM SUBSCRIPTION AND ADVERTISING

It is difficult to say anything intelligible about subscription prices because of the confused state of the currency. Bradford's *American Magazine* sold for eightpence sterling (one shilling, Pennsylvania currency), and Franklin's *General Magazine* for ninepence; but Franklin's magazine had more than twice as many pages as its rival, running to seventy-five pages per issue. Other magazines up to the Revolution usually sold for similar prices; that is, for the equivalent of about two dollars a year.[76] Flour was quoted at from sixteen to eighteen shillings a hundred in Franklin's magazine for May, 1741, and in January as low as twelve shillings;[77] so a year of the magazine was the equivalent of from one to one and a half sacks of flour in the Philadelphia market. Or it would buy from one and a half to two bushels of wheat. But perhaps a truer gauge of its value is to be found in the scale of wages: in New England two shillings a day were high wages for ordinary labor,[78] while in Pennsylvania that may be taken as a fair figure.[79] Thus a farm laborer would have to work four or five days to earn enough to pay a year's subscription for one of these early magazines, and a carpenter would have to spend the wages of three or four days. Magazines, it is seen, were not for poor men in those days. After the war the prices were higher. The *Columbian's* price was $2.66; that of the *American Museum,* which contained half again as many pages as its contemporaries, twenty shillings ($3.33); while Webster's *American Magazine* in New York charged $2.50. The *Massachu-*

[75] *American Museum,* IX, 8 (January, 1791).

[76] The *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle,* twelve shillings new tenor yearly; the *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle,* twelve shillings Pennsylvania currency; the *American Magazine and General Repository,* thirteen shillings ditto; the *New England Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure,* eightpence per number; the *New American,* one shilling (Proc.) per number.

[77] *General Magazine,* pp. 356, 74.

[78] William B. Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England, 1620-1789* (Boston, 1890). II, 879-80.

[79] Edward Channing says the scale was somewhat higher in Pennsylvania than in New England. *History of the United States* (Boston, 1907), II, 368.

setts Magazine was priced at fifteen shillings ($2.50), and the *New-York Magazine* at $2.25. An examination of the tables of prices current in Philadelphia for 1788-91 as printed from month to month in the *Columbian Magazine* shows that prices then did not vary greatly from the levels of 1926-29; but the level of wages was so much lower then than now as to make a subscription price of two dollars and a half a year prohibitive for most families in 1790. Wages for a common mechanic were considerably less than a dollar a day,[80] clergymen received an average of about five hundred dollars a year in Connecticut, and the governor of that state was paid but three hundred pounds annually.[81] With flour at ten dollars a barrel and other foods in proportion, this made anything which was not an absolute necessity an unattainable luxury for workingmen.

Subscription receipts were, however, almost the sole means of income for the magazines. Advertising was very slight; though there was a little of it on the covers,[82] occasionally it appeared in the text pages, and once in a while a colored leaf filled with advertisements was inserted inside the covers, perhaps after the frontispiece. This last was a method which had some vogue for a hundred years after the *Massachusetts* and the *New-York* practiced it.[83] Some of the magazines felt that advertising should be confined to the cover pages; and sometimes in the early seventeen-nineties the *Massachusetts Magazine* printed double covers to accommodate seven pages of advertising, placing two leaves of cover stock at the first and two more at the end of the magazine. Books and pamphlets were the chief articles advertised, but general merchandise also had its place. The first American magazine advertisement, so far as is known,[84] was a reading notice about a

[80] *Ibid.*, IV, 10. "A man who could do rough carpentry in rural New England received about eighty cents a day."

[81] *American Museum*, V, 261-63 (March, 1789). Article on expenses of living in Connecticut, dated New Haven, Dec. 14, 1786.

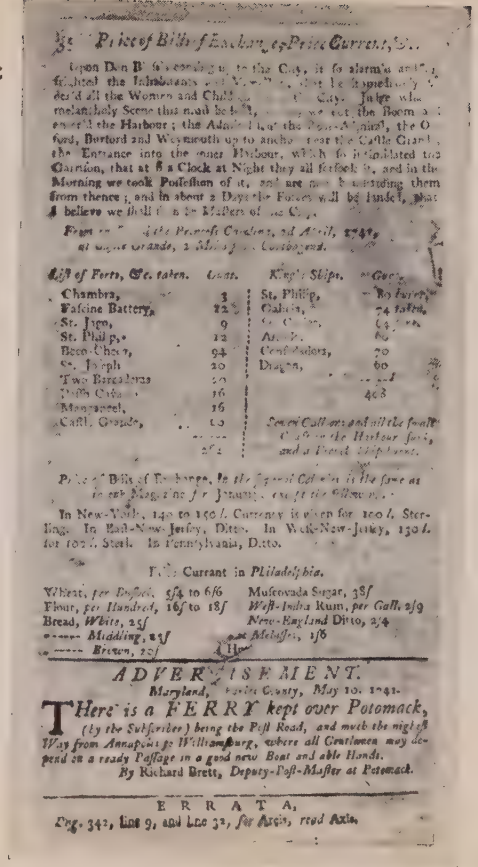
[82] See front and back covers of *Boston Magazine*, October, 1783.

[83] The *Galaxy* practiced it for a time in the early eighteen-seventies.

[84] Later eighteenth century magazines carried advertising on their covers, but the issues of the first two American magazines had no covers so far as I know. No single, unbound copies (which might be expected to keep their covers if there were any) of either of these periodicals are known to be extant. John Clyde Oswald in his *Benjamin Franklin, Printer* (New York, 1917) calls the advertisement quoted the first in an American Magazine (p. 81).

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MAGAZINE ADVERTISING

On the page reproduced on the left appeared the first advertisement to be printed in an American magazine. It is from Franklin's *General Magazine* for May, 1741. The typographically handsome page of advertising on the right is reproduced from the back cover of the *New-York Magazine* for March, 1793.



Price of Bills of Exchange, &c. Price Current, &c.

Upon Don B[lank]'s coming up to the City, it so alarm'd and frighted the Inhabitants [illegible] that he immediately order'd all the Women and Children [illegible] City. Judge what melancholick Scene this must be! [illegible] we got the Boom [illegible] enter'd the Harbour; the Admiral [illegible] Vice-Admiral, the Oxford, Dorford and Weymouth up to anchor near the Castle Grand, the Entrance into the inner Harbour, which is fortified two Garrison, that at 8 a Clock at Night they all struck, and in the Morning we took Possession of it, and are now [illegible] them from thence; and in about 2 Days the Forces will be landed, that I believe we shall [illegible] Masters of the City.

From on board the Princess Caroline, 2d April, 1741, at Nigre Grande, 2 Miles from Carthagena.

List of Forts, &c. taken.	*Guns.*	*King's Ships.*	*Guns.*
Chambra,	1	St. Philip,	80 [illegible]
Falcone Battery,	12	Oakin,	74 [illegible]
St. Jago,	9	[illegible]	[illegible]
St. Philip's,	12	Assove,	60
Boca-Chica,	94	Centurions,	70
St. Joseph	20	Dragon,	60
Two Batteries	10	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	16		468
Manganel,	16		
Castl. Grande,	10	*Several Gallies and little Small Craft in the Harbour sunk, and a Fireship destroyed.*	
	274		

Price of Bills of Exchange, by the Ingenious Gentlemen in the same at the end of this Magazine for January, except the following.

In New-York, 140 to 150 *l.* Currency is given for 100 *l.* Sterling. In East-New-Jersey, Ditto. In West-New-Jersey, 130 *l.* for 100 *l.* Sterl. In Pennsylvania, Ditto.

Price Current in Philadelphia.

Wheat, *per Bushel*, 5*s* to 6*s*
Flour, *per Hundred*, 16*s* to 18*s*
Bread, *White*, 2*s*
------ *Middling*, 1*s*
------ *Brown*, 2*s*
Muscovada Sugar, 3*s*
West-India Rum, *per Gall.* 2*s*9
New-England Ditto, 2*s*4
Molasses, 1*s*6

ADVERTISEMENT.

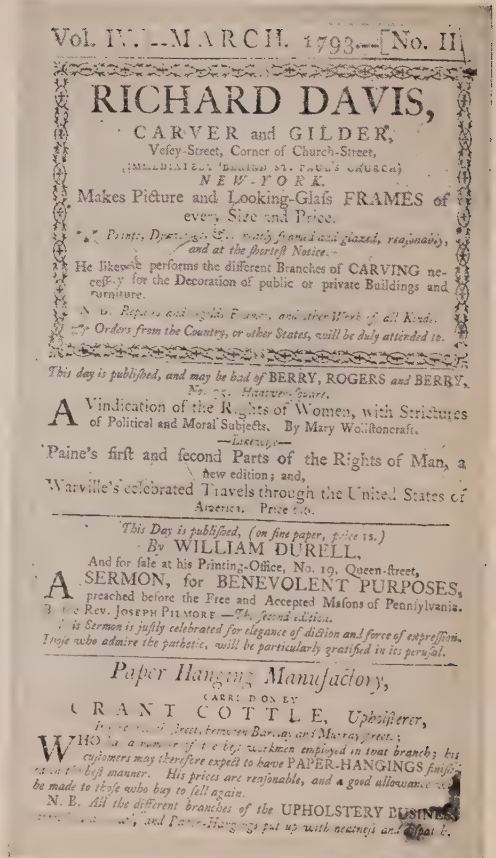
Maryland, Cecil County, May 10. 1741.

THere is a FERRY kept over Potomack, (by the Subscriber) being the Post Road, and much the nigher Way from Annapolis to Williamsburg, where all Gentlemen may depend on a ready Passage in a good new Boat and able Hands.

By Richard Brett, *Deputy-Post-Master at Potomack.*

ERRATA,

Page 342, *line* 9, *and Line* 32, *for* Axis, *read* Axis.



Vol. IV.—MARCH. 1793.—No. II.

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ferry, which appeared in Franklin's *General Magazine.* It is headed "Advertisement," and is dated May 10, 1741:

There is a FERRY *kept over Potomack (by the Subscriber), being the Post Road, and much the nighest Way from Annapolis to Williamsburg, where all Gentlemen may depend upon a ready Passage in a good new Boat and able Hands. By Richard Brett, Deputy-Post-Master at Potomack.*[85]

At least one patent medicine advertisement may be found—two pages of "remarkable Cures" resulting from the use of Maredant's Drops, which appeared in the *Royal American* in March, 1775.

FORMAT AND ILLUSTRATION

In format there was some diversity among eighteenth century magazines, but in the main they adhered closely to their English models; and since English magazines kept close to one pattern, all are reducible to one prototype—Cave's *Gentleman's Magazine.*[86] Sixty-four octavo pages measuring five to six by eight to nine inches made up the magazine of the common size, though some duodecimos,[87] quartos, and folios are to be noted, and the *Lady and Gentleman's Pocket Magazine* is a 16mo. Some magazines printed less than sixty-four pages, of course (the first magazine had thirty-four), and a few printed more. The *American Museum* gave its subscribers a hundred pages with each issue. A rather stiff, rough rag paper was generally used, which, though it is often discolored by age, has kept very well. The covers, when there were any, were commonly of a flimsier colored stock. The type was usually small, a size corresponding to modern six-point or nonpareil being very common, though (happily for the eyes of their readers) there were some, like Bradford's handsome

[85] *General Magazine,* p. 356 (May, 1741). See illustration opposite p. 34.

[86] Richard Hurt Thornton, in his unpublished University of Chicago dissertation on *The Periodical Press and Literary Currents in England, 1785-1802,* points out that there were hundreds of imitations of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in England before 1800 (p. 2). It is interesting to note that Dr. Thornton gives three hundred as the approximate number of magazines founded in England between 1785 and 1802; the number in America reaches about one-third of that total in the same years.

[87] Franklin's *General Magazine* was a duodecimo with a type page which measured 2⅞ by 5⅞ inches.

American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle, which used type about ten-point in size. It was a matter of pride to Mathew Carey when he reduced the size of his type in 1790 to give one-third more reading matter.

Of illustration in the early American magazines something has been said already. Like their London models, nearly all of them had woodcuts [88] for the title-pages or covers which accompanied each issue, and these were the first magazine illustrations. In 1744 the *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle* published a view of Boston engraved by James Turner as a part of its general title-page. In the *American Magazine, or General Repository* for February, 1769, there was a rude engraving by an unknown craftsman representing a fowling scene in Norway.

The first American magazine to be illustrated with any adequacy, however, was the *Royal American,* which planned to present its readers with two copperplate engravings in each number, and actually did publish twenty-two in its fifteen issues. Some of them were engraved by that Paul Revere who made a certain "midnight ride" famous in tradition "on the fifteenth of April, in Seventy-five," and some by Joseph Callender. Among Revere's plates were three somewhat Hogarthian political cartoons: "The able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught," in June, 1774; "The Mitred Minuet," called "The Dancing Bishops" in the table of contents, in October, 1774; and "A Certain Cabinet Junto," issued in January, 1775, as a frontispiece to the volume for that year. The first is the liveliest, and shows America half nude, held down by a judge in wig and robe while Parliament has the spout of a teapot in her mouth and forces her to drink. The army stands by with drawn swords; a female figure hides her eyes, while two courtiers stand near and make sport of the scene. Boston is cannonaded in the distance.[89]
(See illustration opposite page 36.)

Robert Aitken, who was himself an engraver, produced most of

[88] At least two, the *Royal American* and the *Pennsylvania Magazine,* used type-metal cuts. See Thomas, *op. cit.,* II, 260, and F. Weitenkampf, *American Graphic Art* (New York, 1924), p. 47.

[89] This is not the same engraving as the dignified symbolic composition "America Swallowing the Bitter Draught" by Revere, which is reproduced in Weitenkampf, *op. cit.,* opposite page 208.

A POLITICAL CARTOON BY PAUL REVERE

This is one of a series of engravings on copper by the father of the American political cartoon. It appeared in the *Royal American Magazine* for June, 1774. Its application to the dispute over the reception of taxed tea is obvious.

the plates for his *Pennsylvania Magazine,* though some of its twenty engravings were by James Poupard. There were a few portraits, and a few pictures of military interest, though most of the plates represented various mechanical contrivances. The *Boston Magazine,* begun immediately after the war, had an ambitious program; it aimed to print two plates with each number, and actually did issue twenty-seven in its first volume. John Norman, who was one of the earliest American exponents of the unedifying "mixed manner," in which stipple and line engraving were dished up together, was the *Boston's* chief engraver, and did many portraits of Revolutionary heroes. John Trenchard, another Philadelphia engraver, who had studied under James Smither, was one of the publishers of the *Columbian Magazine.* The *Columbian* began by publishing two or three plates with each issue, but later reduced the number greatly, and finally abandoned illustration altogether. Later magazines of the first period to use some engravings were Webster's *American Magazine;* Isaiah Thomas's *Massachusetts Magazine,* Samuel Hill engraver, whose subscribers objected to its attempt to substitute eight pages of text for the customary plate; the *New-York Magazine,* Isaac Scoles engraver; and the *Lady's Magazine,* which "submitted with all deference to the . . . fair daughters of Columbia" two plates by Thackara and Vallance, among other offerings. Revolutionary scenes, maps, and commanders were portrayed; views of cities and of nature, sometimes American, were given; and illustrations of mechanics were not infrequent. In general the work was crude in its three phases of drawing, engraving, and printing. The American craftsman suffered from the want of proper tools and presses. Some portraits are quite horrible, while scenes are often very wooden and artificial. There was much imitation of English designs, of course, and the lack of artists was keenly felt. "In answer to 'A Subscriber to the *New-York Magazine,*' who questioned 'the propriety of presenting Engravings copied from European prints,' " that periodical promised that "whenever our ingenious countrymen shall furnish us with sufficient materials, we shall cheerfully comply with the desire which *he* appears to intimate, and which is perfectly correspondent to *our* own wishes." This was at the beginning of 1794;

at the close of the year the *New-York Magazine* offers its thanks to "two ingenious correspondents in a neighboring city who have very obligingly furnished us with some accurate and very important designs for our engravings. We hope they will continue their favours; it will entitle them to the praise of having *deserved well of their country.*" [90] Such were the difficulties under which magazine illustration labored in the eighteenth century.

[90] *New-York Magazine,* Vol. V, p. iv of Preface, and p. 2 (January, 1794).

CHAPTER II

WHAT THE FIRST MAGAZINES PRINTED

ECLECTICISM

WHEN we turn to a consideration of the contents of the magazines from 1741 to 1794, we are impressed first by the extraordinary prevalence of the eclectic system. Probably at least three-fourths of the total contents of these magazines were extracted from books, pamphlets, newspapers, and other magazines, both English and American. Much the larger part of the selections was, of course, English. English books of travel, biography, and science gave up their choicest parts to the scissors of the magazine compiler. Whole pamphlets were appropriated: seven pamphlets were reprinted entire in the first volume of the *American Museum.* The newspapers, too, were rifled of the verse, Addisonian essays, informative articles, and other literary material with which they were liberally furnished, for the newspapers of the time were almost as literary as the magazines.[1] And a large amount came from other magazines—the *Gentleman's* and the *London Magazine,* and later the *Westminster* and the *European,* as well as some less known. When an editor hoisted the black flag of the magazine, he assumed the privilege of levying tribute upon all the other craft that sailed the literary seas. Nor was it any crime, or even misdemeanor: it was expected. It was not even necessary, thought many editors, to give credit to the original source; and it was not until after the Revolution that voices of protest were raised on the part of those who, having attempted more originality, found their prized "Original Contributions" immediately appropriated by less enterprising rivals.[2] Much the same conditions

[1] See Elizabeth Christine Cook, *Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers 1704-50* (New York, 1912), pp. 4-6. Dr. Thornton points out that the same condition obtained in England (Thornton, *op. cit.,* p. 20).

[2] Noah Webster in 1788 threatens legal action against those taking the articles of his *American Magazine,* I, 130 (February, 1788).

obtained wherever magazines were published. A writer whose work had been pirated in both the *Gentleman's* and the *London* writes to the latter magazine complaining not so much of the stealing as of the fact that the editor of the *Gentlemen's* 'so mangles and defaces what he steals that it is impossible their natural Parent should know them." [3]

Certain early American magazines became, on account of this borrowing from English periodicals, American in little more than name and imprint. The *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle,* for example, was devoted largely to political articles from English sources, and its tardy chronicle of the war with France in America was almost the only concession to Americanism. Even its sermons were by English preachers. As time passed there was more effort to introduce original matter. The *American Museum* says in its fourth volume, "The work lays little or no claim to originality"; [4] but later it introduced departments of "Original Prose" and "Original Poetry," and such material came eventually to occupy a third of its pages. The *Boston Magazine* claimed in 1785 that its proportion of original matter was equal to that of European magazines, namely, one-third.[5] Noah Webster began his *American Magazine* with the determination "to collect as many original Essays as possible; and particularly such as relate to this country." [6]

As a result of the pirating license, there was little recognition of property in literary works; and the prevailing anonymity added to the disregard of ownership. It is true that a few names may be found again and again in the eighteenth century magazines, almost always appended to reprinted articles—those of Timothy Pickering, Dr. Rush, Tench Coxe, Benjamin Franklin, the Connecticut Wits, Francis Hopkinson, Philip Freneau, Dr. Ladd, John Witherspoon, and so on. But for the most part, the pieces were either unsigned, or acknowledged by means of initials or such pen names as "Lucinda" or *"Vox Populi."*

In most of the magazines of the period there was much variety. The word *magazine* meant miscellany to most eighteenth century

[3] *London Magazine,* 1738 vol., p. 37 (January).
[4] *American Museum,* Preface to Vol. IV.
[5] *Boston Magazine,* Preface to Vol. II.
[6] *American Magazine,* I, 3 (December, 1787).

readers, and, with certain notable exceptions, the magazines maintained that tradition. Benjamin Mecom's quaint *New England Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* (1758) advertised its three numbers in the following verses:

> Old-fashioned writings, and Select Essays,
> Queer Notions, Useful Hints, Extracts from Plays,
> Relations Wonderful, and Psalm and Song,
> Good Sense, Wit, Humour, Morals, all *ding dong;*
> Poems and Speeches, Politicks and News,
> What *Some* will like, and other *Some* refuse;
> Births, Deaths, and Dreams, and Apparitions too;
> With some Thing suited to each different Geû,
> To Humour *Him,* and *Her,* and *Me,* and *You.*[7]

This is all *à la Gentleman's.* The *London* began publishing music occasionally before 1750, and the *Gentleman's* took up the practice in that year, while nearly all English magazines gave much attention to current news.

ESSAYS AND FICTION

The Addisonian essay was a chief stock in trade of the eighteenth century magazine. There was an immense treasury of English essay series to draw upon,[8] and there were many more or less original American series, as the "Timothy Timbertoe" letters in William Smith's *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle,* the "Worcester Speculator" in Isaiah Thomas's *Worcester Magazine,* the "Visitant" in Mathew Carey's *American Museum,* and Charles Brockden Brown's first identified work, "The Rhapsodist," in the *Columbian.* These series dealt much in comment upon manners, upon fashions and social life, upon morals and religion, and even upon politics; and they varied from dullness to slap-stick. They presented many "characters," and some brief tales.

[7] Quoted in Thomas, *op. cit.,* II, 258.

[8] Nathan Drake, in his *Essays Biographical, Critical and Historical, Illustrative of the Rambler, Adventurer and Idler* (London, 1805), lists 214 essay periodicals published in England during the hundred years beginning with 1709. Thornton, *op. cit.,* observes that "The *Spectator* served as a kind of model for nearly all periodicals for a hundred years" (p. 42).

In comparison with later magazines, however, fiction played a small part. There was a prejudice against novels which found expression in many essays and articles. One on "Character and Effects of Modern Novels" went the rounds; "Novels not only pollute the imaginations of young women," it is said, "but also give them false ideas of life. . . . Good sentiments scattered in loose novels render them the more dangerous."[9] Some short tales, however, find place in the magazines of our period; and some original work of this kind contributes to the rise of that form which came at length to be called, some seventy or eighty years after the end of our period, by the distinctive name "short story." These short stories were mainly of three kinds: character sketches, usually with the whole life-story of the hero or heroine narrated; sentimental tales, which were often very brief "fragments"; and oriental tales.

The character sketches were seldom unmodified Theophrastian "characters" like those of the seventeenth century in Europe; they differed from this form definitely in taking an individual rather than a type abstraction as subject, and in the narrative, which was often long. There is no doubt that the individualism in these sketches was sometimes pushed so far as to make them lampoons on actual persons. General Charles Lee in a letter to the *Pennsylvania Advertiser* exclaims, "I should think myself morally obliged, (if the scoundrel could be discovered) to cane thro' the public streets the author of that infamous ribaldry, which he is pleased to call characters, wherein so many respectable ladies are basely and cowardly traduced."[10] "Characters"—not commonly scurrilous—are found throughout the magazines of our period.

The sentimental tale was, of course, but one manifestation of the era of sensibility: we can follow the trail of "feeling" through essay, article, verse, and review. The author of "A Comparative View of the Tender and Delicate Heart" in the *Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's Magazine* says that "Everyone boasts of

[9] *Columbian Magazine*, VI, 225 (October, 1792). Also in *Weekly Magazine*, March 10, 1798, etc.

[10] Quoted in *United States Magazine*, I, 164 (May, 1779). Characters in this magazine are probably referred to.

having a heart tender and delicate, and even those who know themselves deficient therein, endeavor to persuade others that they possess those qualities."[11] And the *American Moral and Sentimental Magazine* (1797-98) was "calculated," we are told on the title-page, not only to "form the understanding," but to "improve the heart." Most of the leading magazines of our period utilized the short story to "improve the heart." The most striking of this class are the "fragments," of which this may serve as a typical example:

Lucilla:—A Fragment

******The conscious blush crimsoned her countenance—She started as she saw me. Lucilla, said I—sir, returned the unhappy fair.—Alas! I knew thee in better days—thy voice was musick to the ear—thy wit, the theme of every tongue. How is thine aspect altered! The sparkling eye hath lost its fires—the roses are faded—the lily is a sallow pale.—What mighty misfortunes have destroyed thee? Where is the cruel invader of thy peace? She sighed bitterly—the reply was candid like herself.—The attentions of Altamont you well know—He came from a distant state, and bare me triumphant from all his compeers. A few months possession sickened on his soul. Perdita spread the snare of destruction—Altamont entered her toils, and has left me to weep.

Deprest by too much sensibility of feeling, sorrow hath been drowned in factitious spirits—I have not the fortitude to resist—Pity, Oh pity me. My friend—Yes! tenderest pity shall be thine. I know thy parents, Lucilla, they shall forgive the errors of humanity, and clasp the returned prodigal to their beating bosoms. A gleam of joy illumined her features—it was transient as the colors of the bow. The remembrance of home was a dagger—it pointed to the heart.—Lucilla fainted—she awoke not again.—Peace be to thy soul—the dust shall lay light on thy errors—the tombstone record, that virtues, yes! many, were the inmates of the once virtuous Lucilla.

H.[12]

One of the most interesting of these "fragments" is the one called "Eugenio," which seems to have appeared originally in the

[11] *Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's Magazine,* I, 321 (August – September, 1789).

[12] *Massachusetts Magazine,* V, 22-23 (January. 1793)

American Museum, but which was widely copied. Eugenio is an officer in the American army, who "was ordered by his illustrious General to command a wing of the army at the battle of Brandywine." The treatment of Washington is characteristic of the times: he is not named, but he is "the great protector of the rights of mankind," and he "stands in the van—His voice, his looks, his gesture command respect. His bravery and conduct evince the general and the hero." Eugenio is wounded, and Emilia, who has been introduced to us as "formed by the hand of Nature, when she wished to exert her best efforts," banishing false delicacy, nurses him. But

> *Eugenio* dies!—Ah, reader! is it necessary any further to awaken thy sensibility? *Emilia,* the all-accomplished *Emilia,* bereft of all the faculties of her mind, a few days after the death of her *Eugenio,* expired in insanity, the victim of love!— [13]

In style and content these fragments all resemble Mackenzie and Sterne more or less closely. Sterne's influence is especially notable in the magazines; the *Massachusetts Magazine* reprints the Maria episode from *Tristram Shandy,* with an engraving; and there is a "Genuine letter by an officer of the late army, in the Shandean manner" [14] as well as a serial "History of Isaac Bickerstaff, Jr.," also Shandean, in Webster's *American Magazine.*[15]

The oriental tale is to be found frequently in Thomas's early *Royal American,* in the *Columbian,* in the later numbers of the *American Museum,* and in other periodicals. Usually such stories came from English magazines, which frequently had taken them from the French.[16] There are also some Gothic tales, and plentiful "anecdotes." The authors of all this short fiction are, for the most part, unknown.[17]

[13] *American Museum,* VIII, 200 (November, 1790). Also in *New-York Magazine,* IV, 158 (March, 1793).

[14] *Massachusetts Magazine* for August, 1793.

[15] *American Magazine,* I, 543 (July, 1788).

[16] Thornton, *supra,* p. 146.

[17] Francis Walsh, Jr., and George Murgatroyd Woodward are names signed to stories in the October, 1788, number of Webster's *American Magazine;* and John Carey, "A.B.," and "S.B.," are signed to *American Museum* stories.

MAGAZINE VERSE

The poetry was also varied. The classical forms of ode, pastoral, elegy, and satire were prominent in both the selected and original departments. There was something of Cowper here and there, but the English romantics were little known in this period. Satire was prominent, as might be expected in times so dominated by political discussion, and so under the influence, moreover, of a school which had produced the *Dunciad* and which, toward the end of our period, was putting forth the *Rolliad* and the *Anti-Jacobin*. "The *Cornwalliad*, an Heroi-comic Poem" ran through several issues of Brackenridge's *United States Magazine* in 1779. It was probably written by the editor. It began:

> I sing the prowess of that martial chief,
> Who bravely patient bore a weight of grief,
> On that sad eve that closed the march he made
> From Trenton hills to Brunswic, retrograde.[18]

It is rather uninspired, and probably belongs in the category of Brackenridge's verse which General Lee called "damnable." Trumbull's *M'Fingal* was reprinted in the first volume of the *American Museum*, and his *Tom Brainless* in Webster's *American Magazine*. Much, indeed, from the Hartford Wits was republished in these magazines, in the *New-York Magazine*, and in others.

Other American poets somewhat less under the classical influence are found much in the magazines. "The late Doctor Ladd," about whose memory clung a special interest because of his death in a duel at the age of twenty-two, was much praised and reprinted. Thomas Godfrey was another poet who had died young and full of promise; his odes were published in the *American Magazine*, edited by his former teacher, William Smith. Philip Freneau's poems are among the most notable original contributions to the American magazines of this period. He was introduced by the *United States Magazine*, whose editor says of him: "We are persuaded the public must be pleased with everything

[18] *United States Magazine*, I, 133 (March, 1779).

from that gentleman."[19] Francis Hopkinson's poems appeared in magazines and newspapers here and there, and were much reprinted.

"Magazine poetry has usually been considered as synonymous with the most trivial and imperfect attempts at verse-writing," wrote Editor Thomas Condie in his *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine;*[20] and certainly there was a large amount of banal verse in American periodicals. The following lines, taken quite at random from a New Year's address by "Alexis" to "Miss ———" constitute the first stanza of a poem which is representative enough of much that was published:

> Another year, MATILDA, now is past,
> While many friends have gone to realms above;
> May we improve this better than the last,
> And realize more friendship, joy and love.[21]

Not a little was decidedly more bombastic than this, if no less jejune. These introductory lines to an elegy "On the Death of the Rev. *Joseph Howe,* late pastor of the new south church, Boston" are also chosen at random but represent very fairly the bombast common to the eighteenth century elegy:

> Round the proud vaults, where kings and heroes sleep,
> While trophies wave and sculptur'd cherubs weep;
> Say, shall not friendship, grateful to her own,
> O'er modest merit rear an humble stone:
> Ye shapeless rocks receive the once lov'd name,
> And rise a rustic monument of fame![22]

POLITICAL WRITING

But the magazines of the fifty-odd years from 1741 to 1794 were, truth to tell, more concerned with informational articles than with *belles-lettres,* with the forum than with Helicon. And conformably to the popular interests of the period, a chief topic was politics. It may be seen merely by a glance at the subtitles

[19] *United States Magazine,* October, 1779.
[20] *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine,* Preface, Vol. I.
[21] *New-York Magazine,* IV, 185 (March, 1793).
[22] *Boston Magazine,* I, 391 (July, 1784).

of the early magazines that at least one of their main purposes was to present current political matters. The two pioneer Philadelphia ventures set the example by devoting most of their pages to political documents: the *American Magazine* printed very little else, and the *General Magazine* gave much more than half its space to such material. The latter reflected especially its proprietor's interest in the currency problem, but both these magazines gave little of argument and much of documents. In the *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle* there was more argument, but it was all taken from English sources and consisted largely of defence of the French war. But when Provost Smith's *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle* raised its voice in 1757, there was such clear and bold speaking as did the American heart good:

> We shall think it our duty to give our readers such an authentic account of every thing relating to their own happiness and safety, as a *free people* have a right to expect; and, as we are independent in our situation, no power whatsoever shall either awe or influence us, in the discharge of so essential a part of our engagements with the public. . . . [The articles published shall] tend to promote *peace and good government, industry,* and *public spirit,* a *love* of LIBERTY and our excellent constitution. . . .[23]

The sequel to this preface was the publication of much comment and discussion of measures of defence against the French and Indians. "The pencil of fancy is not necessary to paint the calamities of my countrymen," exclaims "The Planter" in his second essay, and he goes on to tell of "murthers committed on the innocent and unarmed, a scene of horror and barbarity not to be exaggerated."[24] This magazine also discusses British and European affairs in its papers, and prints the articles of "Anti-gallican," who avows himself "an irreconcilable foe to *French* power, *French* customs, *French* policy, and every species of *Slavery.*"

There was a deal of politics and some plain speaking in the weekly *Independent Reflector,* which was published for a year in

[23] *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle,* I, 5-6 (October, 1757).
[24] *Ibid.,* I, 82 (November, 1757).

New York, beginning Nov. 30, 1752; Judge Robert R. Livingston, later a determined opponent of the stamp tax, wrote for it. A third or more of Judge Nevill's *New American* was devoted to a "Historical Chronicle" of 1758-60, composed largely of current political events. The Boston *Censor,* of 1771-72, was chiefly devoted to a defence of the British administration in Massachusetts: Isaiah Thomas thought that Lieutenant Governor Andrew Oliver and Dr. Benjamin Church were leading contributors to it.[25] Thomas's own *Royal American* contained some politics on the patriot side, including the effective cartoons of Paul Revere. Samuel Adams and John Hancock, the two patriots who were soon to be excepted from General Gage's proclamation of amnesty for their "flagitious conduct," were honored by the publication of their portraits in this magazine—rather flagitious portraits, it must be admitted. Editor Thomas, a sturdy patriot and an indefatigable printer, is one of the outstanding figures in our early magazine history. He was not afraid to unfurl the banner of freedom, and wave it vigorously. While the proportion of politics in his magazine was not large, every issue contained some advocacy of the patriot cause: now it was a speech of John Hancock's, now a "Character of an American Patriot," now a "Song on Liberty," now one of Revere's pictures; or, if none of these appears, there may be an outburst of patriotism in the record of current events. In May, 1774, there was a Liberty Song the refrain of which ran, with variations:

Huzza! huzza! huzza! huzza! for free America.[26]

It was in the next month, and the last number under Thomas's control, that the Boston correspondence began as follows:

Tell it in *Gath* publish it in *Askelon,* that the Boston port-bill, in all its parts is now carrying into execution and that Boston is thereby put into greater distress, and is more insulted by an English armament than she ever was by a French or Spanish fleet, in the hottest war, when left without one British ship for protection.—— The town is become a spectacle to *angels* and *men,* GOD grant that it

[25] Thomas, *op. cit.,* II, 259.
[26] *Royal American Magazine,* I, 192 (May, 1774).

may not be intimidated by the present horrors to make a surrender of the rights of Americans.[27]

The war magazines are filled with the echoes of the conflict, and especially with attacks upon the tories. The *Pennsylvania Magazine* follows the war month by month, and its last number, appearing in July, 1776, contains the Declaration of Independence. Enough has been said already, perhaps, of the *United States Magazine's* contents in prose and verse to show its reaction to the political events of its single year. It may be noted in passing that the currency problem was acute in war times. A verse "filler" in Brackenridge's magazine runs:

> How, var'ously, may one dispose
> Hard dollars, guineas, and half-joes
> Promisc'ously, five score;
> So that their full amount may be,
> In Pennsylvania currency,
> One hundred pounds: no more? [28]

The prominent magazines of the years after the war also gave much attention to politics. The first number of the *American Museum* contained Benjamin Rush's "The Revolution Is Not Over," along with Franklin's "Consolation for America" and the supposed confession of a farmer that his own extravagance was the reason for the hard times he was experiencing—all three very incisive comments on American post-war difficulties. The *Worcester Magazine* has much of such comment. In it "An Old Man" gives a familiar explanation of the basis of the troubles:

> When I consider what lengths we have run in extravagance, idleness, intemperance, and inattention to those arts and employments which, while they enrich individuals, aggrandize a nation—when I consider the corrupt and licentious manners that prevail—when I consider the decay of public spirit and virtue, and the want of faith between man and man, I am astonished, that our calamities are not greater than they are . . ." [29]

[27] *Ibid.*, I, 235-36 (June, 1774).
[28] *United States Magazine*, I, 132 (February, 1779).
[29] *Worcester Magazine*, III, 106 (Last week of May, 1787).

The *Worcester Magazine* is one of the best sources for the history of Shays' Rebellion; there that inglorious war is fought over again. The "Report of the Committee for pardoning Persons concerned in the Rebellion" made to the General Court fixes the causes of the uprising thus:

> The result of this inquiry has been a conviction, that among a variety of causes which have been co-operating to produce so much evil, publick and private debts, and the latter especially, have been the most operative;—and that an undue use of articles of foreign manufacture, has been the principal cause of this accumulation of debts.[30]

But the electors of the town of New Braintree, in the center of the disaffected region, expressed their opinion upon the causes of the distresses in a set of instructions to their state representatives, who were directed to use their influence "to limit the number of attorneys, paying them out of the publick treasury; to abolish the courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions; to remove the General Court from Boston; to continue the private debt moratorium; to cease grants to Harvard College"; and so on.[31]

It was after the constitutional convention had been called that the *Worcester Magazine* republished from a Boston newspaper the following summary of conditions:

> We cannot look back, without terror, upon the dangers we have escaped.—Our country has stood on the verge of ruin. Divided against itself; the ties of common union dissolved; all parties claiming authority, and refusing obedience; every hope of safety, except one, has been extinguished, and that has rested solely upon the prudence and firmness of our rulers. . . . It is a period of adversity. We are in debt to foreigners: Large sums are due internally. Our publick debt is formidable: The taxes are in arrear, and are accumulating. Manufacturers are destitute of materials, capital and skill. Agriculture is despondent: Commerce bankrupt. These are themes for factious clamour, more than sufficient to rekindle the rebellion.[32]

[30] *Ibid.*, III, 72 (2d week of May, 1787).
[31] *Ibid.*, III, 132 (2d week of June, 1787).
[32] *Ibid.*, III, 3 (1st week of April, 1787). Signed "Camillus" in *Boston Independent Chronicle.*

However interested the people were in the proceedings of the constitutional convention, all they could do was to pray for it, for its sessions were secret: "May guardian angels protect and endue them with wisdom," writes "Civis." [33] Wild reports were circulated that the convention was setting up a monarchical government.[34] The *jeu d'esprit* of the *Vermont Gazette* picturing the royal progress of George I from Philadelphia northward in 1810 was reprinted here and there.[35] The king was represented in this satire as having to avoid Rhode Island. "Little Rhody" had to "run the gauntlet of contempt through all the states" for her refusal to join in the convention.[36] A parable went the rounds about twelve brothers who had a hard time until they made common cause and helped each other. "The thirteenth, who refused to accompany his brothers, after living a miserable life for three years by himself in the woods, was found hanging by his garter to the limb of a tree, near his cabin." At last the proposed constitution was divulged; it was printed in the *American Museum* in September, 1787, with favorable comment on its provisions by Tench Coxe.

The *Museum* gave much more space to the debate over the constitution than any other magazine, though Webster's *American Magazine* printed much of Federalist trend. The *Museum* tried to present both sides, but its real attitude was seen when its editor burst into verse on the subject:

> EFFICIENT GOV'RNMENT may we see
> Establish'd here, this land to free
> From threat'ning wars and anarchy! [37]

A travesty on the anti-constitution arguments, by H. H. Brackenridge, was reprinted in the *Museum* from the *Pittsburgh Gazette*. This famous wit complained that the sex of the president was not provided for, so that the country might "have an *old woman* at the head of our affairs." But the worst is the lack of a bill of

[33] *Ibid.*, III, 230 (Last week of July, 1787).
[34] *Ibid.*, III, 290 (4th week of August, 1787). New York Correspondence dated August 7.
[35] *Ibid.*, III, 216 (4th week of July, 1787).
[36] *Ibid.*, III, 230 (Last week of July, 1787).
[37] *American Museum*, II, 411 (October, 1787). From Carey, "Prayer of an American Citizen."

rights. "I would submit to any candid man, if in this constitution there be the least provision for the privilege of shaving the beard? or is there any mode laid down to take the measure of a pair of breeches?" So he runs on.[38] The "Federalist" papers were republished in the *Museum* beginning in October, 1787, and Hopkinson's characteristic allegory "The New Roof," in August of the following year. Carey lost subscribers on both sides. "The discussion has been attended with such heat and animosity as to be regretted," he writes.[39]

Party politics after the establishment of the federal union also found some place in the *Museum*. The *Columbian* had reported the debates in the Pennsylvania state convention (with anti-federal bias, thought some irate subscribers and contributors[40]), and afterward it published the proceedings of Congress; in 1790 it began its "Political Register," thus extending its political news reports. The *Museum* got into the thick of the discussion over the national bank, which Carey favored.[41] In 1792 it thus defined the state of party division:

> By tories are meant the opponents of this country, from among her own citizens during the late war. . . . by anti-federalists are meant those who opposed the general adoption of the constitution . . . By aristocrats I understand a term of late importation from France by which is meant in the old countries the admirers of . . . the orders of nobility . . . By opposers of the bank and funding systems, I understand those, who, while these measures were debated in congress, gave them opposition. . . .[42]

Washingtonolatry (the phenomenon seems to demand a neologism) is to be noted in all the magazines; in it poets and prosemen coöperated.

> Illustrious patriot, hero, sage,
> Ordained to save a future age
> Before Columbia's birth; . . .

[38] *Ibid.*, III, 364 (April, 1788).
[39] *Ibid.*, Preface to Vol. III, p. xvi.
[40] See Albert H. Smyth, *The Philadelphia Magazines and Their Contributors 1741-1850* (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 66.
[41] *American Museum*, XII, 108-11 (August, 1792).
[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 104-106.

Grand base of freedom's fed'rate dome,
More glorious far than Greece or Rome,
The noblest man on earth,[43]

sang one bard in the *Massachusetts Magazine*. The more famous tributes of Humphreys, Barlow, Phillis Wheatley, and others were frequently reprinted, and when Washington's name was printed it was usually in either small capitals or large ones. Richard Lee makes sport in his *American Universal Magazine* of lines which he says (and we need not doubt) were submitted to him, beginning,

Hail great WASHINGTON the tribute due to thee
Is more than Can be rhymed by me.

"Doth the poet seek a pension?" asks Lee, "or doth he aspire to the Laureate-ship?—Tell us thou favourite of the tuneful Nine?" [44]

Allied to the careful and documentary treatment of current events was the attention to past history shown by some of the magazines of the early period. Nevill's *New American Magazine* printed a serial compilation called "The History of North America," and the *Royal American Magazine* followed its example. The *Royal American* also reprinted much of Governor Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts Bay*. The *Universal Asylum*, a continuation of the *Columbian*, was chiefly devoted to a history of the Revolution; and the *Museum* printed much of such material in its later numbers.

The preoccupation with politics in the magazines of this period is not due wholly to the dominant temper of the times; the conception of the purpose of the magazine placed it much closer to

[43] *Massachusetts Magazine*, V, 181 (March, 1793). [I have taken slight liberties with this stanza in order to condense it.—F.L.M.]

[44] *American Universal Magazine*, verso of title-page for January 23, 1797. It may be noted that Washington was much eulogized in English magazines also. See Thornton, *op. cit.*, p. 160. Dr. J. Aikin's sonnet was widely printed in England. It ends:

"O would the muse immortal strains inspire,
That high beyond all Greek and Roman fame
Might soar to times unborn thy purer, nobler name."

the newspaper than was the case later. It has been pointed out that newspapers printed much literary material; it is true conversely that magazines published much news. When Isaiah Thomas transformed his *Massachusetts Spy* into the *Worcester Magazine* in 1786 to escape the stamp tax on newspapers, he had to alter little besides the size of the page; and the result was as much a magazine as any periodical published. Nearly every magazine had its "Monthly Chronology," or other current events department; local births, marriages, and deaths were usually recorded, often prices current were given, and nearly always there were meteorological tables. This was all in conformity with the English practice.

LITERARY AND DRAMATIC CRITICISM

As to the more literary field of criticism, it was tilled but little; and that little by workmen from over-seas. In Franklin's *General Magazine,* the pages dedicated to book reviews were usually occupied by a reprint of a sermon or other juiceless dissertation. Franklin abandoned the department after two numbers. The *Columbian* made a specialty of reviewing American publications beginning June, 1790, and there were special articles of a review nature; but the art of reviewing was, generally speaking, unpracticed in America before Charles Brockden Brown's *Monthly Magazine* of 1799. Of course, there were few American publications to review.

Very much the same comment may be made in respect to dramatic criticism. "The Antigallican," one of the essayists in the *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle,* remarks in 1757, in speaking of *Operas, Plays, Ridottos, Masquerados, &c.:* "If, in this detach'd quarter of the globe, we are, as yet, strangers to these names, and to the things meant by them, 'tis one circumstance of our felicity. May we always continue to be so!"[45] The same magazine reprints much of the controversy in England over the propriety of the Rev. Mr. Home's *Douglas.* But the drama did not "continue to be" excluded from the western world. An ironical Virginian who thought the money scarcity of the eighties was psychological is quoted in the *Museum:* "Though

[45] *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle,* I, 117 (December, 1757).

'the *American company of comedians*' condescended to spend the last two winters in this state—yet, such was the '*prodigious scarcity of money,*' that their audience seldom exceeded 200—though tickets were sold at the moderate price of one dollar." [46] The New York correspondent of the *Worcester Magazine* has this account of an event epochal in the history of American drama:

On Monday evening last, for the first, and last evening for the second time, was performed, at the theatre in this city, amid continued roars of applause, a COMEDY (composed by an American) called the CONTRAST. . . . An American comick production, is a novelty—therefore it was pleasing . . . this is not the whole truth—the piece has merit, and it will not be denied, that *merit* with *novelty,* forces applause, whereas *novelty* without *merit,* simply attains it. . . . It may be said that many subjects might have better occupied the leisure hours of the author—but when the publick are informed, that he just left the active field of MARS, where he aided the rescuing of the invaluable constitution of Massachusetts, from its audacious invaders, *the rebels of Massachusetts*—and was in this city, on business that could not occupy his whole time, they cannot but be grateful that he has sacrificed a part of it, in adding to their rational amusements.

The writer then names "ROYAL TYLER, Esq.; of Boston, *Attorney at Law,* and late *Aid de Camp* to the Hon. Major General Lincoln" as the "author of the truly sentimental entertainment." [47] There came to be some publication of dramatic pieces in magazines before the end of the period: the *Massachusetts Magazine* printed William Dunlap's *The Father* in October and November, 1789. The *New-York Magazine* was more friendly to the theater than any of its contemporaries. It printed an interesting "Inside View of the New Theatre, Philadelphia" in April, 1794, showing entrances from the first gallery on the apron of the stage, benches running the entire width of the pit without interruption by aisles, and three long tiers of boxes. This theater had opened February 17, 1794, with an English company headed by Thomas Wig-

[46] *American Museum,* II, 44 (July, 1787).
[47] *Worcester Magazine,* III, 61 (1st week of May, 1787). The author himself spelled his first name *Royall.*

nell: Wignell and Reinagle were the managers.[48] In November of this year the *New-York Magazine* began its department called "The Theatrical Register," which ran for a year and a half, or through April, 1796. This series of reviews of the New York stage was probably written by William Dunlap,[49] and is the most important body of dramatic criticism in an eighteenth century magazine.

RELIGION

The theater was opposed largely for religious reasons, and religion furnished an important part of magazine contents. Most of the early magazines published sermons occasionally in some guise or other, and a few were devoted largely to homiletical literature. Franklin, a deist, paid much attention in his *General Magazine* to theological controversies centering about Whitefield and the Rev. Gilbert Tennant. Paine, editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine,* was also a deist; William Smith, of the *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle,* was an Episcopal clergyman; and Mathew Carey, of the *Museum,* was a Catholic and dedicated his Volume VII to the Bishop of Baltimore. Five religious magazines existed in the period, including the *Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's.*[50] There were many clerical contributors to the general magazines, and heresies were pretty strictly banned. A letter from a Frenchman on public art in the United States, published in the *Columbian Magazine,* gratuitously attacked the Puritan Sunday; and, worse, there was an editorial note attached to it opposing the thirty-six-hour Sabbath once proposed in New England. This all drew the fire of the orthodox in subsequent numbers.[51] Voltaire was given considerable attention in the magazines, both before and after his death in 1778; doubtless part of the interest in him was of that morbid kind which attaches to the deathbeds of the damned.

[48] See Arthur Hobson Quinn, *A History of the American Drama* (New York, 1923), p. 82, for a brief description of this theater on Chestnut, above Sixth Street.

[49] See Mary Rives Bowman, "Dunlap and 'The Theatrical Register' of the *New-York Magazine,*" in *Studies in Philology,* XXIV, 413-25 (July, 1927).

[50] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 112-13.

[51] *Columbian Magazine,* I, 542 (July, 1787). Also p. 861 (December).

COMMENT ON SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Social customs, manners, fashions, reforms, and such topics were the traditional subject matter of the periodical essayist; but many special articles are devoted to them also. The *Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's Magazine* reprints Lord Chesterfield's letters serially, whether for the benefit of the Christian, the scholar, or the farmer deponent sayeth not. There is, of course, much of women's dress—a perennial magazine subject—and something of men's dress. "Jack Flash" boasts in the *Columbian:*

> My hair throws nearly half a pound of powder daily in the most graceful manner over one of the most fashionable coats, the cape of which is so excessively high that it hides, by an admirable contrivance, two of the largest ears any citizen can boast of. . . . About a yard and a half of ribband to each of my knees affords a most superb bow-knot, and falls elegantly over a pair of patent silk stockings. My buckles, you may be certain, are sufficiently large. . . . But, Mr. Editor, what I pride myself in is my strut . . . The strut of the turkeycock is but a faint symbol of its majesty.[52]

Duelling comes in for some discussion, as it had in the old *Spectator*. The *Columbian* prints a sincere defence of the custom, to which an answer is forthcoming in the next number.[53] The *Museum* also discusses this subject, as well as "the mischievous effects of spirituous liquors." "The vice of swearing" suffers castigation; "common swearers give their souls to the devil gratis, having no pleasure in return for it," says a writer in the *Boston Magazine*.[54]

Negro slavery is much noticed by some of the magazines. Provost Smith's *American* has a defence of it in 1758, but the *Museum* and the *Columbian* give many pages to the other side of the question, as does the *Moral and Sentimental Magazine* a few years later. Indeed the attitude toward the problem is prevailingly sentimental rather than rational. Stories of the sufferings of slaves are the stock in trade: the *Museum* quotes

[52] *Ibid.*, I, 749 (November, 1787).
[53] *Ibid.*, IV, 227 (April, 1790). Also p. 273 (May).
[54] *Boston Magazine*, I, 386 (July, 1784).

Crèvecoeur's story of the Negro in the cage from the *Letters,* with comment,[55] and in another number Timothy Dwight's "Picture of African Distress." It prints too, in 1791, a serial story from the French called "The Negro Equalled by Few Europeans," as well as the constitution and list of officers of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, of which Franklin was president.[56] The "Imaginary Speech of a Negro to the House of Commons" found its way into Webster's *American Magazine,*[57] and the *Columbian* prints the ninth of the English William Dickson's *Letters on Slavery.*[58] Similar in impulse are the papers of the Philadelphia Prison Society, which find a haven in the *Museum.*

A social phenomenon of the times was the popular opposition to the professional classes. This arose largely from the feeling in the hard times after the war that lawyers, doctors, and even the clergy were a useless extravagance. "Every state must have a bishop—every town a lawyer—and every parish two or three great surgeons and doctors," said one observer bitterly.[59] Against the lawyers the people had the added grievance that they were active in the collection of debts. But "An Industrious Man," writing in the *Museum,* that textbook of the economics of the time, said:

> Lawyers, too, are squeezed into the catalogue of grievances. Why, sir, lawyers are a consequence,—not a cause—of public evils. They grow out of the laziness, dilatoriness in payment of debts, breaches of contract, and other vices of the people—just as mushrooms grow out of dunghills in a shower.[60]

The prints were full of lampoons on the lawyers. The *Worcester Magazine* quotes an epitaph on Lord Strange, who was a lawyer:

> Here lies an honest lawyer—
> And that's—*Strange.*[61]

[55] *American Museum,* I, 209-11 (March, 1787).
[56] *Ibid.,* I, 388-89 (May, 1787).
[57] *American Magazine,* I, 377 (May, 1788).
[58] *Columbian Magazine,* IV, 18-23 (January, 1790).
[59] *American Museum,* V, 46 (January, 1789).
[60] *Ibid.,* I, 115 (February, 1787).
[61] *Worcester Magazine,* III, 147 (3d week of June, 1787).

One ground of complaint against the doctors was found in the popular belief that they robbed the graveyards to obtain bodies for dissection. When a limb was seen hanging out of the window of a New York hospital "to dry," a "mobility" collected and stormed the institution.[62] Some months later the state legislature passed a law against disinterment. Further, a Maryland physician protests against the "indiscriminate admission of men into the practice of physic" in his state, when doctors are licensed in New York, New Jersey, and Delaware.[63]

ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

As in every period of financial stringency, the people were assured that extravagance was at the root of the trouble; this argument never fails to appear on such occasions, and with some show of correctness. "Peter Pickpenny" in Webster's *American,* "An Industrious Man" in the *Museum,* and many others descanted against extravagance in the hard times after the Revolution. The newspapers and magazines in the last ten years of our period were full of thrift talk. Here is one piece that went the rounds:

> Mr. Printer, I saw a man the other day crying a bushel or two of flaxseed. Flaxseed is a cash article—and cash pays taxes. The man wanted cash to pay his taxes—he *must* have cash—but, mr. Printer, half an hour afterwards, I saw him half drunk, and his saddle bags filled with coffee. But, sir, coffee pays no taxes.
>
> Another, a few days ago, brought a lamb to market.—lambs command cash, and cash pays taxes—but the good countryman went to a store, and bought a feather,—five shillings for a feather, mr. Printer—and feathers pay no taxes. Is it not a *grievance,* sir, that feathers, and ribands, and coffee, and new rum will not pay taxes? . . .
>
> Let every person, whether farmer, mechanic, lawyer, or doctor, provide a small box (*a small box* will be big enough), with a hole in the lid. When he receives a shilling, let him put sixpence into the box, and use the other sixpence in providing for his family—not for rum or feathers, but good bread and meat. Let this box

[62] *American Museum,* III, 389-90 (April, 1788). See McMasters, *History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1897), I, 28, footnote.

[63] *Ibid.,* V, 25-26 (January, 1789).

remain untouched until the collector shall call. Then let it be opened—the tax paid—and the overplus of cash may be expended on gauze, ribands, tea and New England rum. Let the box then be put in its place again, to receive pence for the next collector. This method, mr. Printer, will redress all grievances, without the trouble, noise and expence of town meetings, conventions and mobs.[64]

"Labour," asserted "Mark Leavenworth" in the *Museum*, "is from about twelve to twenty per cent higher in Connecticut than in England"; moreover, living expenses are "higher in England, on the average, by perhaps about one-fourth."[65] The salvation of the country seemed to many to lie in the growth of American manufactures and the boycotting of foreign manufactures; there were societies organized for those purposes, such as the Philadelphia "Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts," to which the magazines of that city gave much attention. In Wilmington the "principal inhabitants" signed the following pledge:

In the first day of January next (1788) we will appear in a complete dress of the manufacture of one or more of the united states, at a general meeting to be held that day.

We will encourage and promote, as much as we reasonably can, the use of American manufactures, by giving them the preference to foreign articles, when there is any reasonable proportion between their prices and goodness.[66]

The *Universal Asylum* sets forth the state of household manufactures in 1791 very interestingly. A survey of twenty Virginia families had shown $1,670.25 worth of cloth made "in the family way," and it is estimated that twenty million dollars' worth of home manufactures are produced annually in the United States.

There is scarcely a family in the state of Connecticut so rich or so poor as not assiduously to attend to domestic manufactures. . . . Made in the family way, by persons engaged in the cultivation of

[64] *Ibid.*, I, 115 (February, 1787).
[65] *Ibid.*, V, 48 (January, 1789).
[66] *Ibid.*, III, 103-4 (January, 1788).

the earth, are woolen and linen cloths, including sail-cloth; bed-ticks, some cotton goods, hosiery, nails and spikes, some silk buttons, handkerchiefs, ribands, and stuffs, sewing silk, threads, fringe, and pot and pearly ashes. . . . The sale of spinning-wheel irons, *in one shop* in the city of Philadelphia, in the course of the last year, has amounted to 1,500 sets. . . . The quantity sold is twenty-nine per cent greater than in any former year. Nail making is frequently a kind of household business in New England, a small anvil being no inconvenience in the corner of a farmer's chimney. Bad weather, hours of disengagement from the occupations of the farm, and evenings, are thus rendered seasons of steady and profitable industry.[67]

It was thus that the people worked themselves out of their troubles. Agriculture and mechanics received no little attention in practically every magazine of the period. Only one carried the name "Farmer" in its title, but nearly all spoke of farmers in their prospectuses. The proceedings of the various state agricultural societies furnished a large proportion of the magazines' farm material, which was chiefly devoted to suggestions of new methods, implements, and crops. The efforts to raise mulberry trees for silk culture, and vineyards for wine, are among the recurring topics. More general scientific discussions have some space. The *Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's* has a serial dissertation on natural history—but then, it had dissertations on nearly everything: it simply oozed information. The *Pennsylvania Magazine* reflects its editor's interest in mechanics and acquaintance with scientists. A surprising amount of health hints and commentary on diseases is also to be found in most magazines, a great deal of it quaint and curious. Drinking cold water when one is warm is mortally dangerous;[68] "blood-letting has often relieved consumptions";[69] blowing tobacco smoke into the lungs of a drowned person may restore him;[70] purging with calomel and rhubarb is the best cure for rickets.[71] Dr. Benjamin

[67] *Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine,* III, 328-32 (November, 1791). This is taken from a supplement to *A Brief Examination of Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the United States.* The *Brief Examination* had been published serially in the *Museum* in the same year.

[68] *Boston Magazine,* I, 368 (July, 1784).

[69] *American Museum,* V, 247 ff. (March, April, 1789). Dr. Rush on pulmonary consumption. This relief is valuable only in "removing trouble symptoms."

[70] *Royal American Magazine,* I, 100 (March, 1774).

[71] *Ibid.,* I, 340 (September, 1774).

Rush in the *Museum* and other magazines, Dr. Thomas Young in the *Royal American,* and other physicians in other magazines did some service in spreading popular medical knowledge. Dr. Young advocates purging and bleeding for nearly everything. He has this paragraph on fevers:

> The notion that a fever is the instrument of nature to keep all things in order in the human system, is a perfect chimera. Fevers in general are caused by some acrid matter stimulating the sensible parts, and drawing them into contractions. If these contractions be alternate and hastened, a fever ensues; if great and continued, a spasm, cramp, and in some cases a total cessation of motion. In warm habits the fever more generally takes place, in the cold, spasms. The skilful physician will always satisfy himself whether the greater quantity of the offending matter lies in the stomach and bowels, or has yet made its way into the blood vessels. In the first mentioned case he will thoroughly empty them, though perhaps with the gentler purges of the cooling kind: In the latter he will freely use his lancet; and that upon the first rise of the fever or as nigh to it as possible.[72]

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

An interest in American antiquities may be said to correspond to the English curiosity about the past which was characteristic of the times. Webster's *American Magazine* had frequent contributions on this subject, many of which were undoubtedly written by the editor. A similar curiosity was satisfied in the *New-York Magazine* and the *Columbian* by many pages of travel articles, derived chiefly from books old and new; this is a common kind of miscellany.

Webster's magazine is also strong in articles on education. Its editor pleads for less attention to dead languages in the schools; indeed, he would have the language work confined chiefly to English, thinking French, for example, unnecessary. He wishes grammar made interesting, favors electives, and opposes the use of the Bible in schools. He advocates strict discipline, and condemns the employment of one master to teach many subjects. Foreign travel is deprecated: see America first. A writer in the *Columbian* censures Webster for his position

[72] *Ibid.,* I, 98 (March, 1774).

against the Bible in schools,[73] though the *Columbian* itself had printed an article in which similar views had been expressed the year before.[74] In the *Columbian's* first volume one writer had declared that "the heart ought to be the chief object of attention"; yet reading, spelling, arithmetic, geography, and grammar are to be the basis of the curriculum, and vocal music and drawing (which take less time than the merely ornamental French and instrumental music) may be added. Plays are to be "read with caution," and novels are "a dangerous sort of reading." Richardson's works, and Fielding's *Amelia* and *Tom Jones* are "the least exceptionable" of their kind, but the reading of history, sermons, and the Bible would be better.[75] The *Columbian* also published Dr. Rush on "Amusements and Punishments in Schools": the amusements should fit for future employments, and there should be no corporal punishment. This latter opinion differed from that of President Witherspoon, whose letters on education were widely reprinted, with their emphasis on discipline and religious training. The *Museum* gave these letters to its readers, as also Dr. Rush's "Design for a Federal University" intended to prepare for civil and public life,[76] and Francis Hopkinson's University of Pennsylvania address in which he opposed the study of ancient languages on the grounds that the "languages most in use are in truth the most useful to be known."[77] The *Museum* was an advocate of public schools:

> From public schools shall gen'ral knowledge flow,
> For 'tis the people's sacred right—to know.[78]

One phase of the educational problem upon which all magazines commented was that which was commonly called "female education." It is conformable to a similar interest in England, where "the old system of training for the society of man and

[73] *Columbian Magazine,* V, 253 (October, 1790). Webster replies in N.S. IV, 191, 259.
[74] *Ibid.,* III, 296-301 (May, 1789).
[75] *Ibid.,* I, 642-46 (September, 1787).
[76] *American Museum,* IV, 442 (November, 1788).
[77] *Ibid.,* III, 541 ff. (June, 1788).
[78] *Ibid.,* XI, 298 (June, 1792).

household duties was beginning to give way."[79] It was to be a long time, however, before that system would lose much of its popular favor. "Due cultivation of the female mind would add greatly to the happiness of the gentlemen, and still more to that of the ladies," asserted a writer in the *Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's Magazine* in 1789.[80] But what curriculum was suitable to "the female mind"? Webster suggested English, arithmetic, and geography; he would subordinate music, drawing, and dancing, and would ban the reading of novels.[81] Dr. Rush proposed the same branches and added penmanship, vocal music, dancing, religion, and the reading of history, travels, poetry, and moral essays; he too banned novels, as well as French.[82] A writer in the *Boston Magazine* advocated the postponement of the social *débuts* of young ladies until they are seventeen or eighteen, instead of fifteen, in order to give them more opportunity for schooling.[83] But there were old prejudices to contend against; and a "Circle of ladies" reading "The Visitant's" strictures against learned women in the *Museum* protests in verse:

> But that the odium of "a bookish fair"
> Or "female pedant," or "they quit their sphere,"
> Damps all their views, and they must drag the chain,
> And sigh for sweet instruction's page in vain.[84]

THE PLACE OF WOMAN

There was cause for this plaint: even in Webster's magazine one finds such sentences as this from "An Address to the Ladies":

> To be *lovely* you must be content to be *women;* to be mild, social, and sentimental—to be acquainted with all that belongs to your department—and leave the masculine virtues, and the profound researches of study to the province of the other sex.[85]

[79] Thornton, *op. cit.*, p. 186. Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* was written in 1791.
[80] *Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's Magazine*, I, 491 (October – November, 1789).
[81] *American Magazine*, I, 368-69 (May, 1788).
[82] *Columbian Magazine*, IV, 209-13 (April, 1790).
[83] *Boston Magazine*, III, 54-56 (February, 1786).
[84] *American Museum*, IV, 491 (December, 1788).
[85] *American Magazine*, I, 244-45 (March, 1788).

An "Elegant Description of Domestic Felicity" in the *American Moral and Sentimental Magazine* begins thus:

> The maternal solicitude of a reasonable affectionate woman is very interesting, and the chastened dignity with which a mother returns the caresses that she and her child receive from a father who has been fulfilling the serious duties of his station, is not only a respectable but a beautiful sight.[86]

Thus we get some insight into the true place of woman as understood in this period. Women were being advised how to be perfect ladies so continually that at least some of them must have grown very weary of it. "Counsel upon Female Virtues" and "Advice to the Fair" are sickeningly frequent titles in the *Royal American* of 1774, and in other magazines. An example of this lecturing, to name but one, is found in the Rev. John Bennet's "Letters to a Young Lady," published serially in the *Museum* in 1791. It was all a part of the ancient war of the sexes,—a controversy most directly stated, perhaps, in "A Poetical Essay on the Comparative Merit of the Sexes," also published in the *Museum*.[87]

In the earlier magazines there was little attention paid to women, but they were soon discovered; and there is somewhat of the rights of women in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. By 1787 the enterprising Noah Webster was saying in his magazine that his "*fair* readers may be assured that no inconsiderable pains will be taken to furnish *them* with entertainment."[88] A few years later the *Massachusetts Magazine* turned over a new leaf as follows:

> The fair sex merits our highest attention. If their taste has not hitherto been consulted, or the delicacy of their fancy gratified, we flatter ourselves that the succeeding numbers will make compensation for the former negligence, and convince the last, best gift of heaven, that we reverence woman, the daughter of the sky.[89]

Then came the *Lady's Magazine*, in 1792, "the first attempt of that kind made in this country," saying in its preface:

[86] *American Moral and Sentimental Magazine*, I, 52 (July 17, 1797).
[87] *American Museum*, Appendix to Vol. X, pp. 8-10.
[88] *American Magazine*, Introduction, I, 3 (December, 1787).
[89] *Massachusetts Magazine*, Preface to Vol. V (1793).

The female patronesses of literature . . . give ease to the weary traveller, in the rough paths of science; and soften the rigour of intense study . . . in short, it is the province of female excellence alone, with the beams of intellectual light, which illuminates the paths of literature, to diffuse the glowing warmth of genial affection, and by a lively combination of sweet perfections, *add charms*—even to the native beauties of the most brilliant production.

Yet a writer in this magazine "On Female Authorship" says of women writers: "We admire them more as authors than esteem them as women." [90]

But one topic related to the fair was perennial in the magazines; Addisonian and English, it is also as old as the oldest writings. This was the topic of female dress. An early example is found in "Timothy Timbertoe's" amusing letters in the *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle:* "Timothy" objects to ladies going without caps and sufficient petticoats. He shocks the modesty of some of his readers, however, and they complain, the reverend editor tells us, of his "making too free with the ladies' short petticoats." [91] In post-war times "The Competitor" in the *Boston Magazine* very justly observed that the subject of extravagance "furnishes matter inexhaustible for essayists in Gazettes." Then he continued, "But most of those writers seems to ascribe the evil to the extravagance of ladies." [92] "Frank Amity," in an "Address to the Ladies of America" in the *Museum* tells of the origins of some of the fashions, ridiculing them rather broadly, and ends:

How much more consistent with your dignity would it be, to assume a national distinction, and invent your own fashions? Your country is independent of European power, and your modes of dress should be independent of a group of coquettes, milliners and manufacturers, who, from motives of vanity on one hand, and avarice on the other, endeavour to enslave the fancy of the whole world.

[90] *Lady's Magazine,* I, 69 (July, 1792). This magazine was published semi-annually, though divided into monthly sections, June, 1792 – May, 1793. W. Gibbons, Philadelphia, was publisher, and "A Literary Society" was said to edit the periodical. The sub-title ran *and Repository of Entertaining Knowledge,* and the monthly half title was *The Ladies Magazine.*

[91] *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle,* I, 237 (February, 1758).

[92] *Boston Magazine,* III, 24 (January, 1786).

Would not a Convention Hat, a Federal Bonnet, or a Congress Cap, sound as prettily as the silly names produced by an affected wit? and would not a Washington Blue convey as strong an idea of never-failing colour as a Prince of Wales Buff? [93]

Finally, a versifier hits the fashions off thus:

> Observe yon belles! behold the waspish waist!
> See the broad bishop spreading far behind,
> The shawl immense, with uncouth figures grac'd,
> And veil loose waving in the playful wind.
> Mark the huge bonnets, stuck on hills of hair,
> Like meteors streaming thro' the turbid air. . . .
> And all the various works of cork and gauze,
> The rumps enormous and terrific craws . . .[94]

All of which probably had not the slightest effect upon women's fashions. That editors sometimes wearied of the sport is indicated by a note in the *Columbian's* advice "To Contributors": "A.B." is told that his "strictures on female dress are dull and insipid to a proverb. Why are the fair sex the satirist's *only* game?" [95]

CONCLUSION

Thus the contents of American magazines, 1741-94, were varied in subject matter and form. They were largely borrowed, they were often ill written and oftener dull, and in the light of later years they were sometimes ridiculous; but they are invaluable as a mirror of the current ideas of writing and of literary taste, and as a picture of the social and political life of America during the years they cover. Moreover, most of the important American writing of the time will be found treasured up in the volumes of these magazines.

Finally, it may be noted that the influence of the magazines was probably out of proportion to the actual number of copies printed. Reading matter was not a commonplace of every man's daily mail, and we can depend upon it that every page of every

[93] *American Museum*, II, 481 (November, 1787).
[94] *Ibid.*, Appendix to Vol. X, pp. 29-30.
[95] *Columbian Magazine*, verso of title, March, 1790.

copy of every magazine was usually read with care by a number of people. Therefore, although within a hundred and twenty-five years from the end of this Period of Beginnings the average per capita circulation of magazines had increased at least a hundredfold, the actual influence exerted by the early magazines upon the thoughts of the people was perhaps not greatly inferior to that exercised by their more numerous and far more widely circulated successors.

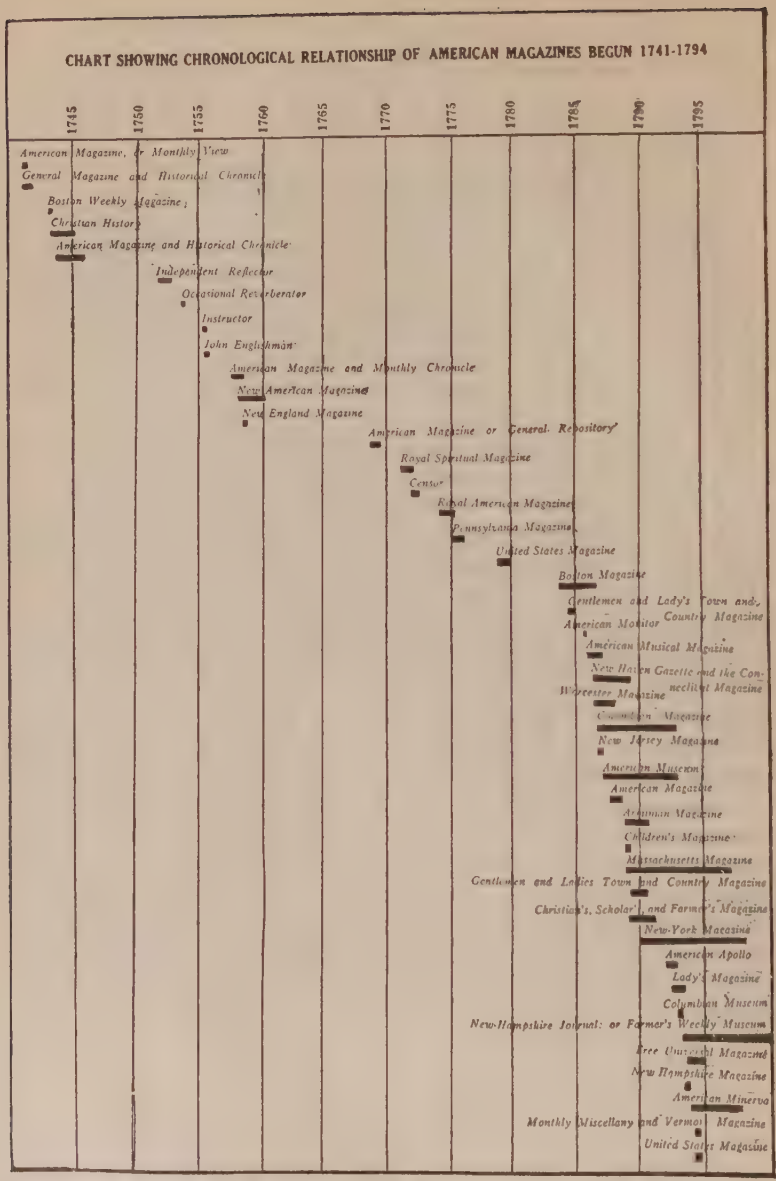
SUPPLEMENT TO PART I

SKETCHES OF CERTAIN IMPORTANT MAGAZINES, 1741-1794

The more important magazines before 1794, and certain others which could not be treated in Chapters I and II without injury to the proportion of the narrative, are here considered in some detail. All these magazines have already been mentioned, but without the elaboration they deserve.

The choice of the more important magazines in any period must be more or less arbitrary, and the present writer does not claim for the list presented in the following pages the sanctity of a canon.

The first footnote accompanying each chapter contains the basic data concerning the magazine treated, as follows: (1) title, with changes; (2) dates of first and last issues; (3) periodicity, i.e., arrangement of volumes and series in relation to dates of issue; (4) successive publishers, with dates and places; (5) successive editors, with dates; (6) indexes, if any; (7) important sources, if any. The necessity of naming the libraries in which files are found is obviated by the *Union List of Serials,* edited by Miss Winifred Gregory and published by the H. W. Wilson Company, which performs that service in detail. The lists of publishers in these "first footnotes" are, it is frankly admitted, unsatisfactory. Strictly, the publisher is the distributor, and may be merely a hired agent; but the term is so generally used to designate the responsible financial backer or partner that such persons or companies may sometimes be named even when they had nothing to do with actual distribution. Commonly, however, financial agents and owners have been actual publishers.



See pages 787-789 for chronological list of magazines shown in this chart. In that list dates and places of publication are given.

1

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE, OR A MONTHLY VIEW[1]

ON October 30, 1740, Andrew Bradford printed in his Philadelphia *American Mercury* an extended prospectus of a magazine for the British colonies in America, to be called the *American Magazine,* and to be edited by John Webbe. This announcement rather took the wind out of the sails of Bradford's rival editor and printer, Benjamin Franklin, who, as Bradford well knew, was planning a similar venture, and had broached the matter to Webbe. A controversy between the *Mercury* and Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* then ensued,[2] of which, if space occupied and vituperative energy employed be the criteria, Bradford had the better.

John Webbe was a lawyer who had been employed by Franklin as his attorney in the suit brought to collect Bradford's accounts owing to Deputy Postmaster General Spotswood.[3] He had written for the newspapers somewhat, but his style was incurably verbose.

After all the display of temper, the Bradford magazine did not actually appear until February 13, 1741, when a number dated January, 1740/1, was placed on sale. It preceded by three days the issue of Franklin's *General Magazine,* thus winning the right to be called the first magazine published in America.

In the preface to the first number, called "The Plan of the Undertaking," the editor, while admitting that his work was inspired by British magazines, promised that it should differ from

[1] TITLE: *The American Magazine, or A Monthly View of The Political State of the British Colonies.*
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1741. LAST ISSUE: March, 1741.
PERIODICITY: Three monthly numbers only, dated January, February, and March, 1740/1, respectively.
PUBLISHER: Andrew Bradford, Philadelphia.
EDITOR: John Webbe.

[2] See chapter on the *General Magazine, post.*

[3] See A. H. Smyth, *Life of Franklin* (New York, 1907), Vol. X of the *Writings of Benjamin Franklin,* Smyth, ed., p. 170.

them in important particulars. He stressed his intention to "keep open a Door for FREE INQUIRY, into *all sorts* of subjects."[4]

An examination of the brief file of the magazine shows, however, a total lack of variety. Half of the pages are occupied by the proceedings of the assemblies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Maryland. In all three numbers there are articles analyzing the Maryland government and discussing the quarrel with the royal governor of that province. In addition to these matters, there is a "Short History and Description of Pennsylvania," in the January number; a compilation of current events in the War of the Austrian Succession, in February; and, in the March issue, an essay on the nature of money, a Socratic dialogue on "The Wiles of Popery," an article on the religion of the Indians, "Some Reflections" on exorbitant grants of lands in America, and a meteorological article. The only *belles-lettres* in the three numbers are in an excerpt of "characters" from the *London Magazine* in the January issue. While not without value to the historian, certainly the file of the *American Magazine* is about as heavy as any similar number of pages in all the considerable library of the periodical literature of its century.

The title-pages of the three numbers carry a picture from a type-metal cut representing the Philadelphia waterfront, with ships in the foreground. This was the only illustration.

The magazine sold for one shilling, Pennsylvania currency, or eightpence sterling. The venture was evidently unprofitable and unpromising, for it was abandoned without explanation after the March number. Webbe probably returned to his law office, and Bradford devoted his energies to the *Mercury* and to his printing business.

[4] *American Magazine,* page ii of "The Plan of the Undertaking," prefixed to the January number.

TITLE PAGE AND BEGINNING OF THE PROSPECTUS OF THE FIRST AMERICAN MAGAZINE

The prospectus is from the first number, January, 1741; the title page from the second number. The cut represents the Philadelphia waterfront.

The AMERICAN MAGAZINE

OR

A MONTHLY VIEW OF

The Political State

OF THE *BRITISH COLONIES*:

For FEBRUARY, 1740-1.

(To be Continued Monthly)

Containing,

I. Continuation of the REMARKS on the MARYLAND Government.

II. PROCEEDINGS in the Assembly of that Province.

III. PROCEEDINGS of the Assembly of PENSYLVANIA, in relation to the inlisting of Servants.

IV. PROCEEDINGS of the Assembly of NEW-YORK, respecting the King's Instructions to make Provisions for the Troops, directed to be raised there.

V. An ACCOUNT of the PROCEEDINGS in Assembly of his Excellency the Governor of NEW JERSEY.

VI. The PRESENT STATE of the WAR.

VII. The AFFAIRS of EUROPE.

PHILADELPHIA: Printed and Sold by ANDREW BRADFORD. (Price One Shilling *Pensylvania* Currency, or Eight Pence *Sterling*.)

The PLAN *of the Undertaking.*

THE Success and Approbation which the MAGAZINES, published in *Great-Britain*, have met with for many Years past, among all Ranks and Degrees of People, *Encouraged* us to *Attempt* a Work of the like Nature in *America*. But the Plan, on which we intend to proceed, being very different from the *British* Models; it therefore becomes necessary in the first Place, to lay before the Reader, a *general Prospect* of the present Design.

It is proposed to publish Monthly, *An Account of the publick Affairs transacted in His Majesty's Colonies, as well on the Continent of* America *as in the* West-India *Islands*: Under this Head will be comprehended, Abstracts of the Speeches of the several Governors, the Addresses and Answers of the Assemblies, their Votes, Resolutions and Debates. So that this Part of the Work will contain Journals of the *most important* Proceedings of each particular Assembly. Moreover, at the End of every Sessions, we shall give an Extract of any remarkable Laws therein passed, with the Reasons on which they were founded, the *Grievances* intended to be remedied by them, and the *Benefits* expected from them.

THAT the Reader may be the better enabled to form a Judgment of the various Transactions intended to be set in View; Succinct Accounts will be given, *in the Course of the Work*, of the Situation, Climate, Soil, Productions, Trade and Manufactures of all the *British* Plantations; the Constitution of those several Colonies, with their respective Views and Interests, will be opened and explained; and the Nature and Extent of the various Jurisdictions exercised in each Government particularly described.

IN handling so great a variety of Matter, *Mistakes*, thro' Misinformation or otherwise, will probably be committed; but as the MAGAZINE will be Monthly distributed among the Persons residing on the Spot, which the Affairs therein treated of regard; the Errors that may intervene, will be quickly discovered, and, on the least Intimation, corrected in the succeeding Numbers. By this Means the Reader will be furnished with such Descriptions of the *British* Plantations

as

2

THE GENERAL MAGAZINE[1]

INSPIRED by the success of the *Gentleman's Magazine,* the *London Magazine,* and similar periodicals in the mother country, Benjamin Franklin resolved in 1740 to produce a magazine for the English colonies in America. He must have realized, however, that his activities as publisher of books and newspapers, as bookseller and printer, as clerk of the General Assembly, as postmaster of Philadelphia, as scientist and inventor, and as public-spirited citizen generally would make it necessary for him to find help to carry out the new project; and he therefore cast about him for someone handy with scissors and paste to do the work of selection which was in those days the chief business of a magazine editor. His choice fell upon one John Webbe, who had made some contributions to his newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette.* With Webbe he made a preliminary agreement by the terms of which said Webbe was to have twenty-five per cent of all receipts for the first two thousand copies sold, and fifty per cent thereafter, for his services "to dispose the Materials, make Abstracts, and write what shall be necessary for promoting the Thing, &c." Moreover "B. F. to be at all Expense."[2] But before the matter had gone further, Webbe sought out another printer in Philadelphia, Andrew Bradford, laid the plan before him, and asked for better terms. Bradford thereupon decided to anticipate his rival, closed a contract with Webbe, and on October 30, 1740, announced, in a long prospectus which took half the space in that issue of his *American Mercury,* a magazine

[1] TITLE: *The General Magazine, and Historical Chronicle, for all the British Plantations in America.*

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1741. LAST ISSUE: June, 1741.

PERIODICITY: Monthly. One 12mo volume of six numbers.

PUBLISHER AND EDITOR: Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia.

[2] These facts are brought out in the controversy that followed. See quotation from *American Mercury,* November, 1740, issues, in John Bach McMaster's *Benjamin Franklin as a Man of Letters* (Boston, 1887), p. 132.

from his own shop to be called the *American Magazine* and to appear in the following January under Webbe's editorship. Franklin was then forced to announce his magazine, which he did the next week, saying that

it would not, indeed, have been published quite so soon, were it not that a Person, to whom the Scheme was communicated in Confidence, has thought fit to advertise it in the last *Mercury,* without our Participation: and probably, with a View, by Starting before us, to discourage us from prosecuting our first Design, and reap the Advantage of it wholly to himself.[3]

This brought an angry reply from the violent and verbose Webbe which he called "The Detection" and which was so long that it had to be continued through three numbers of the *Mercury.* Franklin, who, as readers of his *Autobiography* will recall, disliked these newspaper quarrels, made no reply until Webbe in the third number of his diatribe accused him of abusing his power as postmaster to injure the *Mercury;* he then felt himself constrained to answer the accusation against his official acts, remarking in passing that he had "utterly neglected" the first two articles,

believing that both the Facts therein stated [Webbe had set forth the terms of his agreement with Franklin] and the extraordinary Reasonings upon them [to the effect that Webbe was under no obligation not to betray the plan to a rival printer] might be safely enough left to themselves, without any Animadversion; and I have the Satisfaction to find, that the Event has answered my Expectation.[4]

Such was the stormy prelude to the appearance of the first two magazines to be published in America. The month of January, 1741, passed, however, without either magazine appearing; and it was not until February 16th, three days after its rival had been offered for sale, that the *General Magazine, and Historical Chronicle, For all the British Plantations in America* put in a

[3] Quoted in A. H. Smyth, *Life of Benjamin Franklin,* in *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin,* Smyth, ed., X, 166.

[4] Smyth, *op. cit.,* 167.

belated appearance. Who did the editorial work upon it is not known; doubtless Franklin did much of it himself.

Half the title-page of the *General Magazine* is occupied by a large woodcut of the coronet of the Prince of Wales, adorned by its three large plumes and the motto *Ich Dien.* In the six numbers published, proceedings of parliament and of the state assemblies and state papers in general occupy about one-third of the pages, discussions of the currency question are prominent, and religion is by no means neglected. The reader who turns eagerly to the "Extracts from New Books, Pamphlets, etc., Published in the Plantations" in the first number will be disappointed, perhaps, to find a long training-day sermon by Mather Byles, on "The Glories of the Lord of Hosts," filling most of that department. In "Essays from the American Newspapers" he will find more Franklinian, albeit less religious, material in a translation from Ovid's *Art of Love,* with commentary, taken from the *Virginia Gazette.* The lines begin,

> "Tho' scorch'd with burning Love, as hot as Hell,
> Seem cool as Ice to her you love so well."

But this is again followed by matter of religion—a controversy centering about the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Colman, which perhaps attains as high a temperature as the ardent lines from Ovid. "Pieces of Poetry" have place in every issue—verses drawn from American papers as well as from English books and magazines, and occupying eight or ten pages of each number. Comparatively few original pieces either of poetry or prose found their way into the *General Magazine.*

Two preëminent subjects run through the six numbers: the currency, and the Rev. George Whitefield's activities and opinions. Parliament's "Bubble Act," aimed against what later came to be called "wildcat" banking, had been made applicable to the Colonies in the preceding year; but the issue of paper money by the colonial governments, which was the real colonial difficulty, had not yet been forbidden, though the royal governors discouraged it. Governor Belcher of Massachusetts had just issued his proclamation against the practice as "reflecting great

dishonor on his Majesty's government." Franklin was on the other side of the controversy: ten years before, he had written his influential *Modest Inquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency*. In the magazine both sides were presented in the forms of essays, reports, and addresses. There is also much in regard to the acts prohibiting exportations, though there is never a hint of disloyalty.

The Whitefield controversy was more lively than the currency debate. Whitefield had held his great revival meetings in Philadelphia two years earlier, and had visited there again in 1740. Franklin was friendly with him personally, and admired his powers without agreeing with his theology. The Franklin press had published his sermons. The pages of the *General Magazine,* however, were open to his critics; and though some of Whitefield's answers were printed, the critics seem to have the better of it. In the first number "Nathanael Love-Truth" delivered some home thrusts on doctrinal points at the great preacher. In April and June, readers were regaled with the interchange of letters between Whitefield and the Rev. Al. Garden, with comments by others. Whitefield's brief answer begins, "Both by your Conversation, Sermon, and Letter, I perceive that you are angry overmuch. Was I never so inclined to dispute, I would stay till the Cool of the Day." The recriminations which grew out of Whitefield's criticism of Harvard College in his *New England Journal* are also given much space. But the *jeu d'esprit* which has the most decidedly Franklinian tang is one which appeared in the last number under the title "An infallible Receipt to make a new Kind of Convert, being an approved Nostrum among the Friends of our great modern Mountebank." It is specified as an original contribution, and runs:

> Take of the green Leaves of Pretension, Hypocrisy and Ambition, of each three Handfuls; Spirits of Pride, three Drams; the Seeds of Discord and Dissention, one Ounce; the Flowers of Formality, half a Pound; Roots Obstinacy, Ignorance and Controversy, five Pounds; Chop the Herbs, pound the Seeds, slice the Roots, and then beat them all in the Mortar of Vain-Glory with the Pestle of Contradiction: add a few drops of Crocodile's Tears mixt with the Water of Strife, infus'd over the fire of a blind Zeal; add to the

Composition four ounces of the Spirit of Self-Conceit more than lukewarm, and let the presuming Brother take a Spoonful of it, Morning and Evening, before his Devotion; and when his Mouth is full of the Decoctions let him wink hard, snivel thro' his Nose, make a wry Face, cry with a loud Voice at his private Devotion, let him quake, and tremble, and roar out in Publick, grunting and venting artificial groans as if he was a choaking; after he gets the Use of his Tongue, let him Vaunt like a Pharisee, censure and damn all his Neighbors, squinting out the Tears of Dissimulation, and speaking as the Spirit of Giddiness gives him Utterance: and then shall he be qualified to delude the People, wound the Church, justify Delusion, foment Rebellion against Authority, and extol Anarchy and Usurpation under the fair Names of the Work of God and Liberty of Conscience. *Probatum est,*

ESCULAPIUS.[5]

The magazine also contained some sketches of history; a few dialogues, characters, and essays; a manual of arms; a monthly department of current events, called the "Historical Chronicle"; and rates of exchange and prices current in Philadelphia.

The *General Magazine* was well printed with specially purchased small type on duodecimo pages, seventy to seventy-six in each number. It was not sold by annual subscription, but by the number at sixpence sterling each, "which Method," Franklin had written, "will, we suppose, be most agreeable to our Readers, as they will then be at Liberty to buy only what they like; and we shall be under a constant Necessity of endeavouring to make every particular Pamphlet worth their money."[6] In modern terms, Franklin determined from the first to rely wholly upon news-stand sales. But the event did not justify his faith, and though the *General Magazine* outlasted its rival, the *American Magazine,* it perished after six issues. Franklin himself did not esteem it of much importance, we may be sure, for he did not so much as mention it in his *Autobiography.* But it is interesting as the earliest projected of American magazines, as well as for its connection with one of the greatest men of the eighteenth century.

[5] *General Magazine* (June, 1741), p. 414.
[6] *Smyth, op. cit.,* p. 166.

3

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE AND HISTORICAL CHRONICLE[1]

THE first American magazine to outlive half a year, if we except *Christian History* (1743-45), which can scarcely be called a magazine, was the *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle,* of Boston. It was printed by Rogers and Fowle, and though for the first few months two Boston booksellers were the chief sponsors—Samuel Eliot and Joshua Blanchard,—the printers soon became sole proprietors.[2] Jeremiah Gridley, a lawyer who had been editor of the *Weekly Rehearsal,* and was later to make a reputation as a patriot, was editor of the new magazine. Gridley's purpose was plainly to produce a mere repository of valuable papers. "Our readers will do us the justice," he wrote in his preface,

> neither to applaud or blame us for the right or wrong opinions, sentiments or doctrines that may from time to time occur in these pages, because we are to be considered as mere reporters of facts. All our praise, if we deserve any, will be that of collecting carefully, abridging with judgment, and preserving the most perfect impartiality.

This second *American Magazine* was largely devoted to statecraft. The debates in Parliament, articles on the European war, proceedings of colonial legislatures, and accounts of the siege of Louisburg occupy most of its pages. The last eight or ten pages of each fifty-page issue were devoted to current events and entitled "Historical Chronicle," after the manner of the *Gentleman's Magazine.*

[1] TITLE: *The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle.*
FIRST ISSUE: September, 1743. LAST ISSUE: December, 1746.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. I, September, 1743 – December, 1744; II, January – December, 1745; III, January – December, 1746.
PUBLISHERS: Rogers and Fowle, Boston.
EDITOR: Jeremiah Gridley.

[2] Isaiah Thomas, *History of Printing in America* (Worcester, 1810), II, 255.

Rogers and Fowle took as the model for their periodical the *London Magazine,* whose format they imitated closely. The magazine was very English: except for the imprint it might have been printed in London. A large proportion of the contents was taken from the British periodicals.

There was some poetry, but the proportion of *belles-lettres* was slight.

4

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE AND MONTHLY CHRONICLE[1]

WILLIAM BRADFORD, nephew of that Andrew Bradford who issued the first magazine published in America, was the publisher of the third periodical to bear the name *American Magazine.* The title-page said it was edited "by a Society of Gentlemen," but the real editor is known to have been the Rev. William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia. Smith did as much as any man in the colonies to encourage literature; he was effective as a teacher, as a friend of writers, and as an editor.

The *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle* stated very definitely in its preface its purpose to interpret the new world to the old. We are told that the French and Indian War had awakened a new interest in the Colonies on the part of the mother country, so that

> it was proposed by some booksellers and others in London, soon after the commencement of the present war, to some persons in this city who were thought to have abilities and leisure for the work, to undertake a Monthly Magazine for the colonies, offering at the same time to procure considerable encouragement for it in all parts of Great Britain and Ireland.

It is said further that "extensive correspondence" is promised from "men of leisure and learning in all parts of America"; and readers are assured that "the greatest care will be taken to do equal justice to the affairs of every colony."[2]

[1] TITLES: *The American Magazine, or Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies* (October, 1757); *The American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies* (November, 1757 – October, 1758).

FIRST ISSUE: October, 1757. LAST ISSUE: October, 1758.

PERIODICITY: One volume, containing thirteen monthly numbers, October, 1757 – October, 1758; the number for October, 1758, is called "A Supplement to Volume I."

PUBLISHER: William Bradford, Philadelphia.

EDITOR: William Smith.

[2] *American Magazine,* I, 4 (October, 1757).

On the cover was a large cut representing an Indian approached by two men—one an Englishman with a Bible and a roll of cloth, and the other a Frenchman with a tomahawk and a purse of money.

Thus the very cover vignette was political in character, indicating what might be expected from the contents. And hatred of everything French is found throughout the volume. One of the most faithful essayists is "Antigallican," and the accounts of European and American affairs alike are marked with the passions engendered by the current war. Another political controversy prominent in this magazine was the quarrel with the Penns over the taxation of their grants in Pennsylvania; in this matter Smith sided with the proprietors and against Franklin, with whom he had quarrelled over the conduct of the college of which the one was the head and the other the founder. The Quakers were also attacked, chiefly through a series of papers by "The Watchman," reprinted from newspapers. But whatever may be the aspect of these various controversies as observed by the reader a century and a half later, certain it is that Smith's magazine was bold and outspoken, and sincerely devoted to liberty and the orderly development of an American civilization.

One of its most interesting features was the attention paid *belles-lettres*, and especially poetry. Francis Hopkinson, Thomas Godfrey, Jr., James Sterling, and Joseph Shippen were the leading American poets who contributed to the magazine. Hopkinson was a faithful contributor,[3] and some of his best poems were published in the *American*. Godfrey received his first encouragement from Smith, who published some of his odes and other pieces. Sterling is even less remembered by posterity than Godfrey, who has "The Prince of Parthia" to keep him in the textbooks; but he was a copious versifier and a consistent friend of the magazine, and is glorified besides as a "friend of Pope." He wrote the long poem in the March number "On the Invention of Letters and the Art of Printing." Shippen is the author of a poem in the February number, "On Seeing the Portrait of Miss ——— by Mr. West," which has been highly praised

[3] See George Everett Hastings, *Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson* (Chicago, 1926), pp. 99-108.

and has some charm, and of a poem "On the Glorious Victory near Newmark in Silesia" in the following number.

Smith himself wrote the "Hermit" papers, which are religious in tone. The "Planter" papers are also serious, with a political trend. "Timothy Timbertoe" and others furnish the wit and humor. Timothy is sometimes rather boisterous, and occasionally his adventures with the ladies offended readers' sensibilities.

"Agricola" writes frequently on his favorite subject of improvements in farming, and there is much popular science in what is called the "Philosophical Miscellany" department of the magazine. That much of this material was related to the fairy tale will be evident from the description in the table of contents of an article in the first number:

> No. IV. Of uncommon sea-animals—of the *Mer-man*, and *Mermaid*—of the *Sea-serpent* or *Sea-snake*, a monstrous animal 600 *English* feet in length—Thought to be the leviathan of the book of *Job*, and *Serpent of the Ocean* mentioned by the prophet *Joel*—Of the *Kraken*, a most enormous monster in the northern-seas, whose back is thought to be at least an *English* mile and a half in circumference, and mistaken by some superstitious voyagers for an island appearing and disappearing thru the delusion of the devil.[4]

More valuable perhaps is the defense of the rights of Thomas Godfrey, Sr., to the honor of the invention of the quadrant.

Altogether, there is much variety in this spirited and sometimes brilliant magazine.

No reason is given for its discontinuance. We know that Smith made a visit to England at the end of 1758, and the supposition is that the publisher found nobody at hand to act as editor. Doubtless it was not an attractive venture financially. In September, 1758, readers were thanked for their encouragement "in the midst of all difficulties," delinquent subscribers were asked to pay up, and a supplementary number was promised.[5] When it came in October, it completed the file.

[4] *American Magazine*, I, 2 (October, 1757).
[5] *Ibid.*, I, 566 (September, 1758).

5

THE ROYAL AMERICAN MAGAZINE[1]

THAT bold patriot-printer and "trumpeter of sedition," Isaiah Thomas, issued the first number of the *Royal American Magazine* late in January, 1774. "A prospectus of the work appeared many years before the magazine," he wrote later; "but the disordered state of public affairs and the difficulties which individuals experienced from them prevented it from being sooner put to press."[2] Thomas was editor and publisher of the *Massachusetts Spy,* one of the most violent of patriot newspapers; and he was as cordially hated by the royalists as John Hancock or Samuel Adams. In 1771 the *Spy* had called Governor Hutchinson "an usurper," and that worthy thereupon had ordered Attorney General Sewall to prosecute the editor for libel; but the grand jury had refused to indict.

Such was the editor of the new magazine. At the time the first number of the *Royal American* was issued, there had been no magazine of any kind in the colonies for more than a year and a half, and no general magazine for more than four years. The *Royal American Magazine, or Universal Repository of Instruction and Amusement* was an illustrated miscellany of forty octavo pages, well printed in Thomas's shop, and designed to appeal to the general public. There was a fair proportion of original material, together with selections from English magazines, books and documents. Conventional essays; articles on politics, medicine, agriculture, education, literature, and religion; advice to the ladies; fiction; "poetical essays"; and current

[1] TITLE: *The Royal American Magazine, or Universal Repository of Instruction and Amusement.*

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1774. LAST ISSUE: March, 1775.

PERIODICITY: I, twelve monthly numbers, January – December, 1774; II (incomplete) three monthly numbers, January – March, 1775.

EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS: Isaiah Thomas, January – June, 1774; Joseph Greenleaf, July, 1774 – March, 1775 (both of Boston).

[2] Isaiah Thomas, *History of Printing in America* (Worcester, 1810), II, 260.

events, including marriages, deaths, and meteorological tables, comprise the contents.

In view of the fact that this magazine was published on the eve of the Revolution, its politics are especially interesting. Throughout its first six months propaganda for the patriot cause was prominent. An article on "Liberty in General," and "The Address of America's Genius, to the People in the American World," in the first number; "The Character of an American Patriot" in the second number; John Hancock's oration commemorating the Boston massacre, with a portrait of the orator, in the issue for March; a portrait of Samuel Adams in the April number; and "Extracts from the Rev. John Lathrop's Artillery Election Sermon" in the June number are the chief items calculated to anger Government and afford aid and comfort to the rebels. In the accounts of current events, moreover, sedition occasionally lifts its head; and a radical patriotism is found also in the poetical department. In giving the news of the passage of the Boston Port Bill, our editor says:

> Nothing can equal the distress the inhabitants of Boston and the adjacent towns are thrown into by the shutting up of the port; all the colonies think themselves interested in this alarming event, and all seem determined to aid and assist their brethren in Boston. How matters will end, God only knows, but it is thought that, by the blessing of heaven, if the colonies unite and stand firm, that they will preserve their liberties and cast off the iron yoke of bondage.[3]

Hancock's speech in the March number was a fervent denunciation of British tyranny, and the Rev. Mr. Lathrop's sermon was no less radical. The latter concludes:

> Whoever makes an alteration in the established constitution, whether he be a *subject* or a *ruler,* is guilty of treason: Treason of the worst kind: Treason against the state. For such treason many rulers as well as subjects have lost their heads. . . . That we may and ought, to resist, and even make war against those rulers who leap the bounds prescribed them by the constitution, and attempt to oppress and enslave the subjects, is a principle on which alone the

[3] *Royal American Magazine,* I, 193 (May, 1774).

great revolutions which have taken place in *our* nation can be justified.[4]

After Thomas resigned the magazine to Joseph Greenleaf, rebellion was not quite so outspoken; but patriot propaganda is found in every number. The burlesque sermon in the November number, in which "Tertius Cato" ironically defends the omniscience of Parliament, the brilliant political pictures by Paul Revere, and many other contributions serve to show the *Royal American's* continued loyalty to the patriot cause.

Another striking feature of this magazine's file is a department of advice to the lovelorn which ran through several numbers under the title, "The Directory of Love." Correspondents ask questions in regard to their love affairs which the editor attempts to answer. Besides this there is even more than the usual allowance of condescending advice to the ladies. Dr. Thomas Young contributes a number of medical articles. Fiction has some prominence; two or three rather long tales are continued through several numbers each. The sentimental, the allegorical, and the oriental varieties are all represented. Governor Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts Bay* is published as a serial supplement to the magazine.

In June, 1774, Editor Thomas announced to his readers that he was under the necessity of suspending the publication of his magazine "for a few Months, until the Affairs of this Country are a little better settled."[5] As reason for this action he cited "the Distresses of the Town of Boston, by the shutting up of our Port, and throwing all Ranks of Men into Confusion." When publication was resumed in September, conditions were unimproved, and the work had been taken over by Thomas's fellow-printer, Joseph Greenleaf. The six remaining numbers for the year were badly printed with poor type and ink on inferior paper. "The magazine came into my hands," wrote Greenleaf at the end of the volume,

when I was unprepared with a TYPE so good as I could wish for for the business; this evil would have been remedied but for the non-

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 204, 206 (June, 1774).
[5] *Ibid.*, June, 1774, second page of cover.

importation agreement, which it was MY DUTY to comply with: The INK also has been poor, but as it was of AMERICAN MANUFACTURE my customers were not only willing but desirous that I should use it.[6]

For three months longer the magazine continued; no number was issued after the battle of Lexington. "It had a handsome list of subscribers,"[7] avers Thomas.

The publication of twenty-two copper plates in the *Royal American* marked an epoch in magazine history in this country. The most striking of the illustrations are Paul Revere's political cartoons;[8] other plates are "A View of the Town of Boston, with Ships of War in the Harbour," the portraits of Hancock and Adams, illustrations for some of the magazine's tales, and so on. A type-metal cut showing an Indian offering the calumet to an ill-drawn figure representing the Genius of Knowledge was used on the cover.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, unpaged preface.
[7] Thomas, *op. cit.*, II, 261.
[8] See p. 36, *supra*.

6

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE[1]

THOMAS PAINE had been in America but three months when he wrote from Philadelphia to his friend Benjamin Franklin, then in London, that

a printer and bookseller here, a man of reputation and property, Robert Aitkin, has lately attempted a magazine, but having little or no turn that way himself, he has applied to me for assistance. He had not above six hundred subscribers when I first assisted him. We have now upwards of fifteen hundred, and daily increasing. I have not entered into terms with him. This is only the second number. The first I was not concerned in.[2]

Six hundred subscribers for the first number and fifteen hundred for the second meant a greater circulation than any American magazine had achieved up to that time, and there is evidence that the popularity of the new periodical continued to increase. Dr. Benjamin Rush, in his reminiscences of Paine written many years later, said:

Mr. Aitken employed him as the editor of his Magazine, with a salary of fifty pounds currency a year. This work was well supported by him. His song upon the death of General Wolfe, and his reflections upon the death of Lord Clive, gave it a sudden currency which few works of the kind have since had in our country.[3]

These two selections were both published in the third number. Aitken had made a good beginning, as appears both from the

[1] TITLE: *The Pennsylvania Magazine; or, American Monthly Museum.*
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1775. LAST ISSUE: July, 1776.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. I, twelve numbers, January – December, 1775, and supplement; II, seven numbers, January – July, 1776.
PUBLISHER: Robert Aitken, Philadelphia.
EDITORS: Robert Aitken, January, 1775, June – July, 1776; Thomas Paine, February, 1775 – May, 1776.

[2] Moncure Daniel Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine* (New York, 1893), I, 40-41. Conway thinks Paine wrote for the first number, though he himself says he was "not concerned" in it (p. 41).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

file of the magazine and Paine's letter to Franklin; and the two men subsequently worked together efficiently as publisher and editor. The anecdote of Paine's writing methods to which Isaiah Thomas gave a certain permanence by including it in his *History* doubtless has some connection with the legend of sottishness which Paine's enemies spread so industriously in later years, when it was necessary to paint the author of *The Age of Reason* in the darkest colors; but since Thomas says in a footnote that the anecdote came from Aitken, who was "a man of truth, and of an irreproachable character," it shall have a place here:

> Aitken contracted with Paine to furnish, monthly, for this work, a certain quantity of original matter; but he often found it difficult to prevail on Paine to comply with his engagement.
>
> On one of the occasions, when Paine had neglected to supply the materials for the Magazine, within a short time of the day of publication, Aitken went to his lodgings, and complained of his neglecting to fulfil his contract. Paine heard him patiently, and coolly answered, "You shall have them in time." Aitken expressed some doubts on the subject, and insisted on Paine's accompanying him and proceeding immediately to business, as the workmen were waiting for copy. He accordingly went home with Aitken, and was soon seated at the table with the necessary apparatus, which always included a glass, and a decanter of brandy. Aitken observed, "he would never write without *that*." The first glass of brandy set him thinking; Aitken feared the second would disqualify him, or render him intractable; but it only illuminated his intellectual system; and when he had swallowed the third glass, he wrote with great rapidity, intelligence and precision; and his ideas appeared to flow faster than he could commit them to paper. What he penned from the inspiration of the brandy, was perfectly fit for the press without any alteration, or correction.[4]

Beginning with the second number, Paine apparently was editor until and including the seventeenth; at least, it is possible to identify articles in the magazine as Paine's through May, 1776, but not in the last two numbers—those for June and July. And besides, Aitken refers to himself as editor in the June number.[5]

[4] Isaiah Thomas, *History of Printing in America* (Worcester, 1810), II, 346.
[5] *Pennsylvania Magazine*, II, 282 (June, 1776).

Paine's editorship was probably rather a contributorship; it would doubtless be more proper to call him a contributing editor. He wrote over several signatures, but chiefly he signed himself "A. B." [6] These initials he affixed to descriptions of mechanical devices, anecdotes, Addisonian essays, argumentative papers, and poems in some variety. Some of these contributions Conway has included in his collection of Paine's works, and successive editors have been Conway's slavish imitators; but the most imaginative and literary of the pieces have never been reprinted.

Published on the eve of the American Revolution, and edited by one of the leading revolutionary publicists, the *Pennsylvania Magazine* is, of course, of paramount political interest. In his prospectus Aitken had declared that he would exclude both religious and political controversy, though admitting those two general topics "as the subjects of philosophical disquisition." This fine distinction it was impossible to maintain, and in December the magazine published "Reflections on the Duty of Princes," in which sovereigns are sharply warned against the exercise of arbitrary power. This is signed "A." and is followed by an oratorical passage "On Liberty" signed "Philo-Libertatis"; both are in the accents of Paine. In the second "Druid" paper, from the pen of President John Witherspoon, there is "an example or two from the present war," for which the publisher apologizes. In the poetical department there was the "Irishman's Epistle to the Officers and Troops at Boston," published in May, 1775, which belabored the Britishers in Irish dialect and broad comedy; [7] an "Elegy to the Memory of the American Volunteers, who fell on April 19," published in the following number; next month Paine's famous "Liberty Tree"; an elegy on Captain Jacob Cheesman, "of the New-York Forces," in March, 1776; a rousing patriotic "Song on the Times," followed by Phillis Wheatley's verses to Washington, in April; and in the last number a hortatory "Ode to the British Empire." The "Monthly In-

[6] These were the initials he signed to his first published piece, the essay on "African Slavery in America," published in a Philadelphia newspaper. (*Writings of Thomas Paine,* Conway, ed., New York, 1894, I, 4.)

[7] Reprinted in M. C. Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution* (Students' Edition, New York, 1905), I, 411-12; and Frank Moore, *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution* (New York, 1856), pp. 92-94.

telligence" each month reports the course of the war, the proceedings of Parliament and the Continental Congress, letters of Washington and other public men, and other political news; in the last number the Declaration of Independence is printed. Other echoes of the general turmoil are found in the article on "Substitutes for Tea" in February, 1775, in the "Dialogue on Civil Liberty" in April, 1776, and in the extracts from works on military tactics in the final numbers.

Most of the material was non-political, however. An extraordinary amount of comment on marriage was printed; perhaps the essay series "The Old Bachelor," which ran through seven numbers, was partly responsible, and perhaps Paine's own unfortunate marriage experience had something to do with it. Paine contributed to this material in a fable "Cupid and Hymen" in April, 1775, and "Reflections on Unhappy Marriages" two months later. In the issue for August, 1775, appeared an article which has been referred to as "the earliest American plea for woman"—Paine's "An Occasional Letter on the Female Sex." President Witherspoon joined in the discussion, publishing, under the name of "Epaminondas," some of the pieces later included in his *Letters on Marriage.*

Next to Paine, Witherspoon was probably the *Pennsylvania Magazine's* most faithful contributor. A series of letters on education in the early numbers (frequently to be reprinted in later magazines), the marriage discussions just mentioned, and the early numbers of *The Druid* are among his contributions. David Rittenhouse, Benjamin Rush, and Matthew Wilson were contributors of scientific articles and helped to give the *Pennsylvania Magazine* a notably scientific trend.

Paine has an interesting article on the abuse of texts in the supplementary number for 1775, in which he points out that not every man who "preaches from a pulpit or harangues from a gallery . . . must of necessity be enriched with solid sense, must be supposed to act from the best motives, and be wholly influenced by the most genuine piety."[8] Short articles on mechanical subjects were sometimes illustrated by engraved plates. Biography was common, as in all magazines of the time. The

[8] *Pennsylvania Magazine,* I, 589. Supplement, 1775.

Meteorological Diary and the Hygrometer Table occupied places of honor in the front of each number.

On the whole, it was a good magazine, containing a larger proportion of original material than most other eighteenth century American magazines.

7

THE WORCESTER MAGAZINE[1]

ISAIAH THOMAS founded the *Massachusetts Spy* in Boston in 1771; four years later this newspaper, with its famous emblem of the divided snake and the device "Join or Die!" was forced to leave Boston on account of the beginning of hostilities with the British. It came then to the village of Worcester, Massachusetts, where it was continued for many years. The *Worcester Magazine* represents two years of the *Spy's* life during which the folio form was abandoned for small octavo and the name changed. Let Thomas explain the reason for these alterations:

The legislature of Massachusetts had in March, 1785, passed an "act, imposing duties on licensed vellum, parchment and paper." This act laid a duty of two thirds of a penny on newspapers, and a penny on almanacks, which were to be stamped. The British stamp act of 1765, violently opposed in the colonies, rendered this act so unpopular from its very name, that the legislature was induced to repeal it before it went into operation. But in the July following, another act was passed, which imposed a duty on all advertisements inserted in the newspapers printed in this Commonwealth. This act was thought by the publisher of the *Spy*, and by many others, to lay an improper restraint upon the press. He, therefore, discontinued the *Spy* during the period that this act was in force, which was two years. But he published as a substitute a periodical work, entitled "The Worcester Weekly Magazine," in octavo.[2]

So close were the periodical types in the eighteenth century that the change from a four-page folio to a sixteen-page octavo

[1] TITLE: *The Worcester Magazine. Containing Politicks, Miscellanies, Poetry, and News.*

FIRST ISSUE: First week of April, 1786. LAST ISSUE: Last week of March, 1788.

PERIODICITY: Weekly. Semiannual volumes, I-IV, April – September and October – March.

PUBLISHER AND EDITOR: Isaiah Thomas, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[2] Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (Worcester, 1810), II, 267-68. The word "Weekly" is not found in the title of the *Worcester Magazine.*

was almost the only alteration required to make a magazine out of a newspaper; the contents were very much the same. The *Worcester Magazine* had more politics and current events than the *Columbian,* for example, and it was published in weekly installments; but otherwise they were not very different.

It must be admitted, however, that the *Worcester Magazine's* politics and "intelligence" are its most interesting and valuable features. The records of Shays' Rebellion, the anarchistic conditions under the Articles of Confederation, the Rhode Island troubles, the constitutional convention and the campaign for the adoption of the constitution, and the proceedings of Congress and the Massachusetts General Court are all of great value for the picture they furnish us of the political activities of the interesting years 1786-88. For several months the magazine had departments for arguments for and against the proposed federal constitution, and Boston's celebration of the adoption of that instrument is described in detail.[3]

The most important literary contribution of the magazine is "The Worcester Speculator"—an essay series which the *American Museum,* in reprinting it a few years later, said was not inferior, in many of its numbers, to the *Spectator* itself.[4] An occasional poetical department was called, with journalistic contempt for mythology, "The Pegasus of Apollo."

A serial "History of the Late War in America" was taken from the *British Annual Register.* Agricultural articles appeared with frequency, including some furnished by Consul Crèvecoeur. Besides these things there were medical notes, anecdotes, recipes, and a good deal of *et cetera.*

The tax which had been responsible for the founding of the *Worcester Magazine* was lifted in April, 1788, and the *Massachusetts Spy* was resumed in the first week of that month.

[3] *Worcester Magazine,* IV, 259 (Second week of February, 1788).
[4] *American Museum,* Preface, Vol. V.

8

THE COLUMBIAN MAGAZINE, AND *THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM* [1]

ONE of the best of the eighteenth century magazines was the *Columbian* of Philadelphia. It was begun in September, 1786, by a quintuple partnership consisting of Mathew Carey, John Trenchard, Charles Cist, William Spotswood, and T. Seddon.

Carey lent his aid for only three months, during which he contributed a biographical account of General Nathaniel Greene, a speculation upon the future called "A Philosophical Dream," and other pieces; in January, 1787, he established a strong rival for the *Columbian* in the *American Museum.*

Trenchard was an engraver who had studied under James Smithers, and he contributed two copperplates for each number in the first three volumes. These consisted largely of maps, mechanical drawings, plans, buildings, and views, though there were some portraits. A portrait of General Greene, in a mixed style, illustrates Carey's article in the first number; a portrait of Washington in January, 1787, is better, though the cross-hatching is so coarse as to attract attention to itself. There were silhouettes of Washington and Franklin, occasional symbolical

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Columbian Magazine, or Monthly Miscellany, Containing a View of the History, Literature, Manners & Characters of the Year,* September, 1786 – February, 1790. (Vol. IV has an engraved title-page bearing this title and a printed one with the following title.) (2) *The Universal Asylum, and Columbian Magazine, Containing a History of the American Revolution, for the Years 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780. It also contains a great variety of Original Communications, in Prose and Verse, Original Translations, and Extracts from Foreign Publications . . .* , March, 1790 – December, 1792.

FIRST ISSUE: September, 1786. LAST ISSUE: December, 1792.

PERIODICITY: Monthly. Large duodecimo, I-III; octavo, IV-[IX]. I, September, 1786 – December, 1787; II, January – December, 1788; III, January – December, 1789; IV, *Universal Asylum,* Vol. I, January – June, 1790; [V-IX] *Universal Asylum,* II-VI, July, 1790 – December, 1792. Semiannual volumes.

PUBLISHERS: (all of Philadelphia) Mathew Carey, T. Seddon, W. Spotswood, Chas. Cist, and John Trenchard, September – November, 1786; T. Seddon, Wm. Spotswood, Chas. Cist, and John Trenchard, December, 1786 – 1787; Wm. Spotswood, 1788; John Trenchard, 1789 – February, 1790; Wm. Young, March, 1790 – December, 1792.

EDITORS: Same as publishers, 1786-87; Francis Hopkinson, 1787-88; Alexander James Dallas, 1788-90.

America! with Peace and Freedom blest,
Plant for thy Fame, and scorn inglorious rest:
Science invites, urg'd by the Voice divine,
Exert thy self, till every Art be thine.

AMERICA UNDER THE PALM TREE

Symbolical design used as frontispiece to Vol. III of the *Columbian Magazine.*

designs, an engraved title-page, and some music. One of the most successful of the symbolical designs is the one which is prefixed to the third volume and is thus explained:

> The Genius of Fœderate America is represented sitting under a palm-tree, the emblem of Peace. The tree is adorned with a wreath of laurel, entwining the badges of liberty—the pole and cap. Around the Genius of America, are the symbols of Commerce, Science, Agriculture and Plenty.—The American Eagle affords support to her arm; and, in this situation, she is supposed to be unconscious of her proximity to the temple of Fame, a view of which is represented in the background. Apollo, having heard the trumpet of the goddess, celebrating her praise, appears,—and announces the honors to be conferred on her—At the same time, he points to the temple; and casts a splendour on the path leading to its portal.[2]

Under the engraving are the lines:

> America! with Peace and Freedom blest,
> Pant for true Fame, and scorn inglorious rest:
> Science invites; urg'd by the Voice divine,
> Exert thyself, 'till every Art be thine.

(See illustration opposite page 96.)

Charles Cist, another of the founders of the *Columbian*, was a printer and publisher. He had been born in Russia and educated in Germany, and was a thoroughly public-spirited citizen. He later established the government printing office.

William Spotswood was the bookseller of the group. When, by the end of the magazine's first year, the quartette left after Carey's withdrawal began to disintegrate, Spotswood took over the management and conducted it through 1788. In January, 1789, Trenchard became sole owner, but the editorial office still remained at Spotswood's shop. The editorial work was performed by the publishers for the first six months, but in April, 1787, Francis Hopkinson, the famous poet, judge, and signer, wrote to his friend Thomas Jefferson: "The proprietors of the Magazine have engaged me to undertake the Management of the Work—to which they are by no means competent themselves.

[2] *Columbian Magazine*, III, iv.

The month of March is my first Exhibition."[3] Sometime in the next year Hopkinson turned the editorship over to Alexander James Dallas, an energetic young lawyer and man of affairs, who was later to become secretary of the treasury under President Madison and the proponent of the reëstablishment of the National Bank following the War of 1812-14. Dallas reported the proceedings of the Pennsylvania convention which approved the federal constitution in the *Columbian* in 1788, and in so doing he greatly offended many ardent federalists, including Dr. Benjamin Rush.[4]

The contents of the *Columbian* were especially varied and attractive during its first three years and a half. Its stated aim—to be "a future criterion of the opinions and characters of the age"[5]—was in some degree realized. Perhaps the most noticeable specialty in the magazine's offerings was in the articles on agriculture and mechanics; for example, John Fitch's description of his steamboat appeared, duly illustrated, in December, 1786, and January, 1787. Much of the material on agriculture was furnished by Timothy Pickering, secretary of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society.

The *Columbian* was also notable for its fiction in an age when fiction was not a staple of the magazines. It was not, indeed, a *Columbian* staple, but most numbers had two or three stories—oriental tales, allegories, characters, moral "novels," or "fragments." These were all anonymous; some were acknowledged translations; some were borrowed cavalierly and more or less reworked. Jeremy Belknap's political allegory of recent American history, after the style of Arbuthnot's "John Bull," and Hopkinson's "A Pretty Story," were printed serially in early numbers. "The Contemplant: an Eastern Tale" (November, 1786), "The Danger of Sporting with Innocent Credulity: Exemplified in the History of Miss Harriot Aspin" (May, 1787), "Amelia: or the Faithless Briton. An Original Novel, founded upon recent facts" (October, 1787), "Chariessa; or, a Pattern for the Sex" (January, 1787), "Ismael Couloski—A Turkish Tale" (October – No-

[3] George E. Hastings, *Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson* (Chicago, 1926), p. 433.

[4] A. H. Smyth, *Philadelphia Magazines* (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 66.

[5] *Columbian*, Preface, Vol. I.

vember, 1789), and "Temperance and Content" (December, 1789) may be cited as examples of *Columbian* fiction.[6]

"The Columbian Parnassiad" was a constant and usually rather entertaining feature, though the verse was conventional and unimportant—and much of it of Albion rather than Columbia. There was something of travel, including descriptions of some less known American regions: William Byrd's description of the Dismal Swamp, "now first published" in April, 1789, is an example. The inevitable essay series were in evidence, particularly "The Rhapsodist" of Charles Brockden Brown, which ran from August to November, 1789, and represents Brown's first appearance in the magazines. "If my continual struggles shall at length raise me to a level with mediocrity," writes Brown, "and my readers expect not the eccentric genius of a higher sphere, I shall be perfectly satisfied."[7] The four numbers were unusually diffuse, and ended abruptly. There was also a valuable department of "Intelligence," a "Law Budget," a table of prices current, and extensive meteorological reports from various sections. Historical articles found a place, and a serial compilation detailing the history of the Revolution began in 1789. Jeremy Belknap contributed biographical sketches later collected in a volume. Methods of education were also frequently discussed.

One of the most interesting features of the 1789 volume is found in the accounts of Washington's progress to New York for his inauguration—especially the receptions arranged for him at Gray's Ferry and Trenton. These articles are illustrated by copperplates showing triumphal arches and the decorations of the cities. "As soon as the general had passed under the arch" at Trenton, "the little choiristers," we are told, "advanced, singing the following sonata, composed for the occasion.

> "Welcome, mighty chief! once more
> Welcome to this grateful shore:
> Now no mercenary foe
> Aims again the hostile blow—
> Aims at thee the hostile blow.

[6] A list of some of the more important stories in the *Columbian* is given in Alexander Jessup's *Representative American Short Stories*, Appendix, p. 134, and "Chariessa" is reprinted, pp. 1-8.

[7] *Columbian Magazine*, III, 465 (August, 1789).

"Virgins fair, and matrons grave,
Those thy conqu'ring arms did save,
They for thee triumphal bow'rs
Build, and strew thy way with flow'rs—
Build for thee triumphal bowers,
And strew their hero's way with flowers.

As they sang the last lines they strewed the flowers before the general, who halted till the sonata was finished."[8] (See illustration opposite.)

In January, 1790, the *Columbian* was somewhat enlarged. Proposals had been printed for the publication of a new periodical to be called the *Philadelphia Magazine and Universal Asylum;* in March, Trenchard effected a combination with the projectors of the new magazine, himself relinquishing ownership. The work was newly christened, and now appeared under the more inclusive title of the *Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine.* William Young printed it "for a Society of Gentlemen" whose anonymity has thus far been successfully preserved. Dr. Rush may possibly have been one of them; at least he was a chief contributor, writing on scientific and educational topics. But the principal business of the magazine in this later series was the recording of the history of the Revolutionary War in documents and narratives—a task, as we have seen, which had been inaugurated by the *Columbian* in the preceding year. The *Universal Asylum* thus became a precursor of the special historical magazine. It retained some of the *Columbian's* entertaining features, however; for a time it continued, too, to print illustrations, though in greatly reduced numbers. Thackara and Vallance were the engravers.

That the new policy was not an unpopular one is evidenced by its continuance for nearly three years, and by the fact that second editions were sometimes called for. It was not until the end of 1792 that the magazine was discontinued, and then only because of the difficulties afforded by the new postoffice law of that year.[9] In the earlier series, the aim of which had been more popular, complaints of financial barrenness had sometimes found

[8] *Ibid.*, III, 289 (May, 1789).
[9] *Universal Asylum,* VI, 362 (December, 1792).

An East View of GRAY'S FERRY, near Philadelphia, with the TRIUMPHAL ARCHES, &c. erected for the Reception of General Washington, April 20th 1789.

HAIL TO GENERAL WASHINGTON!

This engraving by John Trenchard after a drawing by Charles W. Peale appeared in the *Columbian Magazine* for May, 1789. Washington was on his way to his first inauguration.

place;[10] in the later series, which was distinctly more solid and serious, there are indications that the magazine was at least paying its way. It was, doubtless, a serious age.

Considered from beginning to end, the *Columbian Magazine,* with its sequel the *Universal Asylum,* affords an extremely valuable treasury of materials which reflect its own times and the war years immediately preceding. It was the handsomest American magazine of its century.

[10] *Columbian Magazine,* III, ii.

9

THE AMERICAN MUSEUM [1]

MATHEW CAREY'S *American Museum* shares with the *Columbian Magazine* the honor of being the first successful American magazine. Both were published in Philadelphia. The *Columbian,* though it began four months before the *Museum,* ended at the same time; perhaps Carey's magazine had a somewhat more distinguished career.

Mathew Carey came to Philadelphia from his native Dublin in 1784. He had just served a jail sentence for the publication, in what he himself called his "enthusiastic and violent" Dublin paper, of criticisms of the British policy in Ireland; and being faced with further prosecutions, he preferred to emigrate. He had been in Philadelphia less than six months before he had established a paper there, but it was brought to an untimely end by a duel in which Carey was wounded and incapacitated for some months. In September, 1786, Carey formed a partnership with four others to publish the *Columbian Magazine,* but there were too many fingers in the pie, and he soon withdrew, to begin, in the following January, the rival of the *Columbian* which forms the subject of this sketch.

The *American Museum* was begun with less than a score of

[1] TITLES: (1) *The American Museum, or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces, &c., Prose and Poetical,* 1787-89. (2) *The American Museum, or, Universal Magazine; Containing Essays on Agriculture—Commerce—Manufactures —Politics—Morals—and Manners. Sketches of National Characters—Natural and Civil History—and Biography. Law Information—Public Papers—Proceedings of Congress—Intelligence. Moral Tales—Ancient and Modern Poetry, &c., &c.,* 1790-92.

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1787. LAST ISSUE: December, 1792.

PERIODICITY: Monthly. Two volumes yearly, January – June, July – December. Octavo.

PUBLISHER AND EDITOR: Mathew Carey, Philadelphia.

INDEXED partially in Poole, Vol. I.

REFERENCES: Earl L. Bradsher, *Mathew Carey, Editor, Author and Publisher* (New York, 1912), pp. 4-9; A. H. Smyth, *Philadelphia Magazines* (Philadelphia, 1892), pp. 67-73.

subscribers,[2] but its first number achieved a popularity sufficient to exhaust the edition of a thousand copies. Constitutionally sanguine, Carey could write at the end of his first year as though the work was a great and assured success. Apparently he had a subscription list of about 1,250,[3] much of which was in credit accounts; but Carey glances at his humble beginning, and says that he then "looked with confidence to the day when the list of subscribers should attain that degree of respectability which it now possesses, both as to numbers and the characters which compose it."[4] Carey was very proud of a subscription list which contained the names of the most famous men in the country, and printed with excusable self-gratulation the commendatory letters of Washington, Dickinson, Stiles, Dwight, Livingston, Randolph, Hopkinson, Bishop White, Provost Ewing, and others, in his various prefaces. The Washington letter contains the following statement of opinion: "I believe the *American Museum* has met with extensive, I may say, with universal approbation from competent judges: for I am of opinion that the work is not only eminently calculated to disseminate political, agricultural, philosophical, and other valuable information—but that it has been uniformly conducted with taste, attention, and propriety."[5] But proud as Carey was of his list and "the characters which compose it," those characters frequently did not pay cash, and the editor was in constant danger of bankruptcy.[6] "The heavy losses sustained by too many delinquencies in point of payment have more than once led to a determination to relinquish the undertaking," he wrote in his last volume.[7]

It is plain that the *Museum* was intended to be chiefly eclectic, and that little or no effort was made in its first two or three years to obtain original pieces. The preface to Volume IV says, "The work lays little or no claim to originality. . . . Original writ-

[2] Preface to Vol. II.

[3] See names of subscription list published in Vol. II. The subscribers were widely distributed.

[4] Preface to Vol. II.

[5] Preface to Vol. IV, which is dedicated to Washington. Letter dated June 25, 1788.

[6] See Carey, "Autobiographical Sketches" in the *New England Magazine* (Buckingham's), V-VII, 1833-34. Also published separately (Philadelphia, 1829).

[7] Preface to Vol. XII.

ings, however, are by no means excluded." It was what its subtitle named it—a repository—during the first half of its life, and its chief contents were reprints of revolutionary pamphlets, and such newspaper *belles-lettres* as seemed to be worthy of more permanent form. In the first volume, for example, appeared such serials as Paine's *Common Sense,* Washington's *Circular Letter to the Army,* Humphreys' *Address to the Armies of America,* and *On the Happiness of America,* Trumbull's *M'Fingal,* and Dr. Ladd's *Poems*—the last strangely admired in those days, chiefly, no doubt, because of the young author's tragic death on the "field of honor." There was a great deal in the *Museum* from time to time by that "respectable character," Benjamin Franklin, and by the equally respectable Francis Hopkinson [8] and Dr. Rush. There are frequent medical essays, and some anti-slavery articles—among which may be noted certain of the tracts of the Quaker schoolmaster, Anthony Benezet (whom John Neal referred to as "this benevolent creature" [9]), and Timothy Dwight's "Picture of African Distress," with its absurd couplet,

> "Why streams the life-blood from that female throat?
> She sprinkled gravy on a guest's new coat."

Discussion of education by Witherspoon, Rush, Hopkinson and others, and remarks both facetious and admonitory addressed to the ladies were common material. Then there were Boone's "autobiography" in Volume II, Paine's *Crisis* papers and Dickinson's *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer* in Volume IV, many addresses, President Witherspoon's *Letters on Marriage,* proceedings of Congress, current events, and so on.

In politics the *Museum* intended to be impartial,[10] though it plainly inclined toward the Federalist party. It reprinted the "Federalist" papers in Volume II, though it also published some material on the other side, and claimed to have lost subscribers in both factions because of such a bipartisan attitude.

Belles-lettres are represented by rather copious poetical offer-

[8] See Hastings, *Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson* (Chicago, 1926), pp. 434-35.

[9] *Blackwood's,* XVI, 562 (November, 1824).

[10] Preface to Vol. IV. For further comment on politics in the *Museum,* see pp. 51-54, *supra.*

ings in which the Hartford Wits are very prominent, by much of the older poetry (as that of Mather Byles and Joseph Green in Volume VIII), and by essay series and "characters." Among the essay series are "The Visitant" in Volume IV (chiefly on manners), "The Worcester Speculator," reprinted from the *Worcester Magazine,* and "The Columbian Observer" in IX and X. Manners were a common topic. Some of the pieces were robust, even coarse; Franklin's "Address of Polly Baker" was not out of place in the *Museum,* and there were some things more daring than that. There were few tales before 1790.

With the beginning of that year there was a change in policy. The subtitle was changed from "Repository" to "Universal Magazine," and there were more original contributions and more *belles-lettres.* "The plan is considerably changed," said the preface to Volume VIII, "so as to unite with the original design that of magazines in general." In the latter half of the magazine's file about one-third of the contents are original. There is much more short fiction, which takes the forms of "fragments," anecdotes, tales, "histories," and "novels." These, even when "original," are closely imitated from the sentimental and Gothic schools of current English fiction, as the recurring names alone would show—Monimia, Eugenio, Amelia, Maria. Stories of seduction, eastern tales, and revolutionary "fragments" are found.

The *Museum* came to an end in December, 1892, because, as it said, of difficulties created by the new Postoffice Act of that year.[11] It is quite possible that trouble with collections may have had something to do with the discontinuance.[12]

Considered as a whole, the *American Museum* is a valuable repository of revolutionary documents, besides presenting the student of the periodical essay, the brief narrative, and the poetry of its times with interesting materials. "Equal to the best periodical publications in Europe," said one French visitor, Jean Pierre Brissot.[13]

[11] *Museum,* XII, 302 (December, 1792). The Postoffice Act of February 20, 1792, made no provision for the transportation of magazines. See p. 18, *supra.*

[12] Six years after the discontinuance of the magazine, Carey published a volume called *The American Museum: A Repository of Valuable Newspaper Essays and Pamphlets.* This is sometimes mistakenly called Vol. XIII of the magazine. Its contents deal chiefly with the French question.

[13] Brissot, *New Travels in the United States of America* (Boston, 1797), p. 320.

10

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE[1]

IN December, 1787, Noah Webster had just passed his twenty-ninth birthday, but he had accomplished several things. He had published the spelling-book that was already making his name known to troops of perspiring schoolboys, and had completed his *Institute* with a grammar and a reader; he had been the chief mover in getting the states to enact copyright laws; he had written some influential tracts on governmental subjects and had influenced the trend of thought toward a federal constitution; and he had made himself many enemies by his brash self-confidence. And now he was about to start a magazine.

Boston had its *Massachusetts Magazine* at this time, Philadelphia had the *Columbian*, and New Haven and Worcester had weekly magazines; Webster's *American Magazine* was New York's first attempt at the publication of a monthly. The *American* first appeared in December, 1787, from the shop of Samuel Loudon, printer. It was a large duodecimo of seventy-two pages, and sold for two dollars and a half a year. By the end of the first volume—and the magazine never attained a second—its editor and owner claimed a circulation of five hundred; but this was a large claim, and the historian may well share in the doubts of some contemporary observers in regard to it.[2]

The twelve numbers of the *American Magazine* provide a variety and spirit unusual for the times. The whole round of materials and forms familiar to the English miscellanies was

[1] TITLE: *The American Magazine. Containing a Miscellaneous Collection of Original and Other Valuable Essays in Prose and Verse, and Calculated for Both Instruction and Amusement.*

FIRST ISSUE: December, 1787. LAST ISSUE: November, 1788.

PERIODICITY: One volume of twelve monthly numbers, December, 1787 – November, 1788.

PUBLISHERS: Samuel Loudon, New York, December, 1787 – February, 1788; S. & J. Loudon, New York, March – November, 1788.

EDITOR: Noah Webster.

[2] See Horace E. Scudder, *Noah Webster*, pp. 86, 91.

utilized in this magazine in the newly emancipated colonies. True, the magazine itself, in spite of the assertive patriotism of its editor, was not thoroughly emancipated: it reprinted no small amount of English material. But in this it merely followed magazine custom, and it did strive for originality. "The editor," said that worthy, "is determined to collect as many original Essays as possible; and particularly such as relate to this country." [3]

As might have been expected at this juncture in national affairs, there is much about the newly written constitution. The magazine is strongly federalist. Governmental questions are discussed in each issue, probably by the editor himself. Several pages of current news are included in the contents.

Education is a favorite subject; it has a part in every issue. The editor pleads for less attention to dead languages and more to English. He opposes the use of the Bible in the schools. He criticises the practice of one master teaching many subjects. He advocates electives. Girls should be taught English, arithmetic, and geography; French is unnecessary for them; and music, drawing, and dancing should have subordinate places. Travel abroad is not a good educational method, though tours in America are recommended.

Women receive more attention in the *American Magazine* than had been given them in any previous work of the kind. This is not strange in view of the young editor's interest in female society as revealed in his diary. In his magazine, Webster promises that "his *fair readers* may be assured that no inconsiderable pains will be taken to furnish them entertainment," [4] and he invites the ladies to contribute. He offers them the conventional advice about modest behavior and economical dress in great plenty, and designs for them, doubtless, much of the fiction with which he is more generous than his predecessors. Gothic, Shandean, and oriental stories, some of them original, appear; and anecdotes and allegories fill out the pages.

The poetry of Webster's fellow alumni of Yale occupies much of the poetical department. Trumbull's *Tom Brainless*, which

[3] *American Magazine*, I, 3 (December, 1787).
[4] *Ibid.*, I, 3 (December, 1787).

still seems to at least one reader an excellent satire on education as it was and is practiced; a long extract from "The Vision of Columbus," by Webster's classmate Barlow; and much verse as well as prose by the great Timothy Dwight—these may be especially noted. Webster engaged in controversy with the *London Magazine* in July, 1788, over the question of the poetical talent of Dwight, the English periodical (jealous, no doubt) taking the negative.

Besides these classes of material, both agriculture and American antiquities were given regular attention, Webster signing his articles on the latter subject. There were descriptions of American cities, and, as the work progressed, a growing number of book reviews. Also there were extracts from American books, old and new—Captain John Smith's *General History,* Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia,* and so on.

Steel plates appeared in three issues, executed by Shallus and Maverick; the subjects were a machine, an otter, and an Indian pipe.

At the close of the magazine's first year, its editor had plans by which it was to be enlarged: a portion of its pages were to be given over to an "Historical Register," and two other investors were to join him in the project.[5] This was later given up, and a scheme devised with Isaiah Thomas, owner of the *Massachusetts Magazine,* by which a Boston-New York magazine was to be issued. But that also fell through, and the *American Magazine* was abandoned. In his valedictory, the editor says he would like to see the magazine continued, but he has other "views in life." Undoubtedly he was tired of the magazine; moreover, he believed he would be able to build up a greater influence by means of a newspaper, and he was already planning to found his *Minerva.*

Such contemporary detractors as Ebenezer Hazard and Jeremy Belknap agreed in their correspondence[6] that the *American Magazine* was a "paltry performance": their idea of a good maga-

[5] See entries in Webster's diary for Nov. 7-8 and Dec. 5-6, 1788. F. Child and E. Hazard were named as the partners. *Notes on the Life of Noah Webster,* compiled by Emily Ellsworth Fowler Ford and edited by Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel (New York, 1912), I, 237-38.

[6] Scudder, *op. cit.,* pp. 78-93.

zine was a repository of state papers. But if it were not for the brevity of its file, the *American* would rank with any of the eighteenth century American magazines as an interpreter of its times; and it deserves our blessings for its attempts to lighten the general gloom of the period by a degree of lightness and entertainment.

11

THE MASSACHUSETTS MAGAZINE[1]

AMONG the more important of the eighteenth century American magazines is Isaiah Thomas's *Massachusetts Magazine.* Thomas had already had two adventures with magazine publication, but neither of them had afforded him a fair chance to show what he could do. The new periodical was to

> gratify and excite the natural inquisitiveness of the human mind . . . rouse and strengthen the latent powers of the soul . . . give birth to literary emulation and effort . . . enforce and reward studious application . . . improve the taste, the language and the manners of the age . . . increase an acquaintance with natural and civil history, with arts, manufactures and commerce, with law, physick and divinity. . . .[2]

All this is not very inviting to any seeker after mere entertainment, but such a strayed reveller might have been conditionally and partially reassured by the subtitle of the magazine—*Monthly Museum of Knowledge and Rational Entertainment*—and by its bill of fare: "Poetry, Musick, Biography, History, Physick, Geography, Morality, Criticism, Philosophy, Mathematicks, Agriculture, Architecture, Chemistry, Novels, Tales, News, Marriages, Deaths, Meteorological Observations, Etc." To any one who may think there was little left unspecified for inclusion in that

[1] TITLE: *The Massachusetts Magazine: or, Monthly Museum of Knowledge and Rational Entertainment.*

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1789. LAST ISSUE: December, 1796.

PERIODICITY: Monthly, in eight regular annual volumes, 1789-96. Suspended January – March, 1795.

PUBLISHERS (all of Boston): Isaiah Thomas and Company, January – August, 1789; Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, September, 1789-93; Ezra W. Weld, William Greenough and Samuel Hill, 1794; William Greenough, April – September, 1795; Alexander Martin, October, 1795 – June, 1796; Benjamin Sweetser, July – October, 1796; James Cutler, November – December, 1796.

EDITORS: Thaddeus Mason Harris, April, 1795 – May, 1796; William Bigelow, June – December, 1796.

[2] *Massachusetts Magazine*, I, 8 (January, 1789).

"Etc.," it may be pointed out that Thomas also published plays, essays, proceedings of Congress, and engravings.

As a matter of fact, there was no little variety in the contents of the eight volumes of the *Massachusetts,* and it is as entertaining as any American magazine before the advent of the *Port Folio* in 1801.

Essay serials were, conformably to contemporary custom, of chief importance. The opening number in January, 1789, introduced three such series. Among the *Massachusetts* essayists were Joseph Dennie as "Socialis"; William Bigelow, signing "Charles Chatterbox"; and Judith Murray, wife of the Universalist minister, John Murray, who published her "Gleaner" papers under the name "Constantia." Fiction was also a staple in this magazine, brief "fragments," oriental tales, and "characters" written especially for the *Massachusetts* filling many pages; indeed this periodical is one of the best in which to study the early development of the American short story. A full-length play was published in the October and November numbers of the first volume, though Boston was not permitted a theater. The production thus presented was Dunlap's *The Father,* which had been produced in New York.

"The Seat of the Muses," later called "The Cabinet of Apollo," was always well stocked with original lyric and didactic poetry signed by "Lavinia," "Aminta," "Leander," and such devotees of the Nine, as well as selections from printed sources. Dennie, writing over the signature of "Menander," carried on a conventional literary courtship with Mrs. Sarah Wentworth Morton, who masqueraded as "Philenia." Mrs. Morton, wife of an attorney general of Massachusetts, was the author of the first American novel, and one of the most valued of the *Massachusetts Magazine's* poetical contributors.

The department called "The Gazette" gave, in type which it must have been impossible to read by candlelight, a summary of foreign and domestic "intelligence." Proceedings of the Massachusetts legislature and the national Congress, and news of fires, marriages, deaths, and accidents came at the end of the magazine, along with the inevitable meteorological record. In the last number, no foreign intelligence having been received since the

preceding issue, the space was filled with Washington's Farewell Address.

Commencement exercises at Cambridge, Hanover, and Providence sometimes helped to furnish the miscellany, the "justly celebrated Orators of Harvard" being especially valued as contributors.[3] More and more the magazine came to depend upon what was always "the easiest way" for the eighteenth century editors—that of scissors and paste-pot. "Three years of experience, the best school of man," they wrote at the end of 1791,

> has painfully taught them, that expectations of *Originality*, were in some measure, delusively founded. A copious selection, both Foreign and Domestick, has therefore supplied those vacant pages, that long waited for the effusions of American Genius—and languished, but in vain—for the genial embrace of Columbian Science.[4]

The selections were usually brief, and had been taken from the usual sources—books of travel and science, and British and American magazines and pamphlets.

The music in the *Massachusetts* is interesting, much of it consisting of original American compositions. A page or two of music was printed with every issue for some years. Hans Gram, who was organist at the Brattle Street church, signs some of these compositions. Most of the pieces were sentimental songs, though there were marches, anthems, and so on. A copper engraving was also issued with each number, furnishing a frontispiece. It was usually executed by Samuel Hill, who was one of the publishers during 1794. There was much borrowing of foreign designs, and little variety in graving methods. At the end of 1791 it was proposed to "furnish eight pages of good Letter Press in lieu of each engraving," and to abandon "the trivial decoration of a plate, which only amuses the eye, without informing the mind, or meliorating the heart."[5] But this did not please the readers, and the plates were restored.

At the end of 1793, Thomas and his partner Andrews disposed

[3] *Ibid.*, III, 466 (August, 1791).

[4] *Ibid.*, page i, general preface to Vol. III, issued with the number for December, 1791.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. ii.

of the magazine to a firm composed of the printers Ezra W. Weld and William Greenough, and the engraver Hill. The preface to the fifth volume, issued in December, 1793, apologizes for neglect in printing, paper, and editing, and gives the magazine's failure to pay for itself as the reason. Under the new management greater care for these things is promised, and the women are to find their tastes consulted and the delicacy of their fancy gratified. But at the end of 1794 it appears that prospects were no brighter, for the magazine was suspended through the ensuing three months. Greenough resumed it, however, in April, 1795—with an editor. It is highly probable that the printers who had owned it up to this time had been its only editors, but now Thaddeus Mason Harris's name appeared on the cover. Harris had been a contributor of both verse and prose to the magazine in its earlier years. He was pastor of a Unitarian church in Dorchester, and a Harvard graduate. He stayed with the *Massachusetts* when Greenough got rid of it to Alexander Martin in October, 1795, but resigned his editorial duties to William Bigelow, the "Charles Chatterbox" of earlier numbers, in June, 1796. Bigelow was then editor until the end seven months later, seeing two changes of ownership in that time.

The *Massachusetts Magazine* was plainly not a success financially, nor did it achieve any very remarkable literary preeminence; yet it ranks in interest below only two eighteenth century magazines—the *American Museum* and the *Columbian*. Its variety was great, and its life, for those times, was long.

12

THE CHRISTIAN'S, SCHOLAR'S, AND FARMER'S MAGAZINE[1]

JUDGE SHEPARD KOLLOCK, editor of the *New Jersey Journal* at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, began in April, 1789, a bimonthly magazine with the inclusive title set forth above. This title, though unwieldy, indicated very well the eighteenth century conception of a magazine as an encyclopedic repository of papers.

The *Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's* was nothing if not encyclopedic. Its specialty was the serial publication of treatises on the arts and sciences. By the fall of 1789 it was carrying no less than thirty-eight of these serials at once. They had to do with such topics as rhetoric, oratory, farming, theology, manners, natural history, Greek history, the discovery of America, government, biographies, painting, music, and so on. Its readers must have been gluttonous for information. The magazine was heavy, of course; and it made no effort to lighten its pages with fiction. The most amusing feature was provided without thought of mirth, in the ready letter-writer which furnished epistles for every occasion which might arise.

As to the "Christian" part of it, it was undenominational. There was no controversy in the magazine. Nor was agriculture particularly prominent, in spite of the reference to it in the title. Manners took rather more space. Lord Chesterfield was reprinted serially, and there were pages of the tiresome advice to females which was an eighteenth century commonplace. Each number included four to six pages of poetry, and a department of

[1] TITLE: *The Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's Magazine; calulated in an eminent degree to promote Religion; to disseminate useful knowledge; to afford literary Pleasure and Amusement, and to advance the interests of Agriculture.*
FIRST ISSUE: April-May, 1789. LAST ISSUE: February-March, 1791.
PERIODICITY: Bimonthly, in annual volumes. I, April-May, 1789 – February-March, 1790; II, April-May, 1790 – February-March, 1791.
PUBLISHER: Shepard Kollock, Elizabethtown, N. J.
EDITORS: "A Number of Gentlemen."

current events. There were 128 large duodecimo pages in each issue.

It is highly probable that Judge Kollock himself, scissors-armed, was the actual editor, though the title-page said "By a Number of Gentlemen." The magazine was chiefly eclectic. A note following the index to the second and last volume reads in part: "The editors sincerely regret that want of Leisure will oblige them (at least for the present) to discontinue it. . . . it hath given general satisfaction."

13

THE NEW-YORK MAGAZINE[1]

THE *New-York Magazine* and the *Massachusetts Magazine* were the two longest lived magazines in eighteenth century America. Both were published for eight years, the *New-York* being founded a year later and lasting for a year longer than the *Massachusetts*.

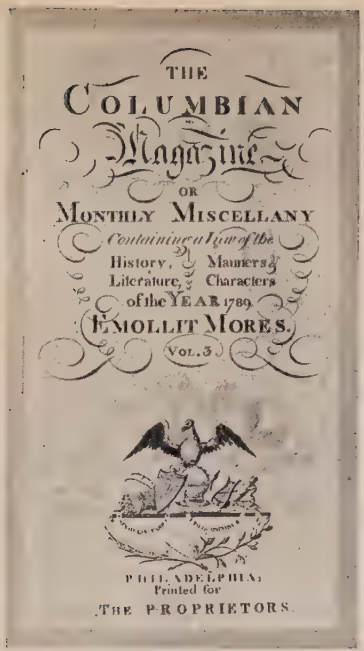
The *New-York Magazine* was begun in January, 1790, by Thomas and James Swords, who probably were both editors and publishers—as they were for the *Christian Journal and Literary Register* some years later. The greater part of the material in the *New-York* was taken from books and other periodicals, and the original portion was so closely veiled in anonymity that the Swords' helpers are not easy to identify; they were probably members of the Friendly Club.[2] Apparently one of the chief of them was William Dunlap, who has been identified as the author of "The Theatrical Register," a department of dramatic comment which ran from the autumn of 1794 through the spring of 1796.[3] Of all the eighteenth century magazines in America, the *New-York* shows the most interest in the theater,[4] and it is the most valuable of them to the historian of American dramatic production. Dunlap is given as the author of a translation of some German verses in the issue for January, 1796. Mrs. Ann Eliza

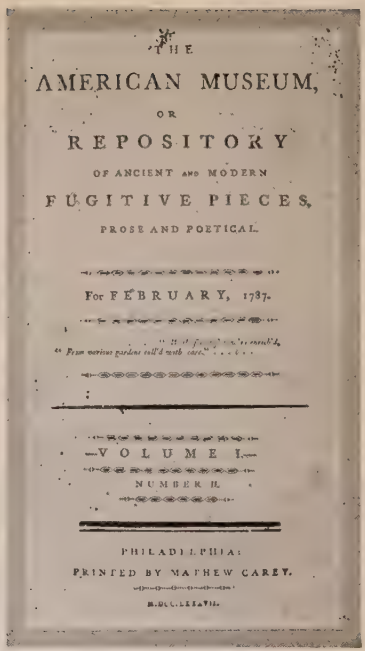
[1] TITLE: *The New-York Magazine; or, Literary Repository.*
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1790. LAST ISSUE: December, 1797.
PERIODICITY: Monthly; regular annual volumes. [First Series] I-VI, 1790-95; New Series [VII-VIII] I-II, 1796-97.
PUBLISHERS: Thomas and James Swords, New York.

[2] See Marcia Edgerton Bailey, *A Lesser Hartford Wit, Dr. Elihu Hubbard Smith* (University of Maine Studies, Second Series, No. 11, 1928), p. 86. John W. Francis, in an article of reminiscences in the *International Magazine* (V, 263, February, 1852) says the "Drone Club" contributed to the *New-York*, and names Brown, Dunlap, Bleecker, Hoffman, and Kent as members. "The Drone" was the title of the *New-York's* chief essay series.

[3] Mary Rives Bowman, "Dunlap and 'The Theatrical Register' of the *New-York Magazine*," in *Studies in Philology*, XXIV, 413-25 (July, 1927).

[4] See p. 56, *supra*.


THE
COLUMBIAN
Magazine
OR
MONTHLY MISCELLANY
Containing a View of the
History, Manners,
Literature, Characters
of the YEAR 1789.
EMOLLIT MORES.
VOL. 3.
PHILADELPHIA:
Printed for
THE PROPRIETORS.


THE
AMERICAN MUSEUM,
OR
REPOSITORY
OF ANCIENT AND MODERN
FUGITIVE PIECES,
PROSE AND POETICAL.
For FEBRUARY, 1787.
—VOLUME I.—
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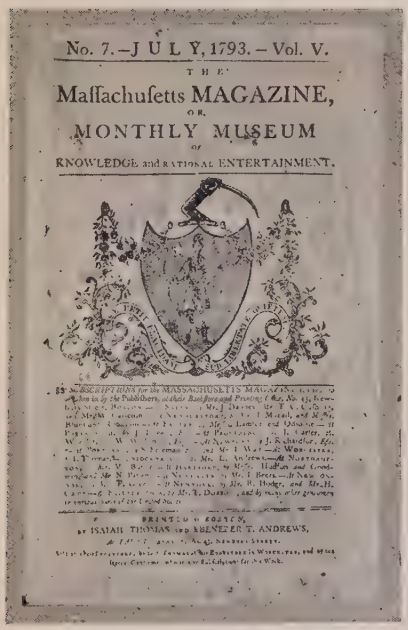
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THE
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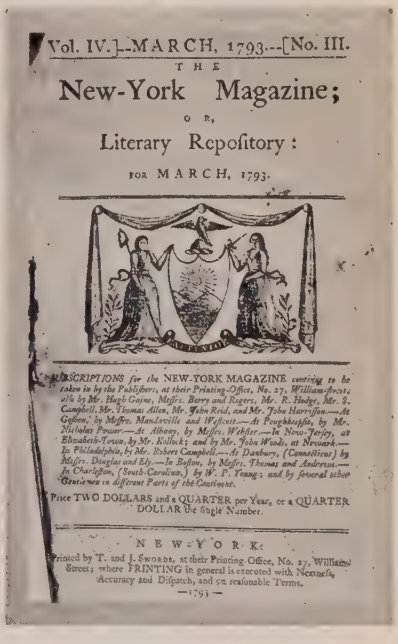

Vol. IV.]—MARCH, 1793.—[No. III.
THE
New-York Magazine;
OR,
Literary Repository:
FOR MARCH, 1793.
Price TWO DOLLARS and a QUARTER per Year, or a QUARTER DOLLAR the single Number.
NEW-YORK:
Printed by T. and J. SWORDS, at their Printing Office, No. 27, William-Street; where PRINTING in general is executed with Neatness, Accuracy and Dispatch, and on reasonable Terms.
—1793.—

THE FOUR MOST IMPORTANT POST-REVOLUTIONARY MAGAZINES

Upper pair, volume title pages (the *Columbian* engraved on copper); lower pair, covers.

Bleecker contributed some of her elegiac and domestic poems to early volumes of the magazine, and Anthony Bleecker, punster and good fellow, was also doubtless a contributor. Such business and professional men as Dr. Elihu H. Smith, James Kent, and Josiah Ogden Hoffman probably wrote for it occasionally; and Charles Brockden Brown is said to have contributed.[5] Members of the Friendly Club included, besides Dunlap, Bleecker, Smith, and Kent, such men as the brothers Dr. Edward Miller and the Rev. Samuel Miller, the lawyers William Johnson, Charles Adams, and John Wells, Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, and Noah Webster.[6]

Travel occupies an important place in the file of the *New-York*, a great variety of sources being laid under tribute. A comparatively small amount of fiction was printed, though the essay series called "The Drone" contains some tales, and nearly every number has some brief narrative in the forms of "fragments," anecdotes, or extracts. The verse department, called "The American Muse," was carefully divided into "Original Poetry" and "Selected Poetry." In each number, also, was a "Monthly Register" of current events, set in very small type. Extracts from agricultural, medical, and legal works occupied a considerable space. The pieces were of greater length than in many other magazines of the times.

Isaac Scoles and other engravers furnished the copperplates which were a feature of the magazine, and which were very good for eighteenth century American work. Many were copied from European prints, but some are of American scenes and portraits. The "View of Broadhead's Creek in Pennsylvania" with the number for March, 1796, may be mentioned; others are less successful.

The price of the *New-York Magazine* was "Two Dollars and a Quarter per year, or a Quarter Dollar the single Number." The cover was of blue stock of a lighter weight than that used for the letter-press, and bore an emblem printed from a type-metal cut showing two very fully draped female figures representing liberty

[5] See *Norton's Literary Gazette*, N.S. I, 156 (April 1, 1854) in which the writer states that Bleecker, Smith, Brown, Dunlap, Hoffman, Kent, "and several others, wrote in almost every number" of the *New-York Magazine*.

[6] Bailey, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

and justice, with a rising sun between them; below it the motto, "Excelsior." The names of agents as far away as Charleston, South Carolina, are carried on the cover. The subscription list was originally headed by the names of George Washington and John Adams. The fourth page of the cover usually bore advertisements of manufacturers, tradesmen, and booksellers.

PART II

THE PERIOD OF NATIONALISM

1794-1825

The Second Declaration of Independence

CHAPTER III

NATURE OF THE MAGAZINES OF THE SECOND PERIOD

THE POSTAL ACT OF 1794

IT was after all a conditional and rather half-hearted recognition which the Postoffice Act of 1794 accorded the magazines. They "may be transported in the mails," says the Act, "when the mode of conveyance and the size of the mails will permit of it."[1] This practically gave the postmaster general power to accept or include given magazines; as a matter of fact that official was inclined to be distinctly unfriendly to most of them. We find him, for example, writing to the postmaster at Cincinnati in 1815 that

> Pamphlets and magazines ought not to be sent by mail on the great roads when the mails are large nor have Postmasters a right to send them without special authority from this office by mail—No late authority has been granted to the Postmasters of Philadelphia, New York &c. except for such few magazines as are published by religious societies & they cannot be permitted to send any other than such magazines to your section of the country.[2]

Undoubtedly individual postmasters were more indulgent in this matter of accepting magazines for the mails than the postmaster general was.

The rates, when magazines were accepted, amounted to eight cents a copy of a 64-page octavo magazine which had been carried over a hundred miles, six cents for distances between fifty and a hundred miles, and four cents when carried less than fifty miles. This made the yearly postage on such a monthly

[1] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, Third Congress, Session I, Chap. 23, Sec. 22. Enacted May 8, 1794.

[2] Postmaster General's Letterbook T, 184. Signed by Postmaster General Meigs' initials.

from forty-eight to ninety-six cents, according to distance:[3] it was paid by the subscriber, and thus increased the cost of the magazine to him by twenty to forty per cent. These rates were maintained throughout the period under consideration, except for the year 1815, when post-war finances required a flat increase of fifty per cent on all postage.[4]

Great improvements in the roads were made during these years, the postal routes were extended, and service was improved. By 1825 magazine publishers were generally using the mails when no cheaper means of transportation was available.[5]

Thus the Postal Act of 1794 brought about no magazine millennium; indeed the change to be noted is in the greater number of magazines founded, rather than in increased prosperity after they were launched. Seven of them were started in 1795, and there were few years thereafter which saw less than ten magazines begun. But only three magazines of all those started in the closing years of the eighteenth century outlasted two years,[6] and it was not until 1811 that an American literary magazine could celebrate a tenth birthday:[7] in that year the *Port Folio* had rounded out a decade. There were five American magazines in 1794, twelve in 1800, about forty in 1810, and nearly a hundred in 1825, the end of our period.[8] Probably five or six hundred

[3] The law specified one cent a sheet for less than fifty miles, one and a half cents between fifty and one hundred miles, and two cents when over that distance. Meantime newspapers were paying one cent for each one hundred miles or under, and one and one-half cents when that distance was exceeded. These rates were enacted in 1792.

[4] Effective from Feb. 1, 1815, to March 31, 1816.

[5] In the earlier part of the period the stage was often used for distant transportation throughout the Atlantic states. C. B. Brown writes from New York to his brother James in Philadelphia in May, 1800: "Yesterday the due number of copies of No. 3 of the *Magazine* was put on board the stage for your city." (Wm. Dunlap's *Life of Charles Brockden Brown*, II, 99.) In 1816 the *Western Christian Monitor* changed its delivery system from "private conveyance," with its "unavoidable mistakes and delays," to the mails (*Western Christian Monitor*, I, 587). As late as in 1829, Timothy Flint offered to send his *Western Monthly Review* by private conveyance if the subscriber would designate one and "warrant" it. Western magazines suffered on account of their distance from centers of population.

[6] The *Philadelphia Minerva*, the *New York Weekly Magazine*, and the *Medical Repository*. The *Farmer's Museum* may be added. See p. 156, *infra*.

[7] This statement disregards the *Farmer's Museum*, which was perhaps a newspaper.

[8] See Beer, *Checklist;* Thomas, *History of Printing*, II, 513-14; and p. 70, *supra*. Thomas lists only twenty-six periodicals in 1810, admitting "there may be others," and the *American Almanac* (XI, 196) gives the figure as twenty-six, doubtless copying Thomas; but the true figure is surely nearer forty.

periodicals other than newspapers were published in the United States during the years 1800-1825.

Perhaps the best way to obtain a satisfactory view of the magazines of the Nationalism Period will be to call the roll, first, of the leading general magazines of the time; then to marshal in review the periodicals directed to various classes of readers, noting at the same time what the general magazines had to say to these same classes; third, to analyze somewhat such phases of the contents of the general magazines as have not already been touched upon; and lastly, to consider certain miscellaneous matters, such as contributors, business affairs, illustration, geographical centers, and so on.

WEEKLIES AND MONTHLIES

The comparatively successful general magazines in the earlier years of our period were nearly all weeklies. Hebdomadals had been of frequent occurrence all through the first period, and at least one—Isaiah Thomas's *Worcester Magazine*—had been important. In 1795 three literary weeklies appeared: the *Philadelphia Minerva,* a miscellany published by W. T. Palmer, which is notable chiefly from the fact that it reached the comparatively great age of three years and a half; the *Tablet,*[9] a Boston essay periodical which, although it lasted only three months, is important because it was Joseph Dennie's first adventure in the magazine field; and the *New York Weekly Magazine,*[10] later called the *Sentimental and Literary Magazine,* which published through two years page after page of "elegant extracts," together with many tales and "fragments" by one "L. B." and others, much trite advice to young women, and those two indispensables of our early magazines—poems and meteorological tables. Philip Freneau's *Time Piece and Literary Companion* of 1797-98 was a New York triweekly. Beginning in January, 1797, and running through July of the following year, came that southern pioneer,

[9] William Spotswood, publisher; thirteen numbers, May 9 to Aug. 11, 1795. See Harold Milton Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and His Circle* (Bulletin of the University of Texas, 1915), pp. 79-83.

[10] John Bull publisher, 1795-96, Thomas Burling and John Tiebout, 1797; 112 numbers, July 1, 1795, to August 23, 1797. Change of title for last two months.

the *South-Carolina Weekly Museum*,[11] a miscellany edited by T. P. Bowen in which the usual oriental tales, "fragments," verses, and essays vied with the state papers of the home and foreign governments. The *American Universal Magazine* was a Philadelphia biweekly, chiefly eclectic, of 1797-98.[12] Another very interesting hebdomadal was the *Weekly Magazine of Original Essays, Fugitive Pieces, and Interesting Intelligence*, printed in Philadelphia from Feb. 3, 1798, to June 1, 1799. It published a number of contributions by Charles Brockden Brown: an essay-story series called "The Man at Home," an extract from the ill-fated *Sky-Walk*, and a part of *Arthur Mervyn; or, Memoirs of the Year 1793*. The last-named work ended with the suspension of the magazine at the close of August, 1798, which followed the death of the young and ambitious editor, James Watters, in the yellow fever epidemic. After six months, however, the plague having abated, publication was resumed by Ezekiel Forman, who gave it up at the end of four months of further trial.[13] Baltimore was also in the field: it had a Sunday miscellany called the *Weekly Museum* for two months in 1797; and three years later the *Baltimore Weekly Magazine* began under the management of John B. Colvin and ran for a little over a year.[14] There were monthlies also, in the years 1795-1800,[15] but the more important periodicals begun were weeklies.

11 Charleston: W. P. Harrison & Co., three volumes.

12 Richard Lee, editor, and S. H. Smith, publisher. Volumes as follows: I, January 2 – March 20, 1797; II, April 3 – June 13, 1797; III, July 10 – Nov. 15, 1797; IV, Dec. 5, 1797 – March 7, 1798. Weekly for first four numbers.

13 Following is the voluming of this periodical: I, Feb. 3 – April 28, 1798; II, May 5 – July 28, 1798; III, Aug. 4, 1798 – April 6, 1799 (suspended between Aug. 25, 1798 and Feb. 9, 1799); IV, April 13 – June 1, 1799. There were the usual essay series, poems, etc., and an Appendix of State Papers.

14 April 26, 1800, to May 27, 1801. William Pechin, publisher.

15 Magazines founded in these years and not mentioned elsewhere in this chapter are: *The American Monthly Review, or Literary Chronicle* (January – December, 1795), by Samuel Harrison Smith, Philadelphia; *The Rural Magazine, or Vermont Repository* (January, 1795 – December, 1796), by Rev. Samuel Williams and Son, Rutland, Vt.; *The United States Christian Magazine* (three undated numbers, 1796), by T. and J. Swords, New York; *Monthly Military Repository* (1796-97), in two octavo volumes by Charles Smith; *The New Star*, intended as a weekly, but existing in a unique number (Feb. 2, 1796), issued by Apollos Kinsley at Hartford; *The Nightingale* (May 10 – July 30, 1796), a Boston triweekly duodecimo, edited by John Lathrop, Jr.; *The Long Island Magazine*, intended as a monthly, but again a single number, issued by David Frothingham at Sagg Harbour, June, 1796; *The Lady and Gentleman's Pocket Magazine* (August – November, 1796), a monthly 16mo by J. Fellows and J. Lyon, New York; *The Remembrancer, for Lord's Day*

This brings us up to the most important magazine of our period, the Philadelphia *Port Folio,*[16] begun in 1801—also as a weekly—by Joseph Dennie. The *Port Folio* is discussed in detail later in this volume (as are other of the more prominent magazines of the period), but its undisputed preëminence in the first two decades of the nineteenth century necessitates a brief summary of its achievement here. The wide recognition accorded it came largely as a result of its editor's abilities as writer and critic; wit and incisiveness were qualities all too rare in the magazines of the time, and to these Dennie added boldness and taste. It is true that he made bitter enemies by some of his political writings; but he made friends, too, and he got his magazine talked about. A great editor usually has personal magnetism, and Dennie attracted friends and contributors some of whom were as talented as himself. Joseph Hopkinson, author of "Hail, Columbia"; Richard Rush, later minister to England and France; John Quincy Adams, the most literary president of the United States before Roosevelt; Charles Brockden Brown, one of the most eminent literary figures in the America of his time; John Blair Linn and Charles Jared Ingersoll, dramatists and poets; Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist; and Gouverneur Morris, the diplomatist, were among the many contributors to the *Port Folio.* After 1808 the magazine was issued monthly, and was less entertaining; it was in financial difficulties, and Dennie had relinquished the ownership. Moreover he was unwell and discouraged. After his death in January, 1812, the magazine was in various hands for a few years, and then John E. Hall edited it for its final decade. For several years it was reduced to drafts upon English magazines. Many files of it end with 1825, and an attempt to resuscitate it after a six months' suspension affords a rather ignominious postscript to an eminent career. Indeed, the suspension of the *Port Folio* at the end of 1825 and the founding of *Graham's* forerunner, the *Casket,* in 1826, together with the great boom in magazine activity about that time and the enactment of the Postal Act of 1825, afford the combina-

Evenings (Jan. 1 – February, 1797), a weekly octavo, edited by Rev. Joseph Brown, Exeter, N. H.

[16] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 223-46.

tion of circumstances which marks the end of the second period of magazine development in America.

Second only to the *Port Folio* in importance in the opening years of the century was the series of periodicals edited by Charles Brockden Brown. In April, 1799, Brown started his *Monthly Magazine and American Review*[17] in New York. It had plenty of diversity, with essays, good literary criticism, fiction by the editor and others, and so on. It was succeeded in 1801 by the quarterly *American Review and Literary Journal,*[18] which gave special attention to American literary work, and to mechanics and science, but was less interesting than its predecessor. This ran for two years; then Brown removed to his native city of Philadelphia and began the *Literary Magazine and American Register,*[19] a monthly which continued through 1807 and was similar to Brown's first venture. In the last year of the *Literary Magazine* Brown began a semiannual publication called the *American Register or General Repository of History, Politics and Science,*[20] which he conducted until his death in 1810. Brown's editorial work shows industry and critical ability, but none of his journals was really successful.

In the meantime the *Monthly Anthology*[21] was begun in Boston in 1803. After two years under the care of its founder, Phineas Adams, and his successor, the Rev. William Emerson, its fortunes were confided to the Anthology Club—an organization founded for that purpose and including many of the best scholars of Boston and Harvard. The *Anthology* printed some travel, serial essays, and poetry; but it is far from an amusing magazine—at least for a later taste. There is much of the classics, of severe but honest criticism of contemporaries, and of instructive matter. It was discontinued in June, 1811. A successor—perhaps its inheritor—was Andrews Norton's *General Repository and Review*[22] (1812-13), a quarterly which, though more given to theological disquisition, received help from many

[17] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 218-19.
[18] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 219-20.
[19] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 220-21.
[20] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 221-22.
[21] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 253-59.
[22] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 277-78.

of the same contributors who had made the *Anthology*. A periodical which should be mentioned in connection with these is the quarterly *Literary Miscellany*,[23] published by the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1805 and 1806. It contained an early discussion of German literature, a "Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century," translations of classical poetry, memoirs of Count Rumford, and "occasional reviews," but, as the *Anthology* remarked, "it was deficient in exciting interest or affording amusement." [24]

Joseph T. Buckingham's *Polyanthos*,[25] of Boston, was a pleasant little magazine, well illustrated and carrying interesting theatrical notices. The young editor in his salutatory promised: "Is there a gem, that sparkles yet unknown, ours shall be the task to place it where its radiance may illumine and adorn society." [26] The gems were furnished by Royall Tyler, several clerical contributors, the editor, and other magazines.

The *Analectic Magazine* [27] began in 1813 as an eclectic, with some original reviews, but enlarged the original part after the first two years, taking advantage of the popular interest in the achievements of the American navy against England to specialize in naval affairs. Washington Irving was a rather bored editor for a short time. The *Analectic's* career extended over eight years. In connection with it may be mentioned the *Military Monitor*, founded August 17, 1812, to record the events of the war with England, and published weekly through April 2, 1814.

Next on the roll of general magazines which require special mention in a survey of the period is the Baltimore *Portico* [28] (1816-18). According to the captions it was "conducted by Two

[23] Subtitle of *Literary Miscellany: Including Dissertations and Essays on Subjects of Literature, Science, and Morals; Biographical and Historical Sketches; Critical Remarks on Language; with Occasional Reviews*. Month of issue for the quarterly parts is not given. There are two volumes, published by W. Hilliard at Cambridge.

[24] *Monthly Anthology*, II, 170 (April, 1805).

[25] [First Series] I-V, December, 1805 – July, 1807; N.S. I-II, February – September, 1812. Foregoing had four 18mo numbers to a volume; the magazine was suspended August, 1807 – January, 1812. Then: [Third Series] I-IV, October, 1812 – September, 1814, 8vo. Subtitle N.S.: *A monthly magazine consisting of original performances and selections from works of merit*. See Buckingham, *Personal Memoirs and Recollections of Editorial Life* (Boston, 1852), I, 54-61.

[26] *Polyanthos*, Preface to Vol. I.

[27] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 279-83.

[28] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 293-96.

Men of Padua," apparently Stephen Simpson and Tobias Watkins. Its contents were rather heavy, and its criticism inclined to severity. Similar, though perhaps a bit lighter, was the *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review*,[28a] edited by H. Biglow and C. I. Holley in New York for two years beginning May, 1817.

Meantime the weekly magazines which had held the field at the beginning of the period continued to appear here and there all over the United States. Most of them flourished for only two or three years and then resigned themselves to oblivion. Nearly every town of any size in America had a literary miscellany at some time during this period,[29] and most of them were weeklies. The *Cincinniati Literary Gazette*—itself a local-pride weekly—called on the Muse to chronicle the multiplicity of local periodicals:

> This is the Age of Magazines—
> Even skeptics must confess it:
> Where is the town of much renown
> That has not one to bless it?
>
> . . . . . .
>
> *Museums, Mirrors, Monthlys*—strike
> Our view in crowds and dozens:
> And so much do they look alike
> We see they all are cousins.
> Their phizzes seem so thin and wan,
> So hopeless their conditions
> They all must go to shades below
> In spite of their physicians.[30]

Most of the weeklies were low-priced, quarto in size, and designed for entertainment; frequently they combined politics and news with literature. Moreover, they were quite free in the matter of helping themselves to whatever crumbs might fall from other literary tables, and thus became highly eclectic.

[28a] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 297-98.

[29] See, for example, John W. Moore, *Historical, Biographical, and Miscellaneous Gatherings* (Concord, N. H., 1886), for records of such periodicals in New Hampshire and Vermont.

[30] *Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, I, 72 (Feb. 28, 1824).

Half a dozen of these miscellanies may be mentioned here. The *Balance and Columbia Repository* was published weekly at Hudson, New York (1802-08). The *Boston Weekly Magazine*[31] (1803-06) printed serial novels, and is especially notable for its attention to the theater. Its continuation, the *Emerald*[32] (1806-08), was of much the same nature, with a smaller page. Joseph T. Buckingham's *New-England Galaxy*[33] (1817-34), of Boston, must be commemorated for at least three things: its long life, its publication in 1824 of William Austin's classic "Peter Rugg, the Missing Man," and the fact that three actions for libel grew out of the editor's freedom in comment on individuals. Two Philadelphia weeklies of the first decade of the century were the *Philadelphia Repository and Weekly Register*,[34] and the *Evening Fireside, or Literary Miscellany*.[35] The *New-York Weekly Museum, or Polite Repository of Amusement and Instruction* (1814-17) was a continuation of a newspaper which had borne the first part of this name.

Toward the end of our period the weekly magazines increased in number. Three of those which were begun between 1820 and 1825 must be mentioned: the *Saturday Evening Post*,[36] the *New York Mirror*,[37] and the *Minerva*. The first was in a sense the legatee of the old *Pennsylvania Gazette*, the newspaper Franklin had made famous; but the newspaper ended six years before the

[31] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 247-50.

[32] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 247-50.

[33] Called *New-England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine*, Oct. 10, 1817 – Oct. 6, 1820. Subtitle dropped thereafter, but replaced Dec. 24, 1830 – April 15, 1831, by "and United States Literary Advertiser." Joseph T. Buckingham was editor and owner until November, 1828, when he sold to Willard Phillips and Theophilus Parsons. The paper ran six or seven years longer. Among contributors were Samuel L. Knapp, Susanna Rowson, William Bigelow, Silas P. Holbrook, and William Austin. See Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 73-256. John Neal, never a reliable historian, claims in his *Wandering Recollections* (Boston, 1869) to have "almost ruined" the *Galaxy* by attacks in his *Yankee* (pp. 338-40). Neal claims to have been an editor of the *Galaxy* in 1835, with H. Hastings Weld, and later Henry F. Harrington.

[34] Nov. 15, 1800 – June 29, 1805. Edited successively by David Hogan and John W. Scott.

[35] Dec. 7, 1804 – Dec. 27, 1806, 2 vols. Subtitle to Vol. I: *or Weekly Intelligence in Civil, Natural, Moral, Literary and Religious Worlds;* of Vol. II: *or Literary Miscellany.*

[36] Treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

[37] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 320-30.

literary miscellany began. The *Post* was the first general literary magazine to achieve long life. The *Mirror,* founded in 1823 by the poets George Pope Morris and Samuel Woodworth, was partly a fashionable journal of New York society; but it played a very important part in the rise of the Knickerbocker literary school, and lived to round out two decades. The *Minerva, or Literary, Entertaining and Scientific Journal,*[38] of New York, was a well printed miscellany edited by George Houston and James G. Brooks, 1822-25; Brooks continued it through February, 1827, first as the *New York Literary Gazette and Phi Beta Kappa Repository* and later as the *Literary Gazette and American Athenæum.* Partially eclectic, Brooks' weekly printed many popular tales, some criticism and poetry, and reviews of books and plays.

A brilliant but ill-fated group of magazines belongs to the end of this Period of Nationalism. It begins with the *United States Literary Gazette,*[39] a semimonthly miscellany of Boston, which was begun April 1, 1824. The *Gazette* was distinguished for its roll of poet-contributors, which included Bryant, the youthful Longfellow (still a student at Bowdoin), Percival, and Dawes. After two years the *Literary Gazette* absorbed the *New-York Review and Athenæum Magazine,*[40] a monthly with somewhat the same aims as its Boston rival. The *New-York Review* was the successor of the *Atlantic Magazine,*[41] which had been founded about the same time as the *Literary Gazette* and edited for a year by the poet Robert C. Sands; the *Atlantic Magazine* had then been discontinued, but shortly thereafter its publishers had launched in its stead the *New-York Review,* with William Cullen Bryant, lately come to town from New England, as joint editor with Sands. It was this magazine which was now combined with the *United States Literary Gazette,* of Boston. The Sands magazines had, like the *Gazette,* published some good

[38] The *Minerva* published two volumes April 6, 1822 – April 3, 1824, and then three more volumes of a new series April 9, 1824 – Sept. 3, 1825. The *Literary Gazette* published three volumes Sept. 10, 1825 – Feb. 24, 1827. The name was altered and the size enlarged from octavo to quarto at the beginning of Vol. II, March 11, 1826.

[39] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 331-33.

[40] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on p. 335.

[41] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 334-35.

authors: Bryant and Sands, of course, and besides them Halleck, Willis, Dana, and Bancroft. Now with the merger the *Gazette* became a monthly, and shortly changed its name to the *United States Review and Literary Gazette.*[42] This last phase of a gallant hope was maintained just a year; it was bi-regional, being published both at Boston, with Charles Folsom in charge, and at New York, where Bryant officiated.

Finally, to end the roll of notable monthly and weekly magazines of a general character in this period, Dr. James McHenry's *American Monthly Magazine* of 1824 may be mentioned. Like the *United States Literary Gazette,* it encouraged the youthful Longfellow.[43]

QUARTERLIES AND ECLECTICS

The first American quarterly to be modelled upon the successful English reviews was Walsh's *American Review.*[44] It is true that several of the very earliest American magazines had been devoted largely to careful and extensive treatments of political, social, and (occasionally) literary questions; and, more pertinently, Brockden Brown's *American Review,* founded the year before the *Edinburgh* showed the way, was a quarterly which had much the same motive and method. The *New-England Quarterly Magazine,* which published three numbers in the very year that the *Edinburgh* began, was not properly a review; nor were the quarterly *Literary Miscellany* and *General Repository,* mentioned in a preceding paragraph. So the first quarterly reviews in America were Brown's *American Review and Literary Journal,* of 1801-02, and Walsh's *American Review of History and Politics,* which lasted through 1811 and 1812. The latter gave special attention to French affairs, for its editor had some claim to be considered a specialist in Napoleonic politics. Fifteen years later Walsh revived his review under the title of the *American Quarterly.*[45] But before that there had

[42] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on p. 333.

[43] Philadelphia: Job Palmer, January–December, 1824, 2 vols. See sketch of *American Quarterly,* pp. 274-75, for Dr. McHenry; but whatever his critics may advance in derogation, he deserves well for his real encouragement of the youthful Bowdoin writer.

[44] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 271-72.

[45] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 272-76.

been two other quarterly reviews begun—one to enjoy a long career, and the other to perish in infancy. In 1815, William Tudor, a young Harvard graduate, issued the first numbers of the *North-American Review and Miscellaneous Journal.*[46] At first it was not quarterly, but bimonthly. A group of Boston and Harvard scholars, partly recruited from the former Anthology Club, which had been maturing a plan for a New England review, soon came to his assistance, and in a few years the *North American* had laid the foundations of an international reputation. At the end of 1818 it became a quarterly, and so remained for more than half a century. Its managing editors during our period were Tudor, Jared Sparks, Edward Tyrrell Channing, and Edward Everett. The short-lived review of these years was the *Literary and Scientific Repository* (1820-22), Col. C. K. Gardner's quarterly, which was at the beginning largely eclectic, but improved in originality and quality before its suspension.

There were also some purely eclectic magazines in this period. Certain of the earliest American magazines were composed wholly or in large part of extracts from the British periodicals because original contributions were not to be had, but it was not until wholly original magazines had become common in America that the periodical offering the "cream of foreign publications" made its appearance. Enos Bronson's *Select Reviews and the Spirit of the Foreign Magazines*[47] ran through 1809-12, and was the predecessor of the *Analectic.* The *Atheneum, or Spirit of the English Magazines,* a Boston weekly, began its long career in 1817.[48] In 1818 Eliakim Littell and R. Norris Henry published a weekly paper, the *Philadelphia Register,* which they made an eclectic the next year under the name of the *National Recorder,* later the *Saturday Magazine.* In 1822 it became a monthly under the name of the *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science,*[49] and for twenty years it was the leading American eclectic. It was succeeded by the yet more famous

[46] Treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.
[47] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 279-80.
[48] 1817-32, 32 semiannual volumes; XV-XXIII constitute 2d Series I-IX, XXIV-XXVIII constitute 3d Series I-V, XXIX-XXXII constitute 4th Series I-IV.
[49] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on p. 307.

Eclectic Magazine.[50] The weekly *Albion*[51] was founded in 1822 by Dr. John S. Bartlett and edited by him for a quarter of a century, and as much longer by his successors. In the meantime enterprising publishers were pirating the leading English reviews and reprinting them in American editions; the *Quarterly Review* and the *New Monthly* were reprinted from their beginnings in 1809 and 1821 respectively. Cobbett arranged an American edition of his *Political Register* 1816-18.[52]

RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS

This was a prolific period in the founding of religious magazines and in religious discussions in secular periodicals. It was the period of missionary enthusiasm, of the Kentucky revivals, and of the Unitarian and other controversies. The religious—even the sectarian—magazine had been introduced in the preceding period; thereafter there was a steady growth in this field. The *Theological Magazine,*[53] of New York, printed throughout the closing years of the eighteenth century many rather monotonous dissertations on such subjects as "The Effects of Skepticism in the Last Moments," "On the Endless Duration of Future Punishment," and "On the Personality of Melchisedec." (As to Melchisedec, our writer says that he was Noah.) There were also narratives of conversions, reviews, poetry, and religious intelligence, with much of missionary activity. The contributors were chiefly Congregational and Presbyterian, though that pioneer Unitarian, Noah (not Melchisedec) Worcester, contributed a series of papers. The *Experienced Christian's Magazine*[54] was founded primarily to

[50] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 306-09.

[51] New York, 1822-75; [1st Series] 1822-32, I-XI; [2d Series] 1833-38, N.S. I-VI; [3d Series] 1839-41, N.S. I-III; [4th Series] 1842-56, N.S. I-XV; [5th Series] 1857-75, XXXV-LII. The last series should have been numbered XXXVI-LIII.

[52] Cobbett was living in America part of this time.

[53] T. & J. Swords, publishers for Cornelius Davis. Subtitle: *Or Synopsis of Modern Religious Sentiment. On a New Plan.* Vol. I (bimonthly), July-August, 1795, through May-June, 1796; II (bimonthly except one trimonthly number for May-June-July, 1797), September-October, 1796, through August-September, 1797; III (quarterly except one bimonthly number for January-February, 1798), October-November-December, 1797, through December-January-February, 1799. July-August, 1796, omitted. Six numbers to each volume.

[54] John Bull, New York, publisher; Rev. W. Phoebus, editor. Subtitle: *Consisting Chiefly of narratives and extracts from various publications, both ancient and*

publish edifying narratives of death-bed scenes, which it did throughout twelve mortal numbers, with a little supplementary material only less harrowing. The second attempt at a Methodist magazine was the Rev. John Dickins' periodical of that name, published at Philadelphia January, 1797, to August, 1798. It was followed after an interval of twenty years by another *Methodist Magazine*[55] which, after various changes of title and of frequency of issue, became the *Methodist Review* of today—the oldest and one of the best sectarian reviews. The *American Moral and Sentimental Magazine*,[56] founded in the same year as Dickins' *Methodist Magazine*, paid much attention to religion: there are deathbeds, dying letters, narratives of conversions, and many "remarkable providences." In its preface this magazine states its opposition to "the torrent of infidelity,"—a phrase one meets rather frequently in the periodicals of those days. Probably at least part of the alarm about "free thinking" arose from the publicity given Jefferson's theological views during his campaign for the presidency in 1800: it has been said that some credulous persons hung their Bibles down their wells because they believed a report that as soon as Jefferson was president he would cause all Bibles to be destroyed. Charles Brockden Brown reviews three books attacking Jefferson's "atheism" in his *Monthly Magazine* for November, 1800.[57]

The deists, however, had their magazine, at least nine numbers of the *Theophilanthropist* having been "printed and sold by H. Hart" in New York in 1810, for "A Society,"—evidently the Society of Theophilanthropy. There is much here by way of interpreting Thomas Paine, who had died in the preceding year, and much railing against the Calvinists and Methodists. In No. 7 there is a woodcut of a Methodist preacher "whose hair in greasy locks hung down," and George Alexander Stevens is

modern, Holding Forth the excellency, and necessity of Grace through Jesus Christ. May, 1796 – April, 1797; one volume.

[55] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 299-301.

[56] Thomas Kirk, editor and publisher. *Consisting of a Collection of Select Pieces, in Prose and Verse, from the Best Authors, on Religious, Moral, and Sentimental subjects, calculated to form the Understanding and Improve the Heart. Printed by the Editor, No. 112, Chatham Street, near the Tea-Water Pump. New-York.* Fortnightly, Vol. I, July 7 – Dec. 4, 1797; II, Dec. 18, 1797 – May 21, 1798.

[57] *Monthly Magazine*, III, 354-62 (November, 1800).

quoted: "Here all decency is outraged, and the most frantic bedlamites are considered as under the influence of the Holy Spirit." A Methodist preacher is quoted, or travestied, as follows:

> Did you ever see anybody eat hasty-pudding? What faces they make when it scalds their mouths! phoo, phoo, phoo! What faces will you make when old Nick nicks you? . . . For worldly things, unless sanctification seeth them, are no more than kitchen stuff; which the scum of our sins maketh, in boiling over, and that is put into the offal pot of repentance. Therefore, the saints of the tabernacle, being certified by the sanctification of the new birth, are pure Christian suet; which mixed up with the plumbs of the righteous, make up the pudding of glorification.[58]

The first distinctively missionary organ was the *New-York Missionary Magazine*,[59] begun in 1800 and continued four years. Avoiding "polemical discussions which have a tendency to irritate and divide," [60] this periodical printed proceedings of the missionary societies, stories of missionary experience abroad, accounts of revivals, religious intelligence, and some biography and miscellany. Much of its material was selected. In the year of this periodical's birth in New York, the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* [61] was started at Hartford, its profits to go to missionary endeavor "in the new American settlements, and among the heathen." [62] The Hartford magazine ran, with but one interruption, for fifteen years; it was somewhat wider in its scope than the *New-York Missionary*. The *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine* [63] was begun in 1803, to be absorbed at

[58] *Theophilanthropist*, pp. 275-76.

[59] *The New-York Missionary Magazine and Repository of Religious Intelligence.* Printed by T. & J. Swords for Cornelius Davis. January, 1800 – December, 1803, 4 vols. Bimonthly, 1800-01; monthly, 1802-03. Organ of New York Missionary Society (interdenominational).

[60] *New-York Missionary Magazine*, I, 4 (January, 1800).

[61] A new series was begun in January, 1808, at which time "and Religious Intelligencer" was added to the title. Annual volumes. A board of fifteen clergymen edited the magazine, which contained essays on doctrine and morals, exegesis, and religious news (especially as to missions, biography, narratives of revivals, hymns, etc.).

[62] *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, title-page, Vol. I.

[63] Massachusetts Missionary Society, Salem, Mass., publisher. Subtitle: *Containing Religious and Interesting Communications, Calculated to Edify Christians, and inform the rising generation.* Vol. I, May, 1803 – April, 1804; Vols. II-V,

the end of five years by the Unitarian *Panoplist,*[64] which thereupon became the *Panoplist and Missionary Magazine,* and later *Missionary Herald;* and under the last name it exists today in venerable age. A similar periodical of long life was the *American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer,*[65] later the *Baptist Missionary Magazine* (1817-1909), which ran to eighty-nine volumes. "Never before," said the *Panoplist and Missionary Magazine* in 1813, "were so many persons, in regions so remote from each other, and with views so enlarged and benevolent, engaged to make the gospel known in all the world."[66]

Secular magazines frequently paid much attention to religious matters. For example, one may learn from Brown's *Literary Magazine* that camp meetings had spread eastward by 1804; from a Trenton, New Jersey, paper this notice is quoted:

> As camp meetings are generally attended by several thousand from far and near, and generally continue day and night, it will be best for those who may come from a distance to bring provision for themselves and horses if possible, and to tarry on the ground till the meeting breaks up.[67]

The *Monthly Anthology* dipped into theology frequently; it had a regular department called "The Theologist." In the crucial controversy over the appointment of Henry Ware to be Hollis professor of divinity at Harvard it took the Unitarian side; and it was severely critical of cant and banality in the pulpit. "Ordination sermons," one of its writers remarked,

> are more numerous and cheap than any other pamphlets emitted from the presses of Newengland. Some are very good; some very bad; and concerning many we may say, as one of the authors of

yearly volumes running June–May. May, 1804, omitted. Editors: Nathanael Emmons, David Sanford, Daniel Hopkins, Samuel Spring, Joseph Barker, Samuel Niles, Samuel Austin, Abiel Holmes, Jonathan Strong, Caleb Alexander, Jacob Norton, Paul Litchfield, Elijah Parish. (Samuel Worcester displaced Caleb Alexander for Vols. II-V.) "Dissertations on the doctrines and duties of Christianity, Expositions of difficult passages of Scripture, Lives of eminent persons, Experiences of private Christians, Instances of remarkable conversions, Narratives of special revivals of religion and every kind of information respecting the spread and success of the gospel in any part of the world" are promised. I, 4-5 (May, 1803).

[64] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 262-65.

[65] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 251-52.

[66] *Panoplist,* IX, 1 (June, 1813).

[67] *Literary Magazine,* II, 502 (October, 1804. Notice dated Sept. 10, 1804).

Cato's Letters observes, when he speaks of Bishop Blacklock's sermons, "I have read more than three hundred of them, and can find nothing exceptionable, nor a single thing worthy of remembrance or remark.[68]

Such an utterance would have been a whipping offence a hundred years before.

Half a dozen of the more important religious magazines begun in the last decade of our period remain to be mentioned briefly. One of the greatest of American religious reviews was the *Christian Examiner,*[69] founded as the *Christian Disciple* in Boston in 1813, and changing to the name by which it attained a degree of eminence in 1824. It was edited in our period by Noah Worcester, Henry Ware, Jr., and John Gorham Palfrey, the historian; afterward it had many well known editors, among whom were several presidents of Harvard. It was distinctly literary, and its reviews are still valuable; it treated theology from a Unitarian point of view, and it dealt with humanistic and scientific subjects in a scholarly way. It was merged in *Old and New* at the end of 1869. Another periodical, the *Christian Herald,*[70] aimed to provide religious reading specially for sailors. It was a weekly edited and published in New York by John E. Caldwell, one of the founders of the American Bible Society, from 1816 to 1821; it added "and Seaman's Magazine" to its title in 1820. The leading Episcopal magazine was the *Christian Journal and Literary Register,*[71] edited 1817-19 by Bishop John Henry Hobart and the Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk. The publishers, J. and T. Swords, were faithful editors during the *Journal's* last ten years, furnishing appropriate Sunday reading (eclectic in part), religious news and reports, and so on. The periodical was never profitable. More widely known was the *Christian Spectator,*[72] of New Haven, orthodox evangelical, which numbered among its contributors most of the more eminent Congregational and Presbyterian clergymen of

[68] *Monthly Anthology,* II, 599 (November, 1805).

[69] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 284-92.

[70] Eleven semiannual volumes octavo. Vol. I, No. 1, March 30, 1816.

[71] Annual volumes 1817-30. Semimonthly 1817-18, monthly 1819-30. The Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk and the Rev. James Montgomery were editors in 1820.

[72] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on p. 310.

the time, and contained much of western missions. Beginning as a monthly in 1819, it became a quarterly ten years later and at the end of 1838 was merged with the *American Biblical Repository*. The *Presbyterian Magazine*[73] was founded in Philadelphia in 1821 by William Neill, who a few years later became president of Dickinson College. At the end of two years it was taken over by Ashbel Green, D.D., who started a continuation which he called the *Christian Advocate* and which ran through twelve annual volumes. It was largely non-sectarian and eclectic, with some literary reviews and varied intelligence. The *United States Catholic Miscellany* of Charleston (1822-32) was "the first strictly religious journal established in this country in defence of Catholic doctrine."[74] Bishop John England was its founder and moving spirit. Another of the great religious reviews which began in this period was the *Princeton Review*,[75] founded in 1825 as the *Biblical Repertory*, by the famous Presbyterian theologian Charles Hodge. It was distinctly a professional quarterly for the clergy.

The religious journals which have been named are only a fraction of those which were begun in the years between 1794 and 1825. The *Hopkinsian*[76] stated in 1824 that there were at that time twenty-one monthly religious magazines in course of publication.[77]

Besides these there were by 1824 many weekly religious newspapers representing all religious denominations. The *Methodist Magazine* said in 1823 that "a religious newspaper would have been a phenomenon not many years since; but now the groaning press throws them out in almost every direction."[78] The *Hopkinsian* gave twenty-two as the number of them in 1824, but four years later it was able to list seventy-three.[79] These weeklies competed with the secular weekly newspapers, and did not

[73] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 315-16.

[74] See Paul J. Foik, "Pioneer Efforts in Catholic Journalism in the United States (1809-40)," in the *Catholic Historical Review*, I, 258 (October, 1915).

[75] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 529-35.

[76] Edited by Otis Thompson at Providence, R. I., 1824-32, in four and one-half biennial volumes. Devoted to a free-will Calvinism based on the doctrines of Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins.

[77] *Hopkinsian*, I, 96 (April, 1824).

[78] *Methodist Magazine*, VI, 6 (January, 1823).

[79] *Hopkinsian*, III, 69-72 (March, 1828).

differ in appearance from them. They gathered news regularly, maintained correspondents in other cities, and covered secular as well as sectarian happenings. They depended somewhat upon news and gossip of various church societies, well known religious leaders, and current ecclesiastical movements; but their chief points of difference from the secular papers were in political neutrality, in editorial discussions of church polity, in the use of more religious and denominational news, and in the employment of literary miscellany chiefly of a religious cast. A typical religious newspaper printed contributed articles and miscellany on its first large page, editorials and correspondence from news centers on its second, local and church news and some advertising on its third, and family reading, poetry, and sometimes advertising on its fourth. From the amount of attention given to general articles and miscellany, it will be seen that these papers were almost as close to the magazine as to the newspaper.

The first of the tribe appears to have been the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*,[80] founded by Elias Smith in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1808. Smith was an elder of the Christian denomination, but before he closed his connection with the paper he had become a Universalist. The paper has undergone various changes of name and of location and several unions with other journals, but is now being published under its original title at Dayton, Ohio.[81] The *Herald* is not, however, the oldest religious weekly with a record of continuous publication. That distinction belongs to the *Christian Observer*, "A Presbyterian Family Newspaper," founded at Philadelphia in 1813 by John W. Scott under the name of the *Religious Remembrancer*, but removed to Louisville, Kentucky, in 1869 upon its union with the *Free Christian Commonwealth* there. It is still published at Louisville, after having swallowed up eight of its contemporaries.[82] Another paper of the same denomination, the

[80] "A religious newspaper is almost a new thing under the sun; I know not but this is the first ever published to the world." Opening Address of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, Sept. 1, 1808.

[81] See the Rev. J. Pressley Barrett, *The Centennial of Religious Journalism* (Dayton, Ohio, 1908), which is a full length biography of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*.

[82] Sept. 3, 1913, the *Observer* issued a handsome centennial number in which the first issue of the *Religious Remembrancer* is reproduced in its original size by half-tone.

Presbyterian Banner, of Pittsburgh, traces its line to the *Weekly Recorder,* founded by the Rev. John Andrews at Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1814. The *Boston Recorder* was founded by Nathaniel Willis and S. E. Morse, the one the father of a famous poet and magazinist, the other the brother of the inventor of the telegraph. Nathaniel Parker Willis's biblical poems attained popularity in the columns of the *Recorder,* which was merged in the *Congregationalist* in 1867. The *Christian Watchman* was founded in 1819, a New York Baptist paper; it later became the *Watchman and Examiner,* and then the *Watchman-Examiner,* the greatest of Baptist journals, representing a union of twenty-three papers.[83] Three religious weeklies started in 1821 are still alive: the *Christian Index,* born *Columbian Star,* which has been published in five cities in three states, under seventeen editors, and was given away three times, to reach success at Atlanta, Georgia;[84] the *Universalist Leader,* of Boston, founded by Hosea Ballou, which is now optimistically offering subscriptions for the next hundred years; and the *Christian Register,* Unitarian and Bostonian, which has numbered such men as Channing, Ware, Norton, Bancroft, Sparks, Everett, and Hale among its contributors, and which has borne the same name from the beginning.[85] The *Episcopal Recorder,* of Philadelphia, was founded in 1822 by Bishop B. B. Smith and is still vigorous. The oldest of the Methodist weekly journals is *Zion's Herald,* of Boston, where it started on January 9, 1823. *Zion's Herald* has been always a paper of spirit, independence, and ability. In its earlier years its religious controversies with Calvinism on one hand and Universalism on the other occupied a large place. Anti-slavery, temperance, and women's rights were reforms persistently advocated. Its espousal of the cause of William Lloyd Garrison when he was mobbed in Boston in 1835 forms one of the most interesting chapters in the *Herald's* history.[86]

The roll of these long lives shows the comparative prosperity of the religious weeklies; indeed the record indicates that the

[83] See the large centennial edition of May 8, 1919.
[84] See the anniversary number for Dec. 25, 1920.
[85] See *Christian Register* for April 28, 1921, anniversary number.
[86] See centenary edition of *Zion's Herald,* Jan. 10, 1923. See also p. 460 of this volume.

religious periodicals as a whole found a kinder welcome than the magazines of more general appeal. They were, of course, class periodicals, though their scope was wide.

The increased importance of magazines of various special classes is one of the interesting phenomena of this period.

In the Period of Beginnings there had been religious magazines, and periodicals for women and for children; now, besides these, the field was invaded by journals for doctors, lawyers, teachers, and farmers; by special scientific, mechanical, and historical magazines; by musical and theatrical journals; by the college magazines; and by comic papers.

WOMEN AND THE PERIODICALS

Several periodicals for women began in the early years of the nineteenth century, some of them weeklies, and most of them feeble, if their very brief lives are any indication of debility. One of the longest-lived was the *Lady's Weekly Miscellany* (1805-08) of New York, published by John Clough at two dollars a year. It was a quarto through its first five semiannual volumes, and then a small octavo; and its contents were about as cheap as its price. "Fictitious story being a species of literature which is pleasing to all, we shall resort to it as to a fount from which we may make large draughts without causing satiety," its editor observed; and it printed many rather lurid short stories. Its "Lunatic" papers were written by an author who said he was driven into insanity by the *Salmagundi* essays. There was much selected material, with some theatrical reviews, poetry, and deaths and marriages, to suit the female taste. Somewhat better was the *Ladies' Literary Cabinet*[87] (1819-22), also a New York weekly, but priced at four dollars. It was edited through most of its career by Samuel Woodworth, author of that favorite, "The Old Oaken Bucket." It published some music, as well as much miscellany. Only these two women's periodicals require mention here; the great flood of their kind was to come later.

There were many periodicals, however, which catered largely

[87] Vol. I, May 15 – Nov. 6, 1819; N.S. I-VI, Nov. 13, 1819 – Dec. 14, 1822. Suspended Oct. 12 – Nov. 18, 1822. Quarto.

to women readers though not explicitly published for them. Some of these publications invited contributions from the "female pen." The *American Moral and Sentimental Magazine* praised one of its contributors in verse:

> "Whole heart and pen united tell
> One Female writes politely well." [88]

That was near the beginning of our period; toward its end the *Literary and Scientific Repository* observed that "every man of sense and sentiment must view with hearty satisfaction the literary improvement of the females of his country," [89] while Joseph Hopkinson congratulated his countrymen that "The gardens of literature are now illumined with many a lamp trimmed by a female hand." [90]

Dress—that eternal topic of the satirist of woman—had its share of attention. The rather sober-sided *Monthly Anthology* remarks upon one result of the Gallic fervor of the 1790's:

> We have imported the worst of French corruptions, the want of female delicacy. The fair and innocent have borrowed the lewd arts of seduction . . . What must we say of some, whom we daily observe, whose dress is studiously designed to display the female form? Why do they solicit our gaze? I will not charge them with the design of kindling a lawless flame. They will shudder at the suggestion. But I warn them . . .[91]

But most of what was said about women's dress was in gayer humor, though commonly rather trite; both manner and matter had descended, with slight alteration to make it fit Dame Fashion of 1800, from Addison on head-dresses, or the dissection of a beau's head or a coquette's heart. "It is really time," exclaimed the *Literary Gazette* in 1821, "to have done with the exhausted and sickening theme of dandies and coquettes!" [92] But we have not done with it yet: it is perennial. The satirists

[88] *American Moral and Sentimental Magazine*, I, 383 (Dec. 4, 1797).
[89] *Literary and Scientific Repository*, II, 393 (January, 1821).
[90] *Baltimore Repertory*, I, 42 (January, 1811).
[91] *Monthly Anthology*, I, 102-03 (January, 1804).
[92] *Literary Gazette*, I, 38 (Jan. 20, 1821).

did not have it all their own way, however; the rhapsodists had their innings.

Charles Brockden Brown had some advanced ideas on feminism, and his magazines frequently contained articles of more or less importance about women. One rhapsodist, writing on "The Female Sex" in Brown's *Literary Magazine,* says:

> All the virtues that are founded in the sensibility of the heart are theirs. Pity, the attribute of angels, and friendship, the balm of life, delight to dwell in the female breast. What a forlorn, what a savage creature would man be without the meliorating offices of the gentle sex! [93]

About the same time the *Literary Magazine* was calling attention to the fact that "the controversy about the relative merit of the sexes has been carried on, of late years, with a good deal of vivacity." [94] One of the most interesting contributions to that controversy was a dialogue by Brown himself on "The Rights of Women" in the *Weekly Magazine;* it was a part of his *Alcuin.* "Pray, Madam, are you a fœderalist?" asks the writer.

> Surely, she replied, you are in jest. What! ask a woman, shallow and inexperienced, as all women are known to be, especially with regard to these topics, her opinion on any political question! What in the name of decency have we to do with politics? If you enquire the price of this ribband, I may answer. . . .

But it develops that she is bitterly ironic in this reply, for in a later installment of the dialogue she talks politics, and comments:

> While I am conscious of being an intelligent moral being; while I see myself denied, in so many cases, the exercise of my own discretion, incapable of separate property; subject in all periods of my life to the will of another, on whose bounty I am made to depend for food and shelter; when I see myself, in my relation to society, regarded merely as a beast, as an insect, passed over, in the distribution of public duties, as absolutely nothing, . . . it is im-

[93] *Literary Magazine,* III, 15 (January, 1805).
[94] *Literary Magazine and American Register,* III, 359 (May, 1805).

possible I should assent to their opinion, so long as I am conscious of moving and willing. . . . No, I am no fœderalist.

The lady then proceeds to maintain with great warmth the justice of "admitting the female part of the community to elect and to be electible." Her interlocutor is shocked, as well he might be, or any man of 1798; he thinks it enough that the happiness of women is "amply consulted." Why, he exclaims, "shall the young, the poor, the blacks, the stranger, and the females be admitted indiscriminately to political privileges?" When the lady (who, by the way, is named "Mrs. Carter," evidently after the famous bluestocking) grants that "want of property and the servile condition are allowable disqualifications" for the franchise, the man exhibits his dialectic by the retort: "May not marriage be said to take away both the liberty and property of women?" Further, he scoffs at the idea of women holding office. "It would be hard to restrain a smile to see a woman rise in a popular assembly and discuss some weighty topic!" And then he adds the argument later to become familiar: "If this innovation be just, the period for making it has not arrived. You, Madam, are singular. Women, in general, do not reason in this manner. They are contented with the post assigned them. If the rights of a citizen were extended to them they would not employ them. Stay till they desire it." It may be assumed that she did. Yet our protagonist is very liberal toward women. He favors allowing them to enter the professions, though he is inclined to dodge the issue by insisting that female doctors can be self-educated. He does not think highly of formal schooling (a familiar note in Brown's work), and when the lady complains that "they think a being of my sex is to be instructed in a manner different from those of the other," he asks her what can render one wise but one's own efforts? "Mrs. Carter" speaks against separation of the sexes in education as setting up a double standard, and suspects that "the sullen imaginations of some men are disturbed lest improving female education should introduce insubordination. . . . Tyrants of all descriptions look toward the progress of knowledge as the downfall of their power." And the dialogue ends

with a discussion of a proper curriculum for the schooling of young women.[95]

Much more conventional are the ideas advanced some years later in a Socratic dialogue in the *Portico*. The one philosopher says:

> I must admit that the subject of female education has been too much neglected, but I cannot admit that they possess minds as susceptible of improvement as men. . . . [Women's minds] were never designed to soar into the higher regions of literature and science. . . . The most valuable acquirements for a woman are those *domestick* accomplishments which render her an amiable wife and a good mother.

The other admits that "nature never designed them for philosophers or statesmen," but he maintains that "for the sake of our sex, for the interest of the men themselves, it is of immense importance that the minds of women shall be properly cultivated."[96] A writer in the *Analectic Magazine* took up the same strain a few months later:

> If the system of female education goes on in the course it has now taken, the daughters of our fair countrywomen may make good musicians, good dancers, good frolickers,—but we are afraid they will never make good wives.[97]

The physical education of women was also becoming an issue. Russell's excellent *American Journal of Education* may be quoted, though it falls just outside our period. It says gymnastics are "unfeminine," but advocates riding and walking, with spinning and other household duties for exercise.[98] A few months later it published a letter from William B. Fowle, later the publisher of Horace Mann's *Common School Journal* and Mann's successor in the editorship, in which the writer deprecated while acknowledging "the prevailing notions of female

[95] *Weekly Magazine*, III, 12ff. (Aug. 4, 7, 11, 1798).
[96] *Portico*, II, 210-15 (September, 1816).
[97] *Analectic Magazine*, IX, 290 (April, 1817).
[98] *American Journal of Education*, I, 351 (June, 1826).

delicacy and propriety," which were "at variance with every attempt to render females less feeble and helpless." [99]

CHILDREN'S PERIODICALS; EDUCATIONAL TOPICS

Not only did the women have special periodicals, but the children began to have their own magazines; several juvenile periodicals were started during the Period of Nationalism.[100] Philadelphia was foremost in this department, as in others. Philadelphia was the center of the early Sunday-School movement in America, and the American Sunday-School Union issued in that city, late in our period, two publications: the *Teachers' Offering,* later called the *Youth's Friend and Scholar's Magazine* (1823-64), for the pupils, and the *American Sunday-School Magazine* (1823-32) for teachers. The *Youth's Friend* was a magazine of sixteen 24mo pages, selling for twenty-five cents a year. It had reached a circulation of ten thousand by 1827. Brief religious essays and anecdotes of the same nature formed its contents. "Too large a proportion of doctrinal matter," observed the wise *American Journal of Education,* but it adds, "The editing of this publication indicates, on the whole, much acquaintance with the habits and disposition of children." [101] But 1824 takes us ahead of our story. What appear to have been the second and third juveniles in America (we have already referred to the *Children's Magazine* of 1789) [102] were the *Juvenile Magazine, or Miscellaneous Repository of Useful Information,* and the *Juvenile Olio,* both begun in Philadelphia in 1802. One of the most interesting of the juveniles is that edited and published by Thomas G. Condie, Jr., who "was not fourteen years old when the work was commenced." He called it the *Juvenile Port-Folio,* and issued four pages octavo weekly, choosing all the matter himself, part of it original. It is very fragmentary, and not at all childish; on the contrary, it is as stilted as most of the adult writing of the time. There was even a mock heroic poem on apple dumplings—"The Dumpliniad."

[99] *Ibid.,* I, 698 (November, 1826).

[100] See Harriet L. Matthews, "Magazines for Children" in *Bulletin of Bibliography,* I, 133-36 (April, 1899).

[101] *American Journal of Education,* II, 127 (February, 1827).

[102] See p. 29, *supra.*

And the young editor apologizes for having so much matter "of a mercurial cast"! [103]

It has been pointed out that there was no little interest in education, though of a haphazard sort, in the magazines of the earlier period: this interest continued sporadically, and we continue to find many comments on educational topics. Some of them are very general, as when the author of the "Eagle" papers in the *Columbian Phenix,* defending his country against European critics, asserts that "Perhaps no country on the face of the earth can boast of a larger proportion of inhabitants versed in the rudiments of science. . . . In Europe the mode and means of education tend to partial perfection; ours to general improvement." [104] But a more carefully considered summary is made by the author of "State of Education in America" in the *Analectic Magazine* in 1817. He tells us that, thanks to the system of common schools in New England, there is "scarcely an adult in New England who cannot read and write and keep accounts"; that New York is beginning to develop such a system in spite of the difficulty afforded by less homogeneity in the population; while "perhaps in few states of the Union are the people so destitute of any information whatever as in New Jersey," and the situation is quite as bad in Pennsylvania outside its metropolis. In Delaware and Maryland there are good private schools and county academies, but no uniform system, while there are no common schools in the South. "Much more has been done beyond the mountains . . . and in Ohio and Indiana particularly." Free schools for the poor in the cities are not very successful because attendance upon them is an acknowledgement of poverty. Female education is, in the main, "merely ornamental." [105] The *Port Folio* gives some attention to educational topics, especially in the later volumes; the *Monthly Anthology* and *Port Folio* are both much interested in

[103] Volumes as follows: I, Oct. 30, 1812 – Dec. 11, 1813; II, Jan. 8 – Dec. 10, 1814; III, Jan. 7 – Dec. 9, 1815; IV, Jan. 6 – Dec. 7, 1816; the last three weeks of each year omitted; sixty-one numbers in the first volume, forty-nine in each of the others.

[104] *Columbian Phenix,* February, 1800, pp. 108-10.

[105] *Analectic Magazine,* IX, 285-301 (April, 1817). Cf. Sidney Willard, "State of Learning in the United States," *North American Review,* IX, 240-59 (September, 1819).

classical education. General Thomas Cadwalader complains in the *Port Folio* of chemistry, astronomy, and declamation crowding Latin and Greek out of the curriculum, and of boys being turned out of grammar school at fourteen and college at twenty.[106] The *Western Review*, out in Cincinnati, stands up for the classics:

> Should the time ever come when Latin and Greek should be banished from our Universities, and the study of Cicero and Demosthenes, of Homer and Virgil should be considered as unnecessary for the formation of a scholar, we should regard mankind as fast sinking into absolute barbarism, and the gloom of mental darkness as likely to increase until it should become universal.[107]

But the *Literary Magazine*, though it later gave space to a reply, allowed one writer to say that "the inefficiency of a classical education must be manifest. Most of the advantages . . . exist only in the imagination."[108] Brockden Brown, the editor, was no lover of colleges. In another of his magazines a writer who signs "M," but who sounds like Brown, says:

> Within a few years past there has arisen in the United States a kind of *mania*, which has had for its object the establishment of *Colleges*. Scarcely a state in the union but has thought one of these institutions within itself necessary. . . . Three-fourths of the colleges in the United States have professors wretchedly unqualified for their station. . . . I have known young gentlemen going home with A.B. affixed to their names without being able to construe the diploma which certified their standing.[109]

One of the educational projects which interested several writers in the magazines was the establishment of a national university at Washington such as Dr. Rush had advocated earlier,[110] and which Walsh of the *American Review* and *American Register* now urged, as well as Flint, who printed a series of articles in his *Western Monthly Review* on the subject.

[106] *Port Folio*, 3d ser., I, 567 (June, 1813).
[107] *Western Review*, III, 145 (October, 1820).
[108] *Literary Magazine*, III, 258 (April, 1805). For reply see IV, 5 (July, 1805).
[109] *Monthly Magazine*, I, 16-17 (April, 1799).
[110] See p. 63, *supra*.

Witherspoon's "Letters on Education" continued to be reprinted; the *New-York Missionary Magazine* in March, 1801, gave its readers the one on discipline, in which the reverend professor says:

> . . . If you can accustom your children to perceive that your will must always prevail over theirs when they are opposed, they will submit to it without difficulty or regret. . . . For example, if a child shows desire to have anything in his hand with which he is delighted, let the parent take it from him, and when he does so, let no consideration whatever make him restore it at that time. . . .[111]

Noah Webster's second volume of *Dissertations,* and later his *Compendious Dictionary,* afforded much material for discussion. The lexicographer's chief critics were the *Port Folio* and the *Monthly Anthology,* both of them unsparing and persistent. "We deem it our duty," said Dennie, "as good patriots, and as fond lovers of provincial idioms, and colloquial meanness, and, in short, of every thing, hostile to English sense, and English stile, to furnish this great lexicographer with all the barbarous words and phrases which we can procure." A list is therewith presented, as follows:

Evincial
Strengthy
Spry
He's quite chisk [cheerful]
If I was he
Carniverosity
Newspaporial
The Boston, market, butter box, inspection bill [for Bostonian?]
I most guess
Hellniferous
Its a dead set
Neat as plush
Happify
I rather expect
The flies is thick
Thats disingenus
La! for me
Lengthy
I snore [swear]
By Jinks
Swapping horses
Truck trade
Dickering
I don't know, but you might
Engagedness
I coch it
Deadheartedness
Stilish
A likely pair
Amiability
Of, and about
Go betweenity
Applicatory
Caucus
Three quarter dollars

111 *New-York Missionary Magazine,* II, 12 (March, 1801).

He laughed and gurned
Rowen [second cutting]
On the side hill
My dafter
He done it
A little bit ago
Timeously
More, about the Negroes [112]

Such were some of the educational topics discussed by the general magazines. Most of the religious periodicals took some interest in education, and all the reviews. The *North American* shows an interest in German educational theories and practice, classical education, and free schools; but not over two per cent of its pages for our period have a bearing on education.[113]

Probably the first educational magazine was the short-lived quarterly *Juvenile Monitor, or Educational Magazine*, edited in New York by Albert and John W. Pickett in 1811.[114] Seven years later the Picketts started the *Academician*, which ran through twenty-five semimonthly numbers, the last issued on January 29, 1820. The Picketts were partners in the proprietorship of a New York day school, the publication of textbooks, and the management of the Incorporated Society of New York Teachers. The contents of the *Academician* were varied, and included rather pedantic comment on Pestalozzi, Fellenberg, Lancaster, and Bell; accounts of educational conditions in various parts of America; reviews of textbooks; an abstract of the *Outlines of Philosophical Education*, by Professor George Jardine, of Glasgow; and advice upon the teaching of various subjects. Its subtitle ran: "Containing the elements of scholastic science, predicted on the analysis of the human mind, and exhibiting the improved methods of instruction." The *Juvenile Monitor*, the *Academician*, and the *American Sunday-School Magazine*, already referred to, were apparently the only educational periodicals in America before 1826.

112 *Port Folio*, II, 268 (Aug. 28, 1802).

113 Some record of publications of the *North American* and *Port Folio* in this field is given in Sheldon Elmor Davis's *Educational Periodicals During the Nineteenth Century* (Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1919, No. 28), pp. 9-10.

114 This is listed by Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, XV (N.S.V), 383 (June, 1865). It did not outlast the year, according to Barnard. See also the *New Englander*, XXIV, 516 (July, 1865).

CHAPTER IV

THE RELATION OF THE MAGAZINES OF THE SECOND PERIOD TO THE SCIENCES, POLITICS, THE ARTS, AND *BELLES-LETTRES*

SCIENTIFIC JOURNALS; MEDICINE IN THE MAGAZINES

THE first scientific journal in America was the quarterly *Medical Repository,*[1] edited in New York by Samuel Latham Mitchill, professor of chemistry at Columbia, and one of the first United States senators from New York, and Dr. Edward Miller. For the first two years Dr. Elihu H. Smith was associated with them, but he died of the yellow fever in 1798.[2] The second number of the second volume was delayed by the "derangement and suspension of the printing, during the late epidemic . . . The situation of the United States in relation to the recurrence of the malignant epidemic . . . is critical and alarming."[3] Much attention was given epidemics in the twenty-three volumes of this journal; the editors considered work in that field "among the most important of our duties."[4] Other fields of science were given space, however, as the work progressed, including agriculture, geography, and natural history.

The yellow fever epidemics in Philadelphia and New York were productive of comment in many periodicals. The great plague of 1797 in Philadelphia is reflected especially in the *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine* (1798) and in the *Weekly Magazine* of that city, already mentioned, which was brought to an end by the editor's death of the plague. To the second of the two semiannual volumes of the *Monthly* is appended a *History of the Pestilence* which includes the names of the 3,521 victims of it. Brown's *Arthur Mervyn,* which was being published in the *Weekly* when it ended, contains a memorably vivid

[1] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 215-17.
[2] See obituary in *Repository,* Vol. II, No. II, p. 227 (1799).
[3] *Medical Repository,* Vol. II, No. II, p. 145 (1799).
[4] *Ibid.,* Preface to Vol. II of 2d Hexade, VIII, v.

account of the plague. William Cobbett's attacks on the administration of the city during this pestilence, printed day after day in his *Porcupine's Gazette,* were most virulent and scurrilous. "The Israelite slew his thousands, but the Rushites have slain their tens of thousands," cried Cobbett.[5] Dr. Rush, one of his chief targets, retaliated with a suit for libel, and recovered five thousand dollars damages, thus putting an abrupt end to Cobbett's Philadelphia career. But "Peter Porcupine" rejoined in five numbers of the *Rush-Light* from New York, a little periodical fired as a Parthian shot against "the noted bloodletting physician of Philadelphia."[6] The *Analectic* later, in an article on "The State of Medicine in America," claimed that "Our practitioners were not unequal to the task" of combatting the fever.[7] Brown's *Literary Magazine* printed much medical information, especially in regard to yellow fever and smallpox; it claimed that inoculation for smallpox "has done more harm than good. It has contributed to diffuse the smallpox much more than formerly."[8] Indeed nearly all periodicals published medical articles; there was apparently great popular interest in medicine. In spite of prejudices against them early in the period,[9] American medical practitioners appear to have been very prosperous by the beginning of the new century. The United States, says the *Medical Repository* in 1818, is

> peculiarly the land for physicians.
>
> Medicine is cherished here more, it would seem, than in any part of the world. . . . The poorest and lowest mechanics among us, will in ordinary parlance remind you of their family physicians.

The writer, who is one of the editors, goes on to suggest some reasons for the constant employment of doctors:

> The inhabitants are almost constantly in a state of repletion, by stuffing and cramming, and by the use of stimulating drink. The consumption of animal food is probably much greater in the Fre-

[5] Quoted from *Porcupine's Gazette* in E. P. Oberholtzer's *Literary History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1906), p. 133.

[6] The numbers are dated Dec. 15 and 28; March 15 and 31, and April 30, 1800.

[7] *Analectic Magazine,* IX, 119 (February, 1817).

[8] *Literary Magazine,* III, 275 (April, 1805).

[9] See pp. 58-59, *supra.*

donian [i.e., United] states, than in any other civilized nation; and it ought likewise to be observed, that the quantity of ardent spirits drank by our people, exceeds every thing of the kind, that the world can produce; the appetite for inebriating drink seems to be increasing and insatiable.[10]

The *Repository* notes in an earlier volume "the increasing number of medical seminaries in all parts of the country."[11] Walter Channing wrote on medical topics for the *North American Review's* early numbers.

Philadelphia had ten or a dozen medical journals in our period, most of them largely eclectic and short-lived. John Redman Coxe, professor of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania, conducted the *Philadelphia Medical Museum*[12] for seven years. An association of Philadelphia physicians conducted the quarterly *Eclectic Repertory*[13] through ten years, 1810-20. *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences*,[14] which still flourishes, is a continuation of the *Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences*.[15] New York, Boston, Baltimore, and other cities—even far-western Cincinnati—had their medical periodicals during these years.[16]

The greatest journal of general science founded during the Period of Nationalism was the *American Journal of Science*,[17] of New Haven, edited from its beginning in 1818 for almost half

10 *Medical Repository*, Preface to Vol. XIX (1818), pp. iii-iv.

11 *Ibid.*, Preface to Vol. XIII (1810).

12 First Series of six volumes, Sept. 17, 1804, through 1809. New Series, one volume, 1810-11. After 1811, Coxe became editor of Joseph Delaplaine's *Emporium of Arts and Sciences* (May, 1812 – October, 1814). This latter is in five semiannual volumes, the last three being a New Series under the editorship of Thomas Cooper, one of the best known American scientists of the time.

13 October, 1810 – October, 1820, ten volumes. A continuation was then provided by Eliakim Littell's *Journal of Foreign Medical Science and Literature* (January, 1821 – October, 1824), edited by S. Emlen, Jr., and William Price in four volumes. This journal was merged in the *American Medical Recorder*, which had been started in 1818, and which, after publishing fifteen volumes, was itself merged, in 1829, in the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*.

14 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 566-68.

15 1820-27. See p. 566.

16 The *New York Medical and Physical Journal* (1822-30) ran through nine annual volumes. The *New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery* (1812-26) was continued through 1827 as the *New England Medical Review and Journal;* it was then united with the *Boston Medical Intelligencer* (five volumes, 1823-28) to form the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, which still survives.

17 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 302-05.

a century by Professor Benjamin Silliman. It was from the first influential in the development of American scientific thought. Well illustrated, and containing articles by the foremost American scientists, it occupied a high place from the first volume. The *Boston Journal of Philosophy and the Arts* (1823-26) [18] was for a short time a Harvard competitor of the Yale quarterly, and the *American Mineralogical Journal* [19] (1810-14) was a creditable earlier attempt.

The general magazines contained a deal of material upon scientific and mechanical subjects. The Baltimore *Portico,* for example, printed many such discussions. Rembrandt Peale's improvements in gas lighting are discussed there more than once: he fitted up his museum with "this beautiful mode of illumination." [20] The pseudo-science of phrenology was gaining attention and converts, though no journal devoted to it was published until 1827. The *Analectic Magazine* gave a full exposition of Gall and Spurzheim's system in 1815, with the craniological chart.[21] The *Port Folio* paid special attention to popular science from 1809 on, emphasizing natural history and inventions.

AGRICULTURAL PAPERS

Agricultural subjects were treated in all the scientific magazines, and in the periodicals of general circulation they had been staple material from the beginnings. But it was not until 1810, apparently, that any periodical was devoted wholly to agriculture. In that year, under date of Independence Day, the Rev. David Wiley issued the first number of the *Agricultural Museum,*[22] a small octavo of thirty-two pages, at Georgetown,

[18] Subtitle: *Exhibiting a View of the Progress of Discovery in Natural Philosophy, Mechanics, Chemistry, Geology and Mineralogy; Natural History, Comparative Anatomy, and Physiology; Geography, Statistics, and the Fine and Useful Arts.* John W. Webster, John Ware, and Daniel Treadwell were the conductors, and Cummings, Hilliard & Company, publishers. Three volumes, May, 1823 – December, 1826, quarterly.

[19] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 266-67.

[20] *Portico,* I, 523-30 (June, 1816). Also II, 92 (July, 1816).

[21] *Analectic Magazine,* VI, 63-69 (July, 1815).

[22] See Claribel R. Barnett, "The First American Agricultural Periodical," in *Agricultural Index,* September, 1922. (The introductory pages to this *Index* are, unfortunately, not usually bound. This article was printed on p. i of No. 7, Vol. VII.)

D. C. The *Museum* was designed, according to the preface, to be "a convenient appendage to the Columbian Agricultural Society"; and, though it began life without a single subscriber, its projector undoubtedly depended largely upon the members of that society, whose secretary he was, to support it. It ran for a year as a semimonthly, and then for eleven months as a monthly, failing, so far as is known, to complete the second volume. Joel Barlow was among the contributors. The versatile Mr. Wiley was not only a minister and editor and the secretary of a flourishing agricultural society, but he was also postmaster, superintendent of the turnpike, merchant, miller, and mayor of the town.

Seven years after the decease of the *Agricultural Museum*, John S. Skinner, postmaster at Baltimore, bought a weekly newspaper which had been started in the preceding year and transformed it into the *American Farmer*, a quarto of eight pages devoted to "rural economy, internal improvements, news, prices current." This was a valuable periodical, partly eclectic, which had the endorsement of such men as Jefferson, Madison, and Pickering. Its early numbers had rare woodcuts, including one of a walking velocipede, with rudder and cushions for the arms.[23] The *American Farmer* ran through a dozen series to its end in 1897.[24] Two months after it had made its beginning in

[23] *Am. Farmer*, I, 69 (May 28, 1819).

[24] TITLES: (1) *The American Farmer*, April 2, 1819 – March 7, 1834 (I-XV); July, 1850 – June, 1861 (3d Ser., VI-XIII; 4th Ser., I-XIV; 5th Ser., I-II); July, 1866 – December, 1871 (6th Ser., I-V; 7th Ser., I); January, 1874 – February, 1897. (2) *The Farmer and Gardener, and Live-stock Breeder and Manager*, May 9, 1834 – April 28, 1835 (2d Ser., I). (3) *The Farmer and Gardener*, May 5, 1835 – May 22, 1839 (2d Ser., II-VI, No. 4). (4) *The American Farmer and Spirit of the Agricultural Journals of the Day*, May 29, 1839 – June, 1850 (3d Ser., I-VI; 4th Ser., I-V). (5) *The American Farmer and Rural Register*, January, 1872 – December, 1873 (8th Ser., I-II).

PERIODICITY: First Series, I-XV (April 2, 1819 – May 2, 1834); Second Series, I-VI, No. 4 (May 9, 1834 – May 5, 1839); Third Series, I-VI (May 29, 1839 – June, 1845); Fourth Series, I-XIV (July, 1845 – June, 1858); Fifth Series, I-II (July, 1858 – June, 1861); Sixth Series, I-V (July, 1866 – December, 1870); Seventh Series, I (1871); Eighth Series, I-X (1872-81); Ninth Series, I-IX (1882-90); Tenth Series, X (1891); Eleventh Series, I (1892); Twelfth Series, 74th-78th Year, February (January, 1893 – February, 1897). Omitted July, 1861 – June, 1866. Monthly 1819, 1832 – April, 1834; July, 1845 – 1888, 1894-97; weekly 1820-31, May 9, 1834 – June, 1845; semimonthly 1889-93.

PUBLISHERS (all Baltimore except as noted): John S. Skinner, 1819-29; Gideon B. Smith, 1830-34; J. Irvine Hitchcock, 1834-35; Sinclair & Moore, 1835; E. P. Roberts & Samuel Sands, 1836-40 (?); Samuel Sands, 1840(?)-53; Sands & Worth-

Baltimore, Solomon Southwick started the *Plough Boy* at Albany. Southwick had been a successful newspaper editor and postmaster, but was now at outs with his party. "Henry Homespun" was the name under which he first edited the *Plough Boy*, which lasted four years.[25] One of the most interesting of the early agricultural journals is the *New England Farmer*[26] (1822-46), edited until his death in 1837 by the brilliant Thomas Green Fessenden, who occasionally wrote some verse for it. It may be noted that most of the periodicals which bore the words "Farmer's" or "Rural" in their titles were either newspapers or general weeklies.

LAWYERS AND THE MAGAZINES

If the clergy, the teachers, the doctors, and the farmers had their journals, so also did the lawyers. Probably the earliest and certainly one of the most notable legal periodicals was the *American Law Journal* (1808-17) of Philadelphia, edited by John E. Hall.[27] Hall was a *Port Folio* contributor, and toward the end of his service on the *Law Journal* was editor of both periodicals. The *American Jurist and Law Magazine* (1829-43),[28] of Boston, was conducted for some years by Willard Phillips, a chief member of the group which conducted the *North American Review*. Other cities had shorter-lived legal journals in this period, but the time of their great increase came a little later.

As contributors, editors, and patrons of magazine literature no other profession furnished as much good material as the law. There were some doctors who did valiant service in this field, as Benjamin Rush, James McHenry, and Charles Caldwell of

ington, 1854-57; N. B. Worthington & Company, 1858-59; Worthington & Lewis, 1860-69; Samuel Sands & Son, 1872-91; William B. Sands, 1891; Farmer Publishing Company, Middletown, Md., January – Feb. 1, 1892 (3 nos.); American Farmer Company, Washington, D. C., 1892-97.

EDITORS: John S. Skinner, 1819-29; Gideon B. Smith, 1830-34(?); J. Irvine Hitchcock, 1834-35; Edward P. Roberts, 1835-40(?); Samuel Sands, 1840(?)-91 (with his son, William B., 1872-91); William B. Sands, 1891.

[25] June 5, 1819 – June 15, 1823, four volumes. As *Plough Boy and Journal of the Board of Agriculture*, I, No. 33 – IV (Jan. 2, 1820 – June 15, 1823).

[26] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 317-19.

[27] Six volumes. A continuation in 1821 (one volume) was called the *Journal of Jurisprudence*.

[28] Twenty-eight volumes. Continued as *American Law Magazine*, Philadelphia, 1843-46 (six volumes).

Philadelphia, Samuel L. Mitchill and Elihu H. Smith of New York, and John Ware of Boston; there were many clergymen and educators, as Timothy Flint, Jared Sparks, and practically all the editors of the many religious periodicals and of others which, like the *Monthly Anthology,* were closely connected with some college; but the bar furnished a majority of those who were active in the management of the general magazines and reviews. This is especially noticeable if one includes those editors who studied law in their youth, to be drawn away into literary pursuits in later years. Dennie of the *Port Folio,* Charles Brockden Brown, Irving of the *Analectic,* Bryant of the *New-York Review,* and Skinner of the *American Farmer* belong to such a list. The *Port Folio* drew largely upon lawyers, including such men as J. Q. Adams, Royall Tyler, Gouverneur Morris, Horace Binney, John Blair Linn, Richard Rush, Samuel Ewing, and John E. Hall—the last two editors of their own periodicals.[29] Robert Walsh, a lawyer, called in many lawyers to help him with his *American Review* and its later continuation, including Joseph Hopkinson, Caleb Cushing, and Peter S. DuPonceau. Many writers for the *North American Review* were lawyers, as were the editors-brothers Edward and Alexander H. Everett. Judge Story wrote much on legal topics for the *North American.* Southern periodical literature was just coming to birth at the end of our period; three young lawyers were destined to be among the leaders of it: Hugh S. Legaré, William Gilmore Simms, and John P. Kennedy. The profession had easily survived the odium cast upon it by conditions immediately following the Revolution. "The law," said the *American Register* in 1807, "is a very prosperous and gainful occupation in the United States. It has probably a greater number of votaries, in proportion to the whole community, than in any other country." [30] The *Port Folio* declared that these "votaries" "are unquestionably the best patrons which literature can hope to find in this country. . . . Quick to invent ingenious and useful papers and powerful to disseminate them; eager to encourage

[29] See H. M. Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and His Circle* (Bulletin of the University of Texas, 1915; No. 40), p. 136, for larger list.

[30] *American Register,* I, 175. Part I (1807).

and generous to reward merit, they frequently unite in one the author, the publisher, and the patron." [31] B. H. Latrobe further remarked, in his *Oration before the Society of Artists of the United States* in 1811, that lawyers are the best patrons of the arts in America; and "among the most distinguished members of the Academy of Fine Arts are those men who are most eminent at the bar." [32]

NEWSPAPERS, LITERARY AND POLITICAL

Newspapers, in the conduct of which lawyers were also active, sometimes differed but little from the magazines in the character of their contents. The *New Hampshire Journal; Or The Farmer's Weekly Museum* [33] was, for example, a newspaper with very pronounced literary tendencies; it is remembered because of the contributions of Joseph Dennie (who was editor 1796-99), Thomas Green Fessenden, Royall Tyler, and other *littérateurs;* but it was widely recognized at the time as a strong federalist organ. Noah Webster's *American Minerva, Patroness of Peace, Commerce, and the Liberal Arts,*[34] while less literary, was very miscellaneous. Having recently given up a monthly magazine, Webster had turned to newspaper work as presenting a better opportunity. Newspapers, he said in his first number, "in a great degree, supersede the use of Magazines and Pamphlets. The public mind in America, roused by the magnitude of political events, and impatient of delay, cannot wait for *monthly* intelligence." He continues: "The compiler of a paper, who will take the trouble to select from authors, those facts and principles in the arts which are found in other countries to abridge labor and render industry more productive, will perform a most efficient

[31] *Port Folio,* Prospectus, N.S. II, 2.

[32] Published in Philadelphia, 1811. P. 2.

[33] 1793-1810. Begun by Isaiah Thomas and David Carlisle, Jr. Thomas retired in 1796, but resumed ownership two years later. The paper was called the *New Hampshire Journal: Or The Farmer's Weekly Museum,* April 11, 1793 – April 4, 1794; *Hampshire and Vermont Journal: Or The Weekly Museum,* April 11, 1794 – March 28, 1797; the *Farmer's Weekly Museum: Newhampshire and Vermont Journal,* April 4, 1797 – March 24, 1799; *Farmer's Museum, or Lay Preacher's Gazette,* April 1, 1799 – Sept. 8, 1804; and the *Farmer's Museum,* Sept. 15, 1804 – Oct. 15, 1810. It was suspended April 3, 1807 – Oct. 17, 1808. See Ellis, *op. cit.,* pp. 84-109, for an excellent sketch of this paper.

[34] Dec. 9, 1793 – Oct. 2, 1797. Continued by the *Commercial Advertiser,* 1797-1905.

WILLIAM COBBETT

Editor of *Porcupine's Gazette,* the *Censor,* and the *Rush-Light.* In this outline engraving on steel, which appeared in the *Museum of Foreign Literature* in February, 1836, "Peter Porcupine" seems to be trying to concoct some especially bitter attack on his enemies.

service to his country." This service Webster tried to perform, along with services to the democratic party, especially in opposition to the Jay treaty of 1795. But the point of interest for the student of magazines in this statement is the fact that is suggests that the editors of papers take over wholly a duty which had been one of the chief functions of magazine editors. Just as the weekly paper invaded, as we have seen, the field of the general literary magazine and that of the religious journal in this period, so the daily threatened to usurp what had been from the first one of the leading phases of magazine interest—that of political record and discussion.

Yet there were political monthlies. In 1796, for example, the picturesque William Cobbett, alias Peter Porcupine, established his *Porcupine's Political Censor, or a Review of Political Occurrences Relative to the United States* (March, 1796 – March, 1797), a monthly in which the sessions of Congress were reported and freely commented upon.[35] The controversy with the "insidious, unprincipled, insolent, and perfidious Republic of France" [36] and the Jay treaty are the two topics chiefly discussed. After the democratic attack upon the treaty had failed, "Porcupine" called the roll of the chief opponents of the treaty, and he described Gallatin's tactics thus:

> With what art did the *Genevese* approach! How did he twist and turn when he found an obstacle in his way! How did his eyes glisten when ready to dart in upon his devoted prey! Those that followed him had little more to do than mouth over what they had heard, as the yelping puppies of the pack give tongue, when they hear the cry of the leading old hound.
>
> ———'The *staunch old hound,*
> 'Guide of the pack, *although gaunt and ugly,*
> 'Is yet of great account. . . .'

Had Somerville written his beautiful poem of *The Chase* but yesterday, with the late proceedings in the House of Representatives

[35] The first number of the *Censor* was originally called *The Prospect from the Congress Gallery,* but Cobbett quarrelled with his publisher and in taking the work away from him changed the name. See "Lewis Melville," *The Life and Letters of William Cobbett in England and America* (London, 1913), I, 99-101.

[36] *Political Censor,* No. 6. August, 1796. *Porcupine's Works,* IV, 274.

before his eyes, he could not have made a more apt allusion than is contained in the above-quoted passage. . . . The grateful sportsman, to reward his faithful and laborious cur, claps him on the back and spits in his mouth. And so our *Italian* shall be distinguished by some superior reward.[37]

Livingston, he says, should "be cut out at full length in a *living stone* and stuck up at the corner of the *Fly-Market,* for the boys to throw rotten eggs at, till the statue became as yellow as the original." [38] Cobbett was caustic enough when dealing with principles, but what he dearly loved was to arraign a person; then he was himself a very violent small boy throwing rotten eggs. One of his victims was Thomas Paine, whom he hated for his French sympathies; he fairly outporcupines Porcupine in his diatribe against Paine in the fifth *Censor.* "Like *Judas* he will be remembered by posterity," our editor ends; "men will learn to express all that is base, malignant, treacherous, unnatural and blasphemous, by the single monosyllable, *Paine.*" [39] Cobbett lived to regret this attack, and tried to atone for it both by an entirely sympathetic biography, which, however, was not published until long after the author's death, and by the removal of Paine's obscurely buried bones to England.[40] But monthly publication was too slow for Cobbett, and he adopted "that cut and thrust weapon, a daily paper" [41] in 1797, starting his *Porcupine's Gazette and United States Advertiser,* in which he continued to make war on the French and the democrats, and, later on Dr. Rush. Incidentally, he got at loggerheads with Mathew Carey, now no longer a magazine editor. To show that Cobbett was not the only writer who could crucify a victim with adjectives, we may quote two sentences from Carey's address to Cobbett:

Wretch as you are, accursed by God and hated by man, the most tremendous scourge that hell ever vomited forth to curse a people by sowing discord among them, I desire not the honor or credit of

[37] *Ibid.,* No. 4. *Works,* III, 378.
[38] *Ibid.,* No. 4. *Works,* III, 380.
[39] *Ibid.,* No. 5. *Works,* IV, 113.
[40] E. I. Carlyle, *William Cobbett* (London, 1904), pp. 209-10.
[41] *Porcupine's Gazette,* March 4, 1797. *Works,* V, 3.

being vilified by you. . . . To send a challenge to a blasted, posted, loathsome coward . . . would sink me almost to a level with yourself.[42]

Enough and too much of the noisy and noisome lambasting tactics of the journalism of the day. It was not always meant very seriously. Cobbett and Carey were later good comrades.[43] "A liberty of using scurrility and detraction as weapons in their virulent attacks on each other has been granted by mutual consent," remarked a writer in the *Port Folio*.[44]

Porcupine's Gazette ended in 1799.[45] The New York *Evening Post,* which began its great career in 1801, may be mentioned as an example of the paper which paid but little attention to news, much to politics, and somewhat to literature: Bryant became its *de facto* editor immediately after the close of our period.[46] The *National Intelligencer,* begun by Samuel Harrison Smith at Washington when the capital was moved there in 1800, reported the proceedings of Congress for half a century and more. *Niles' Weekly Register*[47] began in 1811 to print state papers, statistics, current events, and other factual material; between that date and 1849, when it perished, it had performed an invaluable service to newspaper editors, to the public, and to historians.

The United States had, by 1800, become "a nation of newspaper readers," observed the *Port Folio;* and Charles Brockden Brown believed newspapers "more widely diffused and read" in America "than in any other part of the world." In his *Monthly*

[42] Quoted from Carey's pamphlet, *A Plum Pudding for the Humane, Chaste, Valiant, and Enlightened Peter Porcupine,* in Scharf and Westcott's *History of Philadelphia,* III, 1960.

[43] See Earl L. Bradsher, *Mathew Carey* (New York, 1912), Appendix I.

[44] *Port Folio,* V, 533 (June, 1811).

[45] It ended as a daily Aug. 28, 1799, but subsequently published six weekly numbers Sept. 6 – Oct. 11 in folio and two duodecimo pamphlets Oct. 19 and 26; a final number from the safe distance of New York was issued Jan. 13, 1800. Vols. V-VII of the *Works* contain many extracts from the *Gazette.* It was Rush's verdict for damages, already referred to, that drove Cobbett from the field.

[46] For the *Post* see Allan Nevins, *The Evening Post: A Century of Journalism* (New York, 1922). Politico-literary papers in all the leading cities could be mentioned, as John Park's *Boston Spectator, Devoted to Politics and Belles Lettres* (January 1, 1814 – February 25, 1815), Joseph T. Buckingham's Boston *Ordeal* (January – June, 1809), and James Cheetham's virulent *American Citizen* (1800-10) in New York.

[47] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 268-70.

Magazine he goes on to report that there is an aggregate newspaper circulation of thirty thousand in New England—enough to supply one-fourth of the families. And "newspapers are taken and read in most instances, by association of several families." [48]

But the general magazines as well as the newspapers were interested in politics in these fiercely partisan times. There is much evidence to show that magazine editors considered political discussion necessary to the success of their publications.[49] The *Port Folio,* in promising more politics in its second volume, said, "Many have complained that too small a share of our attention was given to politics." [50] Brockden Brown was forced, against his strong literary inclinations, to turn to the political chronicle for success, as the titles of his successive magazines demonstrate. Literature played a losing hand against politics. It was a period of transcendent interest in partisanship, of bitter attack and savage reprisal. To take an example from the reviews, the *American Review* begins its career by remarking that the officials of 1811 are "the most incapable and contemptible men that ever presumed to be ambitious." [51] Joseph Dennie was so maddening in his thrusts at democratic ideals and leaders in the *Port Folio* that he was indicted for sedition. He did not hesitate to stoop to scurrilous personalities. Less severe than some other attacks on the president was the versified "Reflection of Mr. Jefferson" on being presented with a "mammoth cheese" from Cheshire, Massachusetts. One stanza runs:

> Once I was pure. . . . Alas! that happy hour,
> E'en as the milk from which this monster came,
> Till turn'd, by philosophic rennet, sour,
> I barter'd virtue for an empty name.[52]

The successive elections, relations with France and England, the purchase of Louisiana, the War of 1812-14, the banking problems, the Spanish treaty of 1819, Cuban and Mexican rela-

[48] *Monthly Magazine,* I, 13-14 (April, 1799). Also I, 342 (August, 1799).
[49] See Mae H. McCreery, *The Part Played by Politics in the Growth of American Letters as Shown in the Periodicals of the Early National Period* (University of Iowa thesis, 1927), pp. 9-17.
[50] *Port Folio,* II, 2 (Jan. 16, 1802).
[51] *American Review,* Prospectus, Vol. I, p. vi.
[52] *Port Folio,* II, 88 (March 20, 1802).

tions, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Missouri question were leading political topics in the magazines. "So much has been said, written, and published on the 'Missouri question' that the people in general are displeased with the mere sight of the words in print," remarked Hezekiah Niles in his *Weekly Register* in 1820;[53] and there is a notable recession of interest in political topics in the more general magazines in the later years of our period. After the inauguration of Monroe, and the beginning of what Benjamin Russell of the *Massachusetts Centinel* dubbed "the era of good feelings," there was less political discussion in the magazines; and the separation between newspaper and magazine grew.

ANTISLAVERY AND OTHER REFORMS

Slavery was already a political question in our period; it early became a lively issue in the states of the old Northwest Territory. It was there that Elisha Bates's *Philanthropist* and Benjamin Lundy's *Genius of Universal Emancipation* were published. The *Philanthropist*[54] (1818-22) was, according to its subtitle, "A Weekly Journal, Containing Essays, on Moral and Religious Subjects, Domestic Economy, Agriculture, and the Mechanic Arts; together with a Brief Notice of the Events of the Times," but it is chiefly notable for Lundy's antislavery contributions. Charles Osborn's *Manumission Intelligencer* (1819-20) and Elijah Embree's *Emancipator* (1820), both of Jonesboro, Tennessee, were also pioneers. Bates, Lundy, Osborn, and Embree were all Quakers.[55]

Lundy had been contemplating the establishment of an antislavery paper when Embree had anticipated him, and when he learned of the latter's death Lundy was not slow to begin his *Genius* in Mount Pleasant, Ohio, the same village in which the *Philanthropist* was being published. Lundy was a heroic figure—the stuff of which legends are made. He began the *Genius* in 1821 without capital and with only six subscribers; each month

[53] *Niles' Weekly Register*, XIX, 265 (Dec. 23, 1820).

[54] To be distinguished from the later abolition newspaper, the Cincinnati *Philanthropist*.

[55] See Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore, 1896), p. 239n. G. H. Payne, in his *History of Journalism in the United States* (p. 222) mentions an earlier *Manumission Journal* at Greenville, Tenn., probably in 1815.

he would walk the twenty miles to Steubenville to get his paper printed and return with the edition on his back.[56] The next year he moved his sixteen-page monthly to Greenville, in northeastern Tennessee near Jonesborough, thus availing himself of the friendly group which had supported Embree's paper. In 1824 he established the *Genius* at a real publication center,—Baltimore. Lundy was a great walker: he had walked half the distance from Mount Pleasant to Greenville; he now walked all the way to Baltimore with knapsack on back. The *Genius,* which favored gradual abolition and colonization, prospered moderately and was made a weekly in 1826; but in the following year Lundy was assaulted and almost killed by a Baltimore slave-dealer. He could not be silenced, however, and he continued to make his pilgrimages through the various states, often on foot, preaching his gospel of abolition. In Boston he became acquainted with young William Lloyd Garrison, and afterward watched with keenest interest that ardent reformer's career as editor of the Bennington, Vermont, *Journal of the Times* (1828-29). Garrison also watched Lundy's work, and in his political paper paid him this tribute:

> Within a few months he has travelled about twenty-four hundred miles, of which upwards of sixteen hundred were performed *on foot!*—during which time he has held nearly fifty public meetings. Rivers and mountains vanish in his path; midnight finds him wending his solitary way over an unfrequented road; the sun is anticipated in its rising. Never was moral sublimity of character better illustrated.[57]

In 1829 Lundy took his knapsack on his back again, suspended his paper for the time, and set out for Bennington to invite Garrison down to Baltimore to become assistant editor of the *Genius.* The young man accepted, and though he was by this time an advocate of immediate and complete abolition, he worked harmoniously with Lundy for a year, at the end of which period he was thrown into jail for criminal libel against the owner of a vessel engaged in the domestic slave trade. After his release he

[56] Thomas Earl, *Life, Travels, and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy* (Philadelphia, 1847), p. 20. See this volume, *passim,* for the facts which follow.

[57] *Journal of the Times,* Dec. 12, 1828. Quoted in Wendell P. and Francis J. Garrison's *William Lloyd Garrison* (New York, 1886), I, 93.

parted with Lundy, and established his famous *Liberator* in Boston, while Lundy moved his paper, now a monthly again, to Washington. Shortly before his death, the old antislavery pioneer moved back to the frontier and established the *Genius* at Lowell, Illinois. After Lundy was gone, it persisted in continuations at Lowell and Chicago until 1855.[58]

One further antislavery periodical in our period is to be mentioned: John Finley Crowe's *Abolition Intelligencer, and Missionary Magazine,* of Shelbyville, Kentucky, was published under the ægis of the Kentucky Abolition Society for one year from May, 1822.

These antislavery papers all had more or less religious motivation. In the magazines, comment on slavery was based largely on humanitarian feelings, and continued often to be, as in the earlier period, somewhat sentimental. Such a piece in the *New York Weekly Magazine* begins: "'Alas! I am very faint and feeble,' said a voice which misery seemed to have rendered almost inarticulate. They were the words of a poor negro . . ."[59] The *Monthly Anthology* often speaks of slavery with reprobation. "A German Baron" writes sarcastically of the national legislators whose "love of liberty is sublimated to a passion" the while they are "surrounded by their slaves."[60] An article on "Slavery and the Missouri Question" by Lemuel Shaw, then an eminent Boston lawyer and a little later chief justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, attracted much attention in the *North American Review* for January, 1820.[61] There were not a few writers, however, who deprecated the growing abolition sentiment. An antislavery writer in the *Monthly Magazine* expects gradual and complete emancipation within the first sixty years of the century.[62] President Horace Holley, of Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky, writes in the *Western Review:*

[58] The *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is complete in sixteen volumes (1821-39). Vols. VII-XVI are N.S. I-X. Continued as *Genius of Liberty*, Lowell, Ills., December, 1840 – April, 1842; then as *Western Citizen*, Chicago, 1842-53 (I-XI); then as the *Free West*, Chicago, 1853 – July, 1855.

[59] *Weekly Magazine*, I, 11 (Feb. 3, 1798).

[60] *Monthly Anthology*, VIII, 93 (February, 1810).

[61] See Julius H. Ward's comment, *North American Review*, CCI, 126 (January, 1915).

[62] *Monthly Magazine*, II, 84 (February, 1800).

The black population of the United States is unquestionably a great evil. . . . We have no sympathy with slave *traders,* nor with their abettors. We look with horror upon all men engaged in this infamous traffic, whether from the United States or from any part of Europe. But we know slave *holders* who are men of the greatest humanity and benevolence, who have the best moral feelings, and who are actuated by as high and holy principles as any men in the world.[63]

Such comments represent typically early skirmishes in the great struggle.

Other reforms had their advocates among the magazines. The *National Philanthropist,*[64] said to have been the first temperance paper in the country, was not begun until 1826, which places it just outside our period; but there was some discussion of temperance in the general magazines from an early date. Smoking was attacked, but defended by so religious a magazine as the *Monthly Anthology,* in which a writer plaintively says, "I know not why the smoking of a social segar should be severely blamed." [65] The Burr-Hamilton duel turned the minds of reformers anew to the problem of the "code of honor," but duelling still persisted. The *Western Monthly Review* said as late as 1827: "Most moral writers have seen in the duellist, not only an Atheist, a contemner of all hopes and fears beyond the grave, . . . but a man destitute of true courage. . . . We number among our acquaintances many who have fallen in duels." [66]

THEATRICAL REVIEWS

Another special class of periodicals which arose during the period of nationalism was that of the theatrical reviews. Apparently the primacy in this field belongs to the one monthly number of the *Thespian Oracle,* January, 1798, by J. B. Freeman, Phila-

[63] *Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine,* I, 142-64 (October, 1819). Signed "T," which marks it as President Holley's. A review of the Colonization Society's report.

[64] Founded March 4, 1826, at Providence by the Rev. Wm. Collier under the name *Investigator and General Intelligencer,* it almost finished a fourth annual volume. Called *National Philanthropist and Investigator* in January, 1829, and *National Philanthropist* beginning September, 1829. William Lloyd Garrison was editor January – June, 1828.

[65] *Monthly Anthology,* II, 129 (March, 1805).

[66] *Western Monthly Review,* I, 453 (December, 1827).

delphia. Another Philadelphia periodical called the *Theatrical Censor* was published anonymously from Dec. 9, 1805, to Nov. 17, 1806. Close upon its heels came the *Thespian Mirror* of New York (Dec. 28, 1805, to March 22, 1806), which was conducted by a precocious young man by the name of John Howard Payne, aged thirteen, who was soon to become a famous actor, and to write, seventeen years later, the best known American song, "Home, Sweet Home."[67] His *Mirror* brought him into prominence, though it had been begun clandestinely in order to escape the knowledge of the editor's father, who was opposed to his son's artistic ambitions. Indeed, a New York correspondent of the *Port Folio* tells his readers that "The little editor of the *Thespian Mirror* is almost the only topic of fashionable table-talk" in that city in February, 1806.[68] Another *Theatrical Censor* (Sept. 27 – Dec. 30, 1806) published five numbers in Philadelphia during the next theatrical season, adding the words *and Critical Miscellany* to its title, and publishing notes on the theater from New York, Boston, and Charleston as well as Philadelphia. Mathew Carey's *Thespian Monitor* (1809), of Philadelphia, was probably of even briefer duration,[69] and the *Rambler's Magazine and New York Theatrical Register for the Season 1809-10* published but four numbers. But the most important magazine devoted chiefly to the drama in this period, and the only one which outlasted a single theatrical season, was Stephen Cullen Carpenter's monthly *Mirror of Taste and Dramatic Censor,* of which four volumes of six numbers each were published in Philadelphia in 1810 and 1811. Carpenter was an Irishman of varied journalistic experience; his *Mirror* contained portraits of actors and some interesting and valuable criticism of the stage and of theatrical life. Lastly, there was John Bioren's *Whim,* of Philadelphia, in 1814.

[67] It is interesting to note, by the way, the *New York Mirror's* account of "Clari," the opera in which this song appeared. It had been presented for the first time Nov. 12, 1823. "The music was the most beautiful and tender we have ever heard," says the *Mirror* critic, and quotes the first stanza of "Home, Sweet Home." "Miss Johnson, as Clari, was inimitable."—*Mirror,* I, 132 (Nov. 22, 1823).

[68] *Port Folio,* N.S. I, 102 (Feb. 22, 1806). But the *Boston Magazine* was able to point out (I, 71, Feb. 22, 1806) that the prospectus of the *Thespian Mirror,* which had been so highly praised, had been in large part plagiarized from one of its own articles.

[69] No other number of this paper than the one for Nov. 25, 1809, in the British Museum, which Smyth mentions in his *Philadelphia Magazines,* has been traced. The full name is the *Thespian Monitor and Dramatick Miscellany.*

Dramatic criticism found some place also in the general magazines and newspapers. Some magazines gave special attention to the theater, as the *Boston Magazine,* the *Emerald,* and the *Polyanthos* at Boston; and Brown's *Monthly Magazine,* Biglow's *American Monthly,* and the *Weekly Magazine* at New York. These magazines printed more or less regular notes on the theater; many other periodicals had occasional articles. The Baltimore *Repertory of Papers on Literature and Other Topics* (1811) reprinted a number of English plays. The *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine* had an article on the actress Mrs. Merry in 1798;[70] the Charleston *Monthly Review* had a long review of Thomas Abthorpe Cooper's work in 1806.[71]

Other magazines, usually silent in regard to the theater, sometimes broke out against its abuses. The masquerading "German Baron" in the *Monthly Anthology* witnesses a Boston production of a Kotzebue play. "In one of the remote parts of the house," he says, "were some of those abandoned females of the most wretched sort, who are to be found in all cities—their conduct was of the most outrageous, indecent, disgusting kind, but the audience submitted to it without a murmur, as I am told they always do."[72] The Baltimore *Portico* sums up the theater in these words: "Nought but ignorance and vulgarity clamorously enjoying the lowest obscenity and farce."[73] Biglow's *American Monthly Magazine* apologizes for beginning a department called "The Thespian Register" by citing Job, Sophocles, and Shakespeare; then it adds:

> We have thought it necessary to say this much in vindication of theatrical entertainments, because we are aware that many good people indulge in a prejudice against them. We are induced to notice the performances on the New York boards in the hope of purging our stage from those impurities which have given too strong grounds for those prejudices. . . . Our theater possesses many attractions. The company is respectable. . . .[74]

[70] *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine,* I, 187 (April, 1798).
[71] *Monthly Review,* I, 325 (November, 1806).
[72] *Monthly Anthology,* VIII, 91 (February, 1810).
[73] *Portico,* III, 371 (May, 1817).
[74] *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review,* I, 51 (May, 1817). The critic goes on to speak of the members of the New York company: "Mr. Hilson is

The New York *Weekly Magazine* gives place to a controversy over stage morality between W[illiam] D[unlap] and an unknown writer who claims that "The miserable buffoonery and low farce which now reign in our own and the English theaters, are a sufficient answer to all the theatrical moralists have ever written." [75]

Kotzebue frequently received rough handling. Dennie reprints an English burlesque of him in the *Port Folio*,[76] and frequently attacks him. "When we range over the waste of this German's writings . . . we find little of the beautiful, and still less of the true," he writes.[77] The *Emerald* objects repeatedly to "German importations of character without consistency and sentiment without virtue." [78] German drama, it thinks, has driven "from the English stage the genius of true comedy and tragedy, and substituted the monsters of melodrama, farce and tragi-comedy." [79] Brown in his *Monthly Magazine* calls attention to the fact that Kotzebue was badly translated for the English and American stage.[80]

Brown's comments on individual actors and performances are interesting. John Hodgkinson's Shylock on November 24, 1800, was "a masterly performance." [81] The work of the first Joseph Jefferson as Lord Foppington in "The Relapse" is "incomparably fine," and Mrs. Jefferson's début as Louisa Dudley in "The West Indian" is a success.[82] John D. Burk's "Bunker Hill' was presented on the anniversary of the evacuation of New York by the British, Nov. 28, 1800; "all the numerous defects of the play were amply compensated by the enthusiasm of the audience." [83] The work of Mr. and Mrs. David Poe in the Boston company was re-

perhaps, the first comedian of the continent; Mr. Robinson and Mr. Pritchard are able actors; Mr. Simpson has talents for light comedy; Mr. Barnes personates old men wonderfully well; Mrs. Barnes and Mrs. Darley are deservedly favourites; and Mrs. Baldwin is a capital duenna."

[75] *Weekly Magazine*, II, 262 (June 30, 1798). Also III, 41 (Aug. 11, 1798).

[76] *Port Folio*, I, 283 (Aug. 24, 1801).

[77] *Ibid.* But a defence of Kotzebue was printed in the *Port Folio*, II, 42 (Feb. 13, 1802).

[78] *Emerald*, I, 296 (Oct. 18, 1806). Also I, 304 (Oct. 25, 1806).

[79] *Ibid.*, II, 620 (Oct. 15, 1808).

[80] *Monthly Magazine*, III, 380 (November, 1800).

[81] *Ibid.*, III, 455 (December, 1800).

[82] *Ibid.*

[83] *Ibid.*

peatedly noticed in the *Boston Weekly,* the *Emerald,* and the *Polyanthos.* Apropos of a benefit for them, given the year before the birth of their illustrious son, the *Emerald* called Mrs. Poe "the favorite of the public and the delight of the eye." [84] The *Polyanthos* explained that "the hoyden is Mrs. Poe's forte." But young Mr. Buckingham of the *Polyanthos* grew less and less cordial toward the Poes. "From Mr. Poe's *Barnwell* we expected little satisfaction and of course we were not disappointed" on March 2, 1807; and two evenings later *"Little Pickle,* by Mrs. Poe [in "The Spoiled Child"] if we may be allowed the use of a pun, was a very *green Little Pickle."* [85] It was undoubtedly this comment which so enraged Poe that he attempted to chastise the editor.[86] The theatrical notes of the *Polyanthos* are among the most valuable of our period; there was occasional news from New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, Richmond, and New Orleans. It too was interested in stage reform. "Why must innocence blush, and modesty hide her face" at the theatre? [87] Buckingham's later *New-England Galaxy* (1817-30) also gave special attention to Boston theaters. Edmund Kean and Charles Mathews were adversely criticised therein upon their appearances in Boston in 1821 and 1823 respectively.[88]

The more distinctly literary aspects of the stage interested some commentators, and John Neal's derogatory remarks in the British *Blackwood's* upon American drama provoked occasional retort. Neal had written:

> The writers of America have no encouragement whatever to venture upon the drama. The managers of theaters, like the book publishers, cannot afford, of course, to give an American author anything for a play when they can get a better one, by every arrival, *for*

[84] *Emerald,* II, 311 (April 16, 1808).

[85] *Polyanthos,* IV, 281 (March, 1807).

[86] Jos. T. Buckingham, *Personal Memoirs,* I, 57. "Mr. Poe,—the father of the late Edgar A. Poe,—took offence at a remark on his wife's acting, and called at my house to 'chastise my impertinence,' but went away without effecting his purpose. Both he and his wife were performers of considerable merit, but somewhat vain of their personal accomplishments."

[87] *Polyanthos,* I, 61 (December, 1805).

[88] Buckingham, *Memoirs,* I, 101, 110. See also Lambert A. Wilmer, *Our Press Gang* (Philadelphia, 1859), p. 155, which charges the *Galaxy* with inciting mob violence against Kean.

nothing—after it has been cast for the London stage, and passed the ordeal.[89]

But a writer upon "American Drama" in the *American Quarterly* reviews Dunlap's "The Father" and Barker's "Marmion" and "Superstition," and says, "It will no doubt surprise the reader to learn that we have actually nearly sixty American dramas . . . We really think them quite equal to the productions of the present race of London playwrights." [90]

COMIC PERIODICALS

A race of periodicals quite as ephemeral as those single-season theatrical reviews that have just been mentioned was composed of the pioneer comic papers. It is peculiarly difficult to discuss these periodicals because of the impossibility of separating them from the papers devoted to political lampooning on the one hand, and the essay periodicals on the other. The *Wasp,* edited at Hudson, New York, in 1802 and 1803 by "Robert Rusticoat," and the *Corrector,* New York, 1804, by "Toby Tickler, Esq.," were both devoted to political satire. Baltimore had its *Scourge* in 1810, by "Titus Tickler, Esq."; and Boston one of the same name in the next year by "Tim Touchstone"—but "Tim" was sent to jail for libel, and that was that. "Tim" was Merrill Butler; his publisher, James L. Edwards, proceeded to establish another lampoon paper, the *Satirist,* in 1812. These were papers not unlike *Porcupine's Gazette,* but displayed less ability; they were offspring of papers of similar purpose and names in England. One of the earliest of true comic papers was the Philadelphia *Tickler,* established by Henry K. Helmbold in Philadelphia in 1807, and edited, we are told, by "Toby Scratch'em." It kept up its flow of satire until 1813, when its editor went marching off to shoot Britons. After he returned, he established the *Independent Balance,* by "Democritus the Younger, a Lineal Descendant of the Laughing Philosopher"; with his recent training he was now able

[89] *Blackwood's Magazine,* XVI, 567 (November, 1824).
[90] *American Quarterly Review,* I, 331 (June, 1827).

With well-poised gun and surest eyes
To shoot at Folly as it flies,

—which he continued to do until his death in 1821. The paper then passed through several hands until it became the property of L. P. Franks, who, as "Simeon Spunkey," thus registered his intention:

I claim as large a charter as the wind
To blow on whom I please.

Franks had been editor of the monthly *Luncheon* (1815-16) which had been discontinued on account of a libel it had printed. Boston had its *Something,* edited by "Nemo Nobody, Esq.," for some six months in 1809-10, and there were other periodicals of this sort of even briefer existence.[91]

The most famous of all the publications of the satirical kind in our period, and the model for many of them, was *Salmagundi; or, the Whim-Whams and Opinions of Launcelot Langstaff, Esq., and Others,* written by Washington Irving, his brother William, and his brother-in-law, James Kirk Paulding, and published irregularly in New York from Jan. 24, 1807, through Jan. 25, 1808.[92] Salmagundi is said to be a kind of hash of chopped meat, pickled herring, oil, vinegar, pepper, and onions; and the name was not badly chosen. The fads and follies of the town were hit off flippantly. "This work will be printed on hot-pressed vellum paper," said the "Publisher's Notice" in the first number, "as that is held in highest estimation for buckling up young ladies' hair—a purpose to which similar works are usually appropriated." There were comment on the theaters, some verse, and not a few "characters,"—the most famous of the latter being one which hit off the personality of Joseph Dennie in the eighth number. William Irving did the verse. It is all very good fun even today, and if some butts of ridicule threatened castigation, that made only the

[91] See Smyth, *op. cit.,* pp. 181-88.

[92] See Pierre M. Irving, *Life and Letters of Washington Irving* (New York, 1863), Vol. I, pp. 175-85, 210-13; and Evert A. Duyckinck, Preface to *Salmagundi* in the Geoffrey Crayon edition of Irving's works. Nineteen numbers were issued in 1807, as follows: Jan. 24; Feb. 4, 13, 24; March 7, 20; April 4, 18, 25; May 16; June 2, 27; Aug. 14; Sept. 16; Oct. 1, 15; Nov. 11, 24; Dec. 31. One number in 1808—Jan. 25.

more fun for the young authors. Paulding later wrote to Irving, "I know you consider old Sal as a sort of saucy, flippant trollope, belonging to nobody, and not worth fathering." [93] Paulding, however, thought differently, and published a second series in Philadelphia in the years 1819-20, writing it all himself. But whereas the original series had been a great success, Paulding's continuation fell flat. Among the other essay periodicals of the Period of Nationalism were Richard Henry Dana's *Idle Man* (New York, 1821-22), and the *Red Book* (Baltimore, 1819-21) by John P. Kennedy and Peter Hoffman Cruse. Irving's *Sketch Book* was published in numbers in 1819-20.

COLLEGE MAGAZINES; THE ARTS

The first of American college magazines is said to have been the *Literary Cabinet*, begun at Yale Nov. 15, 1806, and ending in October of the following year; [94] this in spite of the expectation expressed in its first number: "The *Literary Cabinet*, it is probable, will exist for years to come." The first Harvard periodical [95] was the *Harvard Lyceum*, which ran semimonthly from July 14, 1810, through March 9, 1811. Edward Everett and John Chipman Gray were among the editors, and the former was the chief contributor.

There was no real musical magazine in America until after 1825. It is true that the titles of two eighteenth century publications represented them as musical magazines,[96] but they were little more than collections of hymn tunes, issued irregularly. Nevertheless, there was no little interest in music. A writer in the *New York Weekly Magazine* remarks upon "the present universal passion for this art, and the fashion of making it a necessary part of education," but he considers it "as relating to the fair sex particularly." [97] At the end of our period there was some enthusiasm for opera. The *New-York Review* tells of

[93] P. M. Irving, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

[94] *Yale Literary Magazine*, XXIX, 3 (October, 1863).

[95] See p. 431: "This is the first paper that ever was attempted by the sons of Harvard."

[96] The *American Musical Magazine*, New Haven, 1786, and Andrew Law's *Musical Magazine*, Cheshire (Connecticut), Baltimore, and Philadelphia, which published five numbers, 1792-99.

[97] *Weekly Magazine*, II, 103 (Sept. 28, 1796).

Italian opera in New York, when the Garcias gave "The Barber of Seville" and other pieces;[98] and Dr. Snowden's *Philadelphia Monthly* has an interesting article on French comic opera.[99] Some music was published in the general magazines—in the *Port Folio,* for example;—and such short-lived periodicals as the *Ladies' Magazine and Musical Repository* (New York, 1801) and the *Ladies' and Gentlemen's Weekly Literary Museum and Musical Magazine* (Philadelphia, 1819) gave special attention to this department.

The fine arts prospered scarcely as well in the magazines. There was occasionally a serial treatise on drawing or painting, as in the Philadelphia *Weekly;* and some reviews of exhibitions appeared in a number of periodicals. The *Port Folio* had a department of fine arts for a time, and the *North American* printed occasional art notes. In an article on "The Progress and Present State of the Fine Arts in the United States," the *Analectic* complains: "Here we see the arts developing and expanding, not in the genial sunshine of wealth and patronage, but in the cold damp shade of neglect and obscurity."[100] It notes, however, some private art collections, and those of the Academies of Philadelphia and New York. Walter Channing, in the *North American Review,* is more optimistic. He begins an article "On the Fine Arts" thus: "There are, perhaps, few subjects more grateful to our national pride, than the progress the fine arts have made under the genius and industry of our countrymen."[101] There was indeed much pride taken in the work of Benjamin West, Washington Allston, John Trumbull, Gilbert Stuart, John Singleton Copley, Hiram Powers, and others.

FICTION AND THE ESSAY IN THE MAGAZINE

Fiction gained as a magazine material in this period. It is true that some of the most important general magazines, as the *Port Folio* and *Analectic,* used it but little; but for the weekly miscellanies and the women's magazines, especially in the short

[98] *New-York Review and Atheneum,* II, 230 (February, 1826).
[99] *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine,* I, 92 (November, 1827).
[100] *Analectic Magazine,* VI, 368 (November, 1815).
[101] *North American Review,* III, 194 (July, 1816).

story form, it came to be a chief reliance. The New York *Weekly Magazine* was one of the earliest to place this emphasis. It had a serial novel "St. Herbert," by "Anna," in 1797, which seems to have been a pioneer in that kind. The Philadelphia *Weekly* of the next year was not much behind it, with Brockden Brown's work.[102] The *Port Folio* published a few excellent tales.

Few novels were being written in the United States, however. The *Portico,* in reviewing John Neal's *Keep Cool* in 1817, remarks that this is "the only American Novel that has come under our notice for many years."[103] But Brown's *Wieland* had won some high opinions before this: it "is the first publication of its kind which has attracted much public attention,"[104] said Brown's own *Review.* And in the closing years of our period Cooper and Irving received no little magazine praise. It may be noted in passing, however, that Richard Henry Dana bore rather heavily upon the faults of the *Sketch Book* in his review in the *North American.* He admitted, nevertheless, that Irving was "the most popular man of letters in this country."[105]

As a matter of fact, many people joined fiction with theaters, dancing, gambling, cock-fighting, and horse-racing in one general anathema. An article from the London *Monthly Mirror* of November, 1797, on "Novel Reading a Cause of Female Depravity" was widely reprinted in American periodicals. "It is in that school," we are told, "the poor deluded female imbibes erroneous principles, and from thence pursues a flagrantly vicious line of conduct. It is there she is told that love is involuntary. . . ."[106] A *Monthly Anthology* reviewer of a book by a clergyman of the time quotes it approvingly anent "the dangerous tendency of dipping too freely into books of this sort," though he rather grudgingly admits that "reading a very *few* of the *best* is not unadvisable."[107] On the other hand, the author of

[102] It may be noted that Brown may have received hints for *Wieland* from two articles in this magazine: one on "spontaneous inflammation" by Rev. Wm. Tooke, F.R.S., from an English periodical, May 19 and 26, 1798; and one on ventriloquism, chiefly an account of a hoax, June 30, 1798.

[103] *Portico,* IV, 161 (September-October, 1817).

[104] *American Review and Literary Journal,* I, 334 (July – September, 1801).

[105] *North American Review,* IX, 356 (September, 1819).

[106] *New England Quarterly Magazine,* I, 172-74.

[107] *Monthly Anthology,* I, 363 (June, 1804). Review of Rev. Samuel Miller's *Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century.*

an excellent article on "The Advantages of Works of Moral Fiction" in the *Western Review* talks plainly to those "bigots" who call the novel "the primer of Beëlzebub."[108] It was probably the same writer who made the following observations in the *Western Monthly Review* a few years later:

> The whole tirade [against novels] is mere wretched cant, utterly unworthy of the least pretension to mental enlargement, and fit only for men, who could have presided over a judicature for the trial of witches, or an ecclesiastical legislature to enact "blue laws." There have been bad novels. So there have bad sermons. . . . Truth is that novels are generally worthless and bad books. It is equally true that one of the most important vehicles through which good and virtuous sentiments can be diffused, is this same species of writing.[109]

Fiction made some inroads into the field of the periodical essay, as in Brown's "The Man at Home" in the *Philadelphia Weekly,* and in the emphasis on characterization which was common to both; but it was not until toward the end of our period that the essay perceptibly declined as a magazine staple. In its earlier years the *Port Folio* throve upon the essay, and Dennie's "Lay Preacher," which appeared in that magazine and in the *Farmer's Museum,* is probably the most distinguished periodical essay series in American literature. Most magazines at the turn of the century had to have their essay series.

BIOGRAPHY AND TRAVEL

Biography and biographical anecdotes furnished another staple. These were borrowed, even to a greater degree than most other kinds of writing, from English magazines. There was original biography, however: memoirs of the clergy in the religious magazines, an early serial biography of Washington in the *Philadelphia Monthly* of 1798, sketches of naval commanders of the War of 1812 in the *Analectic,* the *Monthly Anthology's* "Biographia Americana." "Biography at the present day occupies an important station in the field of literature,"[110] wrote Jared Sparks

[108] *Western Review,* IV, 96-104 (March, 1821).
[109] *Western Monthly Review,* II, 419 (December, 1828).
[110] *North American Review,* VI, 294 (March, 1818).

in the *North American Review,* and that periodical gave due space to such writing. There was also something of history in the magazines.[111] We have seen that Carey's *American Museum* and the *Columbian* had been, at certain stages of their careers, partially historical magazines because of space given to papers on the American Revolution; the same is true of the *Monthly Register* (Charleston, 1805-06) which entitles its Part I "The History of the American Revolution." The *Monthly Anthology* and other magazines were much given to "retrospective reviews" of old books.

Nor was travel literature neglected. "Next to periodical essays, and the biography of the learned, for which not only ourselves but the great majority of our readers have a strong and just partiality, we have always admitted tours and travels," [112] wrote Dennie in the *Port Folio.* That magazine began with John Quincy Adams's "Journal of a Tour Through Silesia," and later printed much similar material. The *Monthly Anthology* had letters of John Lowell and Alexander H. Everett from Europe. A large part of the travel literature published in the magazines of these times was, however, abstracted from current books. There was much to draw from, for as the *Portico* noted, "the present age seems to be peculiarly distinguished as favorable to great travellers." [113]

THE MAGAZINES AND POETRY

In verse the period was deficient, so far as America is concerned. The Hartford Wits were still reprinted occasionally throughout the period, though adverse criticism of them was frequent. The verdict upon Barlow's *Columbiad* (1807) was distinctly unfavorable. "Vast is the accumulation of nonsense . . . signal and disastrous the failure," according to the *American Review.* In the same article the critic remarks that "a volume of American poetry is . . . a rare offering to the public." [114] Fre-

[111] A. H. Shearer, article on "American Historical Magazines" in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* IV, 484 ff. (March, 1918), confuses contemporary "registers" of current events with periodicals devoted to the history of the past.

[112] *Port Folio,* N.S. V, 96 (Feb. 12, 1808).

[113] *Portico,* I, 538 (June, 1816).

[114] *American Review,* IV, 245 (October, 1812).

neau was highly praised in the *Port Folio;* his verse, thought Dennie, "will be, at length, considered as entitled to no ordinary place in a judicious estimate of American genius." [115] Alexander Wilson's poem of two thousand lines called *The Foresters* was published serially in the *Port Folio* in 1809, and greatly admired. Paulding's *Backwoodsman,* a third long American poem of the time, found both friends and enemies; the Philadelphia *Critic* (1820) had no dearer purpose all its short life than to lambast it. We have already noticed how that group of short-lived periodicals edited by Bryant and Sands, which began with the *United States Literary Gazette* and included the *New-York Review,* printed Longfellow, Halleck, Willis, Dana, Percival, and Dawes, besides the two editors. "Thanatopsis" appeared in the *North American Review* in September, 1817; and Bryant had already established his reputation by the end of our period. The Rev. John Pierpont's *Airs of Palestine* was much admired. "In vigour of fancy, richness of imagery, and fertility of allusion, it is surpassed by the productions of no contemporary bard," claims the *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review.*[116] Other poets, now very much forgotten, including William B. Tappan, Henry T. Farmer, Charles Mead, and John Neal, are praised in the *Analectic* in 1819. "If the poetical department of our national literature, has heretofore suffered under neglect and fallen into disrepute," says this optimistic critic, "certainly present indications seem to promise an alteration for the better." [117] Woodworth had already received his meed of praise from the *Analectic* reviewer, who could "not help liking his Americanisms and American allusions." [118]

Lydia Huntley began her long career with *Moral Pieces* in 1815, and was represented in the *North American Review* as early as May, 1816. Then there were the many aspiring poetical "correspondents" to whom the editors direct their sometimes sharp comments, and there were also the prolific hacks like William Biglow, who wrote much for the *New-England Galaxy* and of whom its editor said, "He would turn out any quantity

[115] See *Port Folio* through October and November, 1807, N.S. IV.
[116] *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review,* I, 24 (May, 1817).
[117] *Analectic Magazine* XIV, 211 (September, 1819).
[118] *Ibid.,* XII, 66-74 (July, 1818).

of rhymes, *to order*, on any subject, and in the shortest possible time." [119]

But the chief interest of American readers of poetry was in certain English poets. "The diffusion of English literature throughout the United States," said the *American Review*,

> can be credible only to those, who have opportunities of observation. The sterling poets of England, such as Milton, Shakespeare, Pope and Cowper are read and admired here by that class of society which, in Europe, scarcely aspires to the rudiments of letters. The great English historians are to be found in our huts and farmhouses, and editions of them are multiplied without number. Almost every work of merit on subjects of general literature, now produced in England, is received here within the space of two or three months and reprinted without delay.[120]

"The American presses teemed with the poetical labours of Darwin, Burns and Bloomfield, before those authors were fully known in their own country," adds the *New England Quarterly* proudly, and appends the interesting information: "Nor has the merit of Holloway been overlooked." [121] The American vogue of Cowper was reinvigorated by the publication of Hayley's *Life*, and the collections of correspondence. Many American periodicals printed selections from these books. Some of Burns' poems were frequently reprinted in the poetical departments of the magazines.

But Scott's sun soon eclipsed all lesser planets. "No poetical works, not excepting even those of Cowper and Burns, have been more widely circulated or read with more avidity in this country than those of Walter Scott, who is now as a poet, on the highest pinnacle of fame and popularity," [122] observed the *American Review* in 1811. Moreover, the unknown author of *Waverley* soon occupied a similar pinnacle in the mountain range of novelists. "With what eager impatience did the city renew her daily in-

[119] Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 85.

[120] *American Review*, I, 167 (January, 1811).

[121] *New England Quarterly Magazine*, III, 210 (September – December, 1802). Bryant, in the *North American Review*, says the popular English poets are "in everybody's hands." VII, 207 (July, 1818).

[122] *American Review*, I, 166 (January, 1811).

quiries" when *Rob Roy* was expected from the presses, "and how were the doors of the publishers thronged as soon as the anticipated pleasure was known to be lying in boards upon their stalls."[123] The successive novels of the series were all reviewed at length in most magazines.[124] The *Christian Spectator* takes six American historical romances and reviews them together as "Imitation Waverley Novels"; their relation to the *Waverley* series is, we are told, "very much the same as that which Rogers's Columbian Coffee bears to real Java."[125] Yet there were carpers even against the fame of the author of *Waverley,* and the *Portico* critic—no lover of novels, anyway—thought Scott's work too far-fetched: "He cannot presume to awaken the sympathies of the heart through endless generations, and build a secure fame upon the common principles of human nature."[126]

"Scott and Byron, of all the British poets, appear to be favourites of the day on this side of the Atlantic," observed the *Port Folio* in 1814.[127] And it was Byron whom the *Portico,* and many others, bowed down to. "Lord Byron is hailed by the popular voice as the first poet of the age," asserted John Neal in that magazine; "a legal descendant of the ancient Bards, who have been carried down the tide of time to immortality! I join in the general acclamation with heartfelt sincerity and throbs of pleasure."[128] And the *American Monthly and Critical Review* adds its testimony that "It has been so fashionable of late to admire Lord Byron's poetry, that no man who valued his pretensions to *ton,* dared to speak irreverently of anything that bore the sanction of his name."[129] The poet's personal character alienated many of his admirers, however. William Tudor, in the *North American,* calls him "one of the most signal instances of the perversity of genius."[130] Willard Phillips in the same magazine criticises Byron's work severely for "confusion of

123 *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review,* II, 456 (April, 1818).

124 The *North American* reviewer of *Guy Mannering* thinks Scott the author, though his anonymity was more or less successfully preserved until 1827.

125 *Christian Spectator,* VII, 81 (February, 1825).

126 *Portico,* I, 337 (April, 1816).

127 *Port Folio,* 3d Ser. IV, 271 (September, 1814). See also Wm. Tudor in the *North American Review,* III, 274 (July, 1816).

128 *Portico,* I, 406 (May, 1816).

129 *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review,* I, 3 (May, 1817).

130 *North American Review,* IV, 369 (March, 1817).

imagery." "Figures are accumulated upon each other, till both the subjects and the ornaments are lost in an irregular, glittering mass, without any order or proportion." [131]

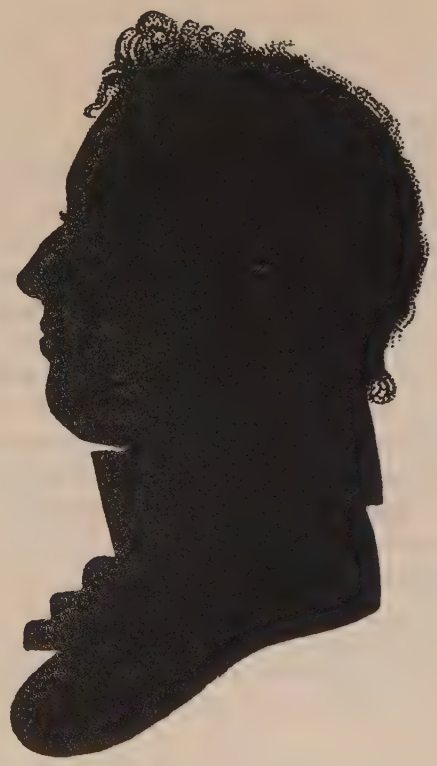
Moore was a kind of patron saint of the *Port Folio,* the leading spirits of which he celebrated in his eighth Epistle:

> . . . oh, you sacred few
> Whom late by Delaware's green banks I knew;
> Whom, known and loved through many a social eve,
> 'Twas bliss to live with and 'twas pain to leave.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The strength to reason and the warmth to feel,
> The manly polish and the illumin'd taste,
> Which,—'mid the melancholy heartless waste
> My foot has travers'd,—oh, you sacred few!
> I found by Delaware's green banks with you.[132]

Moore contributed several poems to the *Port Folio,* and it defended him against his American critics, who were not few, or sacred. The *General Repository,* one of whose critics calls Moore "the effeminate and contemptible moore," admits, while condemning him, that "few poets of the present age can boast, that their works have circulated more extensively, than those of Mr. Moore. His popularity seems to have increased with every publication." [133] Edward T. Channing, writing in the *North American,* agrees that Moore "has contrived to make himself notorious and popular," but thinks his work "little more than a mixture of musick, conceit and debauchery." [134]

The American verdict on Coleridge and Wordsworth seems likewise to have been divided. One critic follows the *British Review,* and considers "Christabel" and "Kubla Khan" "too contemptible to have arrested attention . . . the *ne plus ultra* of a school, of which, as it must soon go out of fashion, the curious may wish to preserve a specimen." [135] Dennie, on the other hand, was among the first to praise the *Lyrical Ballads,* which he

[131] *Ibid.,* V, 98-110 (May, 1817).
[132] Epistle "To the Honourable W. R. Spencer."
[133] *General Repository,* I, 102 (January, 1812).
[134] *North American Review,* VI, 1 (November, 1817).
[135] *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review,* I, 12 (May, 1817).



JOSEPH DENNIE ESQ.

Editor of the *Port Folio*. This interesting silhouette of the famous editor, done on copper, appeared in the *Port Folio* shortly after Dennie's death.

did in the *Farmer's Museum;* and later in the *Port Folio,* he quoted the *British Critic* on the book, and for himself asserted that the *Ballads* contained "more genuine poetry than is to be found, except in the volumes of *Shakespeare* and *Chatterton.*" [136] But even Dennie rebelled at "the false and affected taste [137] of some of Wordsworth's pieces, and the Monthly Anthologists condemned the new school.

Literary criticism in the United States was not on a very high plane. It was full of prejudice, ulterior motives, and pretense. Political partisanship and personal animosities vitiated much of it. The *Port Folio,* for example, quotes with specific approval the statement that "genius, learning, and taste can have no connection with democracy . . . Between false politics and false literature there seems to be . . . a closeness of connection . . . The example of superficial thinking and spurious language has been completely set them by their great leader, who now lolls in the seat of sovereignty . . ." [138] Thus politics appears as the enemy of literature once more. But better criticism is found in the *Monthly Anthology,* in the *North American,* in the *Portico*—and indeed in the *Port Folio* when the critic is not in one of his political tantrums.

[136] *Port Folio,* I, 191 (June 13, 1801).
[137] *Ibid.,* N.S. I, 256 (March, 1809).
[138] *Ibid.,* II, 350 (Nov. 6, 1802).

CHAPTER V

THE THIRD WAR WITH ENGLAND; PUBLISHING PROBLEMS

THE AMBITION FOR A "NATIONAL" LITERATURE

THE great theme that runs through all the literary criticism of 1794 to 1825, and through most of the articles on social, political, economic, and educational questions, is the theme after which we have chosen to name these years in calling them the Period of Nationalism. The patriotic desire to achieve a national literature, to throw off the shackles of literary dependence as those of political subservience had been thrown off, is a paramount motive in much that was written for a hundred years after the close of the Revolution; and it is peculiarly noticeable in the magazines at the turn of the century and for the ensuing two decades. "Dependence," says the editor of the *Portico* in his "Advertisement," "is a state of degradation, fraught with disgrace; and to be dependent on a foreign mind, for what we can ourselves produce, is to add to the crime of indolence, the weakness of stupidity."[1] The *Portico* is a good spokesman for this point of view, and we shall let it elucidate its views further:

> The fancy of the Patriot catches the spark of enthusiasm, and flames with a desire of excellence . . . He is animated by the nobler feelings of a laudable fame, that whisper a recompense of renown, to him who shall advance the national character, and place the genius of the country on a permanent basis. . . . We wish to impress upon every mind, a true value of the dignity of our national character. This dignity is promoted and upheld by nothing more than learning. . . . There is not to be found a greater, or more pernicious illusion in the catalogue of human prejudice and passion, than the prevailing opinion, that learning is inconsistent with wealth, adverse to industry, or opposed to our interest.[2]

[1] *Portico*, I, iii-iv.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, 112-19 (August, 1816).

But the only literary characters in America that the *Portico* names are Joseph Dennie and Alexander Wilson, for "though Europe is declining, America has yet to ascend the summit of literary renown." The editors' express purpose in publishing the *Portico* is "to excite the emulation of genius in America," [3] and that is, substantially, the purpose of very many magazine editors in the period. William Tudor, founder of the *North American Review,* tells us that his chief aim is to assert nationality at once against the current imitation of things British and against the craze for things French.[4] The editors of the *Monthly Anthology* open their first number with the patriotic words: "It has often been observed that no part of the earth combines more local advantages than the American Republic," and proceed to enumerate superiorities in crops, climate, government, and education. But "polite literature and the fine arts have hitherto made a very dilatory progress," [5] and the *Anthology* proposes to do what it can to stimulate them. Robert Walsh, founder of the *American Review,* felt himself specially elected to defend America against all aspersions. In his *Quarterly* he later printed this oratorical rhapsody:

> The unshackled genius of the new world is now exerting itself with gigantic vigour, aided by the treasures of nature, to strengthen its powers, increase its commerce, its resources, and its wealth. No other quarter of the globe, much less a single nation, will eventually be able to dispute the empire of the seas with the new world. . . . The eyes of the world are upon us.[6]

This is characteristic of a period in which oratory played a large part, and men like Fisher Ames, John Randolph of Roanoke, William Wirt, Henry Lee, Henry Clay, and John C. Calhoun became almost legendary figures while still living. The *New-York Review* remarks upon

> how small a part they [orations] are of the works issuing from the European presses, and how large a part of our own. . . . All sorts

[3] *Ibid.,* II, 125 (August, 1816).
[4] Tudor, *Miscellanies* (Boston, 1821), p. 52.
[5] *Monthly Anthology,* I, 3-4 (November, 1803).
[6] *American Quarterly Review,* IX, 412-19 (June, 1831).

of public occasions call for these discourses, and orators of all classes and degrees of merit are called upon to deliver them. . . . The fourth of July is the signal for putting in motion the lungs of thousands of declaimers from one end of the country to another.[7]

But as to poetry, the prospect was discouraging. "Excellent poetry can only be found where patronage of some kind or other is extended," [8] thinks the *Literary and Scientific Repository;* but other editors see hope for its burgeoning in another resource. "One of the surest methods" of creating an American Parnassiad, according to the Philadelphia *Literary Gazette,* "is to make our poetry national and peculiar, to hang its flowers around our history, to interweave it with our local attachments, to dye it deeply in the grain of our prejudices and passions." [9] This is the view of Walsh, who regrets "the prevalence of a certain colonial spirit" in American drama and exhorts playwrights to appeal to national feelings. He cites Cooper's failure with an English scene, followed by success with American materials, and thinks the varied character to be found in the United States conducive to literary endeavor.[10] William Cullen Bryant, writing in the *North American Review* in 1818, is more optimistic than some of his fellow-critics. American poetry, he thinks, "is even better than we could have been expected to produce, considering that our nation has scarcely seen two centuries since the first of its founders erected their cabins. . . . The fondness for literature is fast increasing in this country." [11] He too hopes to see the natural beauties of his country utilized by the poets.

This was the common view, but there were also those who thought it absurd to wish to throw foreign literature overboard and steer the boat in strictly American fashion. "Our national associations are necessarily few," complains Thatcher Paine in the *Atlantic Magazine,* so that some reliance on European litera-

[7] *New-York Review and Atheneum,* I, 214 (August, 1825). See also Wm. P. Mason on "Modern Oratory," *North American Review,* VII, 211-15 (July, 1818).

[8] *Literary and Scientific Repository,* II, 391 (January, 1821).

[9] *Literary Gazette,* I, 72 (February 3, 1821).

[10] *American Quarterly Review,* I, 331-57 (June, 1827). See also John Krupp's article on "National Poetry" in *North American Review,* VIII, 169-76 (December, 1818). He wishes poets to use Indian antiquities.

[11] *North American Review,* VII, 198-211 (July, 1818).

ture will be necessary for a very long time."[12] This is the view of those rather orthodox critics, the *Port Folio* and *Monthly Anthology,* and they condemn the high-flown pretensions of fourth-rate American writers. "The Remarker" in the *Anthology* may speak for the group:

> Were we to judge of the state of American literature from the conversation of certain enlightened critics, whom we occasionally fall in with, we might reasonably conclude that we had already attained the point of perfection, and that the new world rivals, if it does not surpass the old. The literary adventurers of the day are the theme of every tongue, and their productions, whether in poetry or prose, receive such lavish encomiums from the editors of our public prints, that, were we to adopt the opinions of these gentlemen, we might proudly proclaim, that we can write better verses than Pope, and more elegant essays than Addison. . . . In literature we are yet in our infancy.[13]

And our plain-speaking critic takes occasion to deprecate the literary work of Franklin, Trumbull, Barlow, and Dwight; the *Anthology* did not live to see the appearance of Bryant's *Poems, The Sketch Book,* or *The Spy.* Of a piece with this critical opposition to a declaration of literary independence was the condemnation of Noah Webster's scheme for an American language, which has already been mentioned. But there was no lack of rejoinders to these critics. "Peter Quince" has an "Address to American Critics," wretchedly versified, in the *New England Quarterly Magazine,*" which begins:

> Come, ye despisers of Columbian Song,
> Ye tribes of *smut, ill-nature, folly, spleen;*
> Who madly blend right sentiments with wrong,
> And swear that blue is red, and yellow green . . .[14]

while the *Portico* asserts that "nothing in the present age is more abused than the office of critick," and predicts that these mon-

[12] *Atlantic Magazine,* I, 21 (May, 1824). See also Brown's *Monthly Magazine,* III, 1-4 (July, 1800).

[13] *Monthly Anthology,* II, 620-22 (December, 1805). See also the "Hermit" on "American Literature" in *Port Folio,* 3d Series, IV, 44-59 (July, 1814). He says there are scarcely twenty new publications a year, and seriously discusses whether Americans have an equal place with Europeans as rational beings.

[14] *New England Quarterly Magazine,* III, 286 (September - December, 1802).

sters "will ere long devour the whole mass of literature in the world and afterwards like cannibals prey upon each other." [15]

Editors generally, however, lamented the lack of outstanding literary endeavor in the United States, especially before 1820, and were profuse in their explanations of the phenomenon. Brown's *Monthly Magazine* gave, in 1799, five reasons for the "extremely superficial" nature of American literature, as follows: (1) occupation with business and industry, (2) defective system of college education, (3) lack of competition in scholarship, (4) paucity of reward for authors, and (5) scarcity of books and difficulty of procuring them.[16] To these reasons the *Monthly Anthology* and other periodicals added a sixth—occupation with politics:

> It is not for the want of learning or genius that the American poets are so little regarded. . . . It is because, amidst the mutual clamours of contending parties, not one reader in a thousand cares three cents about the political or literary honour of his country.[17]

A seventh reason is suggested by a writer in the *North American Review,* who accounts for the "barrenness of American literature" by the lack of a peculiar language. "Is it not the fact, that when we write we are regarded as Englishmen?" he asks.[18] And Walter Channing, writing in the same review a few months later, after pointing out that the American demand is fully supplied by English books, adds an eighth cause of what he calls in the title of his essay "The Literary Delinquency of America," by pointing out that our writers "want a remote antiquity" to serve as background. But he sums the matter up by saying: "The truth is, we have wanted literary enterprise." [19] The *American Monthly and Critical Review* enlarges upon the first and most fundamental of Brown's reasons thus: "Labour, both mental and manual, has been in too great demand, heretofore, in this country, to permit us to weave either poetry or cambric." [20] As to the lack of books, Brown himself elaborates the matter in these words:

[15] *Portico,* III, 458-59 (June, 1817).
[16] *Monthly Magazine,* I, 15-19 (April, 1799).
[17] *Monthly Anthology,* II, 9 (January, 1805).
[18] *North American Review,* I, 307-14 (September, 1815).
[19] *Ibid,* II, 33-43 (November, 1815).
[20] *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review,* I, 24 (May, 1817).

"There is hardly a library in the United States, public or private, which would enable a man to be thoroughly learned in any one language." He mentions the Harvard library and the one at Philadelphia as "respectable," but calls "both very defective." [21] It is twenty years later, in 1819, that we find in another periodical a statement that the Harvard library has thirty thousand volumes, the City Library of Philadelphia the same, and the Athenæum at Boston eighteen thousand; and that no other American library has as many as ten thousand volumes.[22]

THE PAPER WAR WITH ENGLAND

But to return to our nationalist magazines: one of their most important duties was to repeat and refute English criticism of the United States. Of this there was plenty in both the books of travelers and the British periodicals. The United States has had three wars with England: the Revolution, shortly before our period; the War of 1812, during this period; and the Paper War, which lasted for more than a hundred years after the Revolution, and which still breaks out occasionally. As a matter of fact there was a deal of honest reporting of American conditions in the English travel books,[23] but one gets the impression from a reading of the American magazines of the period that all such books were devoted wholly to misrepresentation and abuse. What Tocqueville called *le patriotisme irritable* of the Americans was a sensitiveness to criticism arising from a feeling that the republican institutions of which they were really proud were on trial before the world. So great was that sensitiveness to criticism that Americans were maddened by it and blinded to other points of view. "It has been our lot to be so ill-treated by foreigners," wrote William Tudor in the *North American Review* in 1816; "the travellers who described us have been with very few exceptions so ignorant or so profligate, that we almost despair of an able and unprejudiced account of the United States from a European." [24] Jealousy was frequently ascribed as the motive

[21] *Monthly Magazine*, I, 19 (April, 1799).
[22] *Western Review*, I, 249-52 (November, 1819).
[23] See Allan Nevins, *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers* (New York, 1923), p. 9ff.; and Thornton, *op. cit.*, Chap. v, Secs. 5-6.
[24] *North American Review*, III, 77 (May, 1816).

for such misrepresentations. "As our rivals have seen that we possess the greatest means for the acquisition of wealth," said the *Analectic,* "they have attempted to make up the advantage by employing their superior literary force against us." [25] Another motive commonly ascribed as the war grew hotter was that of a conspiracy to traduce the United States and injure her economically and industrially; the tourist authors were said by *Niles' Weekly Register* to be hired lampooners.[26]

On the American side Robert Walsh, editor of the *American Review* and later of the *American Quarterly,* was generalissimo in this paper war, with men like Edward Everett, editor of the *North American,* and James Kirk Paulding as lieutenants. The Tory periodicals in England fired the big guns on the other side—the *Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood's,*—and later the *Edinburgh* asked its famous question, "Who reads an American book?" and the *British Review,* the *New Monthly,* and most of the leading British periodicals got into the engagement.[27] Perhaps the leading American magazine articles in the wordy war —which was at its height in 1819-20—were those of Everett in the *North American.*[28] The reply of the *Atlantic Magazine* to the *Quarterly Review's* maddening statement that "Americans are inherently inferior" in intellect to Europeans, due to something in the American climate or food, may be quoted as a sensible contribution to this strangely undignified controversy:

> The best way to receive the rhapsodies of the *Quarterly* about the barbarism of the United States is with laughter at their blunders, if made ingenuously, and with commiseration, if they proceed from malice.[29]

The *Atlantic Magazine* published in June, 1825, a burlesque of an English tourist's account, called "Toughtale's Travels in

[25] *Analectic Magazine,* IX, 131 (February, 1817). See also *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review,* II, 11 (November, 1817).

[26] *Niles' Weekly Register,* II, 94-96; 114-18; 162-63 (April 11, 18, May 2, 9, 1812).

[27] See McMaster, *op. cit.,* V, 307-42 (Chap. XLVIII) for a detailed account of this episode.

[28] *North American Review,* X, 334-71 (April, 1820). Also XIII, 20-47 (July, 1821).

[29] *Atlantic Magazine,* II, 398 (March, 1825).

America," in which the traveler said that half the Bostonians were Negroes and all were atheists, that a clerk was hired to read papers to the illiterate members of the legislature, and so on. Oddly enough, it was the *Port Folio* which gave space to one of the most extreme attacks on the English commentators, in an "Oration in Defence of the American Character." The orator called the English travelers

those unblushing miscreants—those slanderers by profession, Weld and Volney, Ash and Bülow, Jansen and Moore, with a tribe of others, their associates in infamy, whose very names are offensive to the ear of virtue—wretches whom the troubles of Europe, a state of houseless poverty, restless disposition, the wages of turpitude, or their own crimes and apprehensions of a gibbet, sent forth into our country to repay with defamation the courtesies they experienced, and scatter their poison on the hand that fed them.[30]

This was disloyalty to the memory of the founder of the *Port Folio,* for in reviewing the *Epistles* of Thomas Moore—one of the objurgated—Dennie had written in 1806 these indulgent words:

Mr. Moore has exercised the liberty both of a traveller and a satirist, and has described, we are confident, not with more harshness than truth, many of the deformities of a republican religion in which perhaps from the form of government and most certainly from its administration; from the shameful imperfection of education in some places and the total want of it in others; and from the ignorance, levity, boorishness and ingratitude of the commonwealth character, there must sprout so much folly and so much vice as not only to task the gay and sportive powers of such a writer as Mr. Moore, but with all the severity of Juvenal himself.[31]

No wonder Dennie was regarded by some as a traitor in their own camp.

FRENCH AND GERMAN LITERATURE

If Anglo-American literary relations were warlike, French-American affairs were not much better. Comments of the po-

[30] *Port Folio,* 3d Series, VI, 18-19 (July, 1815).
[31] *Ibid.,* N.S. II, 57 (Aug. 2, 1806).

litical writers on French politics have already been referred to: the relations of the United States to France made a partisan question, and all the bitterness of a Cobbett was expended against the Gallic tendency in America. Simpson wrote in his *Portico* of "Symptoms of Literary Decay in France" under the Napoleonic régime, and comment on French atheism and the dangers of French novels were frequent in the *Monthly Anthology* and many other periodicals. Dennie descried French innovations in American life, but gave more than a little space to French literature. The Charleston *Monthly Register* was attentive to French literature, and the *Journal of Belles Lettres* at Lexington, Kentucky, and the new series of the *Analectic* (1820) published French works in translation; while the *Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine* printed some poems in French by C. F. Rafinesque, the reader being asked to supply the accents which the printers could not furnish.

"We scarcely read now and then a passing notice upon the literature of France," complained the *Western Monthly Review;* but it noted that "Our periodicals teem with abstracts and reviews of English and German books." [32] Certainly German literature received more attention than that of any other continental nation.[33] Solomon Gessner was represented in American magazines throughout the first decade of our period by many translations and some comment, both being derived largely from the English periodicals. Goethe first appears through the attraction of the sensibility of *Werther,* which was somewhat manifest, as was the Gessner interest, before 1794. The general condemnation of the popular Kotzebue plays has already been referred to: Schiller's *Die Räuber* found critics as severe in the *Portico* and *Port Folio,*—neither of them lovers of the romantics—but some defenders as well.[34] The *German Correspondent* was a short-lived New York paper designed "to make German literature known to our countrymen"; it was started shortly after the close

[32] *Western Monthly Review,* III, 25 (July, 1829).

[33] See the detailed study of a considerable number of magazines in Scott Holland Goodnight's *German Literature in American Magazines Prior to 1846* (Bulletin University of Wisconsin, No. 188, 1907). See also Edward Ziegler Davis, *Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines, 1741-1810* (Philadelphia, 1905).

[34] See Goodnight, *op. cit.,* pp. 56-61.

of the second war with England as part of a concerted effort to divert attention from British literature.[35] A renascence of interest in German literature came with the return to this country of Everett and Ticknor, who had been studying at Göttingen, in 1817. Everett became editor two years later of the *North American Review,* which took the leadership in interpreting Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Wieland, the Schlegels, and other leading German writers, to the American public. Everett's article on Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit,*[36] written in the first flush of his enthusiasm, is epochal; and Bancroft's "Life and Genius of Goethe"[37] seven years later is hardly less important. Other magazines which contributed much to American knowledge of German literature in our period were Brown's *Monthly* and *Literary Magazine,* the *Port Folio,* the *American Review,* the *Analectic,* and the *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review.* Perhaps the most important of the earlier articles was one on Goethe's *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* in Walsh's *American Review* of 1812.[38] The novel is found to be "powerfully attractive, and evidently from the pen of a master." But the great influence of German literature upon America was yet to come; in the year that our period ends Karl Follen was appointed a teacher of German at Harvard and Georg Blättermann was elected to the chair of Modern Languages at the University of Virginia.

MAGAZINE CONTRIBUTORS

Happy indeed was any American periodical in these times which, like the *North American,* had a fairly dependable and able staff of contributors who could write on German literature, or upon medicine, law, history, or art as the occasion arose. Not many magazines were so fortunate. Charles Brockden Brown laments that in the June and July, 1804, numbers of his *Literary Magazine* there was only one contributed article: all the remain-

[35] See Roy A. Tower's note on this magazine, based upon Peter S. Du Ponceau's *Discourse on the Necessity and the Means of Making Our National Literature Independent of Great Britain,* in the *Philological Quarterly,* VII, 90 (January, 1928).
[36] *North American Review,* IV, 217 (January, 1817).
[37] *Ibid.,* XIX, 303 (October, 1824).
[38] *American Review,* III, 51 (January, 1812).

der "I have been obliged to spin out of my own brain." [39] Joseph Dennie pleads thus with his readers in 1809: "Our patrons must not reproach us too sharply for the paucity of original pieces in this miscellany. . . . It must be constantly remembered that in America the legitimate family of literature is extremely small." [40] The *Portico* confesses with regret that it has had only Baltimore contributors to its first two volumes, and that the matter published in them "with very few exceptions is from the pen of the editors." [41] William Gibbes Hunt confesses in his *Western Review* valedictory that one of the reasons for discontinuing the magazine is the difficulty of obtaining suitable contributions, for "many who promised fairly never furnished a single article." [42] And so the story goes.

The fact, as Dennie suggests, is that there were few practised writers in America at any time during our period. "For a literary character to think of living by his pen in America, unless in very uncommon cases, would be a delusive hope," wrote Brown, who was trying it, in 1799.[43] And a few months later he elaborated his thesis:

> That set or class of persons, denominated authors, and which is so numerous in the European world, is, on this side of the ocean, so few as scarce to be discernible. Indeed, if an author be defined to be a creature who devotes regularly and daily portions of his time to writing that which shall some time be published, I question whether one such shall be found among us.[44]

Both cause and consequence of this condition was the fact that writing was not quite respectable, and we have Brown himself beginning his "Man at Home" series in the *Weekly Magazine* with the representation that he was a man of leisure writing merely for amusement and distraction.[45] Certainly the magazinist had not won a position for himself. The editors of the *Monthly Anthology,* having a hard time to fill their poetical de-

39 Letter to J. B. Linn, July 4, 1804. Dunlap's *Life,* II, 111.
40 *Port Folio,* 3d Series, II, 176 (August, 1809).
41 *Portico,* Advertisement to Vol. II.
42 *Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine,* IV, 383-84 (July, 1821).
43 *Monthly Magazine,* I, 18 (April, 1799).
44 *Ibid.,* I, 339 (August, 1799).
45 *Weekly Magazine,* I, 1 (Feb. 3, 1798).

partment, complained that "those who have practised in metrical composition are either uneducated females, or men, who write rather from motives of vanity than the impulse of genius."[46]

If an editor could depend upon the contributions of a more or less compact group or club of literary friends, he was most fortunate. Such a group was the Friendly Club, of New York, which supported both Brown's *Monthly Magazine* and the *Medical Repository*. Such was the Anthology Club, which was organized in support of the *Monthly Anthology* in Boston. The Delphian Club, of Baltimore, helped the "Two Gentlemen of Padua" make a distinguished magazine of the *Portico*. Dennie organized a Literary Club at Walpole, New Hampshire, to aid the *Farmer's Museum;* and later the Tuesday Club, of Philadelphia, made an excellent nucleus of contributors for the *Port Folio*. Many title-pages advertised the editorship of "An Association of Gentlemen."

But the average writing in the magazines of the period was not of a high order. Readers who have followed the quotations given in these pages know that it was often slipshod and bombastic. The following notice appeared in the *Port Folio* in 1822:

> *Wanted*
>
> A few sensible correspondents who will condescend to clothe their ideas in plain prose.[47]

Even the editor of a farm paper had to insist that fine writing was both unnecessary and out of place; thus Thomas Green Fessenden in the *New England Farmer:* "All that we wish for is that he should make his meaning understood, which may be done as well, or better, by plain words and common phrases, than by pompous diction, consisting of words 'of learned length and thundering sound.'"[48] An example of magazine bombast may be taken from the valedictory of Stephen Cullen Carpenter in his Charleston *Monthly Register and Review:*

[46] *Monthly Anthology*, II, 87 (February, 1805).
[47] *Port Folio*, 4th Series, XIII, 352 (April, 1822).
[48] *New England Farmer*, I, 6 (Aug. 3, 1822).

The editor cannot conclude this address, without declaring that while the life beats in his bosom, the most grateful and the most affectionate remembrance of the kindness and the protection, which he has experienced from the American public, will mingle in each and in every throbbing of his heart, till that heart shall cease to beat; will boil along all his veins till the floodgates of life shall shut in eternal rest. In very truth, I should be duller than the fat weed, which rots on Lethe's wharf, if I could forget that I have been honored and blessed, and, even now, am blessed and honored by the protection and friendship of men, who are qualified to confer lustre on any country under the canopy of heaven.[49]

That Carpenter was proud of his style goes without saying, and it was no doubt by way of laughing at those who found it difficult that he once printed the following concocted communication:

I am a merchant in this city, and, let me tell you, can afford to spend my money, as well as other people. And so I take in your Magazine, and I must tell you fairly, that though I like some parts of it tolerable well, yet the style is very often very bad. Why, I was forced to call out for Johnson's dictionary, at every line, while I was reading out loud to my wife and two daughters, to find out the meaning of so many hard words, as you use. And you must know, a gentleman does not like to be stopped, when he is reading off hand, and out loud, before his family; and then, you use too many epithets, why you write *prose run mad. . . .*[50]

Whether Carpenter or some friendly critic wrote this, it is true enough. But even worse than bombast was heaviness. "To preserve it from the *Syrtes* of DULLNESS and the *rocks* of DISAPPROBATION" was one aim of the editors of the *Rural Repository* in 1795.[51] Thus the editors apprise us of their dilemma: they hesitated to print heavy articles for fear of dullness, and they had their misgivings about light articles for fear of the disapprobation of the serious-minded. State papers were still printed in general magazines; the *North American,* when it was started in 1815, must needs give its readers the conventional

[49] *Monthly Register and Review,* II, 2-3 (December, 1806).
[50] *Monthly Register and Review,* II, 106-07 (January, 1807).
[51] Prospectus, Oct. 22, 1795, quoted in J. T. Buckingham, *Specimens of Newspaper Literature* (Boston, 1850), II, 267.

meteorological tables. "Where shall we find the vivacity, the playfulness, the wit, the vigour, or the fulness of knowledge which are essential to our success?" queried the *Atlantic Magazine*.[52] It was encouraging to think that one editor at least knew so well what he required. Others were inclined to imitate the length and weight of the great English and Scotch reviews, without being able to supply their vigor or authority. The weeklies felt themselves better suited to lightness and incisiveness, and they commonly had more of it; perhaps that was one reason they flourished.[53]

Articles were still for the most part unsigned, and frequently even the editorship was anonymous. Correlatively, the editor commonly usurped some of the contributor's rights over his production. John M. Mason, editor of the *Christian's Magazine*, said in his prospectus: "As the object of this magazine cannot be attained without the editor's control over its materials, he will feel himself not only at liberty, but under obligation, to make such alterations in the pieces which may be offered for insertion, as he shall judge expedient."[54] And in the rather entertaining minutes of the Anthology Society, we are told that

> Mr. Stickney read his notice of Butler's Analogy, which contained something terribly *smoaky* against Calvinism. It was accepted and referred for correction and amendment to Dr. Kirkland. . . .
>
> Mr. S—— read . . . an article on Grecian pictures and statues [which was accepted]. Mr. Buckminster objecting, however, that there was too much nakedness in it, Mr. S—— said it might be amended.[55]

Both these examples of editing were along conventional lines. The *Portico* editors repeatedly advise their contributors against "licentiousness": Incog, or Claudius, or J.Y.P. is "too immodest for the delicate ears of our fair readers."[56] It must be admitted, however, that Dennie and others were not always so squeamish.

[52] *Atlantic Magazine*, I, 3 (May, 1824).
[53] See *Literary Gazette*, I, 1 (Jan. 6, 1821).
[54] *Christian's Magazine*, Prospectus, 1806.
[55] *Anthology Society: Journal of the Proceedings of the Society Which Conducts the Monthly Anthology and Boston Review* (Boston, 1910), pp. 192, 195. Entries for June 20, 1809, and July 4, 1809.
[56] *Portico*, II, 243 (October, 1816). See also I, 351 (April, 1816).

PAYMENT TO CONTRIBUTORS AND EDITORS

Although, as we have seen, there was much editoral complaint about the lack of proper contributions, the one step which would have done most to encourage magazine writing was seldom taken: payment for articles was practically unknown in America until 1819. In that year the new *Christian Spectator* proposed "to allow a compensation" to its contributors.[57] The amount was fixed at a dollar a page.[58] In 1824 the *Atlantic Magazine* was founded, and established the policy of payment to contributors. It anticipated some difficulty—not, apparently, on the side of providing the money, but on that of getting contributors to accept it. "Those who are able and willing to assist us," wrote Robert C. Sands, the editor, "must accept their honorarium for the principle of the thing. . . . As to false delicacy, we will obviate its scruples by forwarding every contributor's dues to any address given in his communication." [59] William Austin, the author of "Peter Rugg, the Missing Man," is an example of the writer who refused the rewards of authorship. He returned checks sent him by J. S. Buckingham, of the *New England Magazine,* and even rejected royalties from his book, *Letters from London.*[60] Those were the days of gentlemen-authors. There was as much sincerity as humor in the disclaimer which the authors of *Salmagundi* made of monetary expectation: "In common with all philosophical wiseacres from Solomon downward, we hold money in supreme contempt. The public are welcome to buy this work or not, just as they choose." [61] The counting-house was the publisher's business. In the same year that the *Atlantic* announced its policy of pay to contributors, the *North American Review* established a fixed schedule of a dollar a page, and double that rate for the critical notices in the back, set in smaller type.[62] But it, too, had some trouble

[57] *Christian Spectator,* Prospectus, Vol. I (January, 1819).

[58] *Ibid.,* Prospectus, Vol. VIII (January, 1826).

[59] *Atlantic Magazine,* I, 3 (May, 1824). Five hundred dollars a year was the sum annually set apart for contributors. See Godwin, *Bryant,* I, 216.

[60] See Walter Austin, *William Austin, Creator of Peter Rugg* (Boston, 1925), p. 37.

[61] *Salmagundi,* Jan. 24, 1807.

[62] *North American Review,* C, 324 (January, 1865).

in making its contributors understand such a policy; Mr. Justice Story returned a check for twenty dollars in 1825, saying, "I must be permitted to act without any other reward than the hope to promote a most useful and important publication." [63]

Editorial salaries were, among the earlier magazines, either (1) non-existent; or (2) what was usually the same thing, contingent on the financial success of the periodical; or (3) in the case of magazines edited by members of the firms that published them, included in the payment for other duties; or (4) comparatively small honoraria paid to professional editors. In short, they were both small and uncertain. William Tudor, the founder of the *North American Review*, and a member of the Anthology Society, wrote in 1821 of the *Monthly Anthology*, "It serves to furnish an instance in addition to so many others, to warn those persons who engage in literary labour with any view to direct profit that they will be certainly disappointed; and if the pleasure of the employment and the satisfaction of doing the state some good will not suffice, they had better never engage in the pursuit." [64] Under such a system, editors gave to such work only the time they could spare from the vocations that earned them their bread and butter. Most religious reviews, and indeed the secular ones as well, were edited either by clergymen engaged in the active ministry or by professors in the seminaries and colleges. The *North American* and *Christian Examiner* editors were chiefly teachers in Harvard, the editor of the *American Journal of Science* was a Yale professor, those of the *Biblical Repertory* were teachers at Princeton, and so on. Frequently, however, the editor was also publisher, and in such a case he doubtless entertained the flattering delusion that his magazine, in spite of what others had done, might yield him a profit, which he might credit either to publishing or editing. Joseph Dennie received a hundred and ten pounds a year for editing the *Farmer's Museum*, in 1796, but two years later it was reduced to four hundred dollars; [65] when he had to give up the *Port Folio* property in 1808, badly in debt, he must have

[63] H. B. Adams, *Life and Writings of Jared Sparks* (Boston, 1893), I, 341.
[64] Tudor, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
[65] Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

received a fixed salary, possibly as much as twenty-five hundred dollars.[66] One of the few magazine editors of our period who were paid a stated salary was Bryant of the *New-York Review*, whose salary was a thousand dollars a year in 1825. "No great sum, to be sure," he wrote Dana, "but it is twice what I got by my practice in the country." [67]

SHORT LIVES AND SMALL CIRCULATIONS

But salary or no salary, the *Review* did not last long. So it was, as we have seen, with most magazines. In the preface to the *Atlantic Magazine*, a friend of the editor's is represented as arguing against making another attempt in a field where there had been so many failures. "There is too great a flock of magazines," he says,

> foreign and domestic, of all sizes and materials and colors, flying about, like the ecclesiastics in limbo—red, blue and green, "with all their trumpery." The number of past abortions, and rickety, short-lived productions, has put the "pensive" subscribing public on its guard, and the fondness for newspapers is too great and too general.[68]

And yet the *Atlantic* tried it hopefully and failed like the rest. When Joseph T. Buckingham started his *New-England Galaxy*, he at first refused to take yearly subscriptions, not expecting his little magazine to last out twelve months.[69]

The subscription lists of the "successful" magazines were surprisingly small. The *Port Folio* attained a circulation of two thousand copies at five dollars a year.[70] The *New York Missionary Magazine's* list ran up to 2,434 by means of club subscriptions taken by clergymen.[71] But these were phenomenal achievements; the *Medical Repository* was proud, in its earlier years at least, of a list less than three hundred.[72] The *Monthly*

66 *Ibid.*, p. 201, footnote.
67 Parke Godwin, *Life of Bryant* (New York, 1883), I, 216. Letter dated May 25, 1825.
68 *Atlantic Magazine*, I, 1 (May, 1824). See also *Portico*, I, 1 (January, 1816).
69 Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 81.
70 *Port Folio*, April 25, 1801.
71 See itemized list at end of second year.
72 See list of subscribers prefixed to Vol. II.

ran her a close race all the way from 1794 to 1825, and it became more apparent year by year that it was a losing race for Philadelphia. New York had nearly double the population of Philadelphia in 1790, and by 1810 more than double. Before the end of our period New York was the leading book publishing center in the United States.[87] In the number of magazines the two leading cities are about even for the period, though New York had no magazine to compare with the *Port Folio*. Brown's first periodical venture, the *Monthly Magazine*, the *New-York Review* of Bryant and Sands, and *Salmagundi* were all short-lived though brilliant. The *Medical Repository* was important in its kind, as were also the *Literary and Scientific Repository* and the *American Monthly and Critical Review*. The literary group which developed increasingly in New York became, by the end of our period, by far the most important in America. Freneau, Noah Webster, and William Dunlap belong to the earlier years; and to the latter Drake, Halleck, Irving, Paulding, Cooper, and Bryant, as well as such minor luminaries as Morris, Woodworth, and Verplanck. The fact that Halleck and Bryant were New Yorkers by adoption is only another sign of the growing strength of the metropolis. S. C. Carpenter, coming from Charleston, South Carolina, with his *Monthly Register and Review* in 1806, said he had moved to New York in order to "stand at the confluence of the greatest number of the streams of knowledge."[88]

In the meantime Boston was being left far behind in trade, population, and number of magazines.[89] Comparatively inaccessible, declining as a port, it fell below Baltimore in population in 1800. Yet Boston is very important in the literary and maga-

[87] Brown says in his *American Register* (I, 175, 1807, Part I) that "New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore carry on the chief trade" in book publishing. There is perhaps some significance in the order of naming these publishing centers in a Philadelphia periodical. The house of Harpers was founded in New York in 1817, and by 1825 "theirs was the largest book-manufacturing establishment in the country." J. Henry Harper, *The House of Harper* (New York, 1912), p. 27.

[88] *Monthly Register and Review*, II, 2 (December, 1806).

[89] By 1810 Pennsylvania had seventy-one periodicals, including newspapers, New York State sixty-six, and Massachusetts thirty-two. (*American Almanac*, I, 229. 1830. Figures "corrected from the *Traveller*, and later quoted in the *Compendium of the Seventh Census*.) In Thomas's list of magazines of this year, Philadelphia has eight, Boston seven, and New York six; while this list is practically complete for Boston, it is inadequate for the other two cities.

zine history of the times. It was the home of the *Monthly Anthology,* the *General Repository,* the *North American Review,* and the *Atlantic Magazine.* It was important for its suburb which was the seat of Harvard College; and the faculty of Harvard is very much in evidence in the magazines of this period. It was the home, moreover, of writers like Richard Henry Dana, Sr., Robert Treat Paine, John Pierpont, Charles Sprague, and the Mesdames Rowson, Morton, Warren, and Brooks.

The distinctive quality of Boston was its general cultivation and high esteem for learning—a quality so marked that it was even then beginning to be noticed in other cities and to excite jealousy, envy, contempt, or admiration according to the character of the observer. Philadelphia and New York critics seemed to make common cause against Boston instead of quarrelling with each other. One Philadelphia periodical remarked upon the attempt of the abortive *Columbian Phenix and Boston Review* [90] in 1800: "Many attempts have been made to establish periodical works in that small town; but miscellaneous readers ask in vain for a magazine, a review, or a literary journal in the capital of New England. The poverty of the inhabitants is the probable cause of the deficiency." [91] The New York *National Advocate* greeted the first number of the *North American Review* with such epithets as "pensioned hireling," "toad-eater," "Bostonian viper," and so on *ad nauseam.*[92] By 1820 the *Port Folio,* of Philadelphia, saw in the *North American Review,* of Boston, a formidable rival, and issued this clarion call to its friends: "With such rivalry Philadelphia must yield the proud title she has borne, or rouse from the withering lethargy in which she slumbers." [93]

Connecticut furnished several magazines of some note in this

[90] January – July, 1800. Subtitle: *Containing Useful Information on Literature, Religion, Morality, Politics and Philosophy, with many interesting particulars in History and Biography, forming a Compendium of the Present State of Society.* Joseph Hawkins, editor and publisher, with Daniel Tillotsen during the last three months.

[91] Quoted in *Columbian Phenix and Boston Review,* Introduction, I, 4 (January, 1800).

[92] Tudor, *op. cit.,* p. 55.

[93] *Port Folio,* 4th Series, IX, 463. No. 2 of 1820.

period, both religious and secular. Most prominent among them were Silliman's *Journal of Science* and the *Churchman's Magazine* at New Haven, and the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* at Hartford. The Connecticut Wits were still active in the early part of the period, and besides them James A. Hillhouse, J. G. Percival, J. G. C. Brainard, George D. Prentice, and Mrs. Sigourney lived at Hartford and New Haven.

SOUTHERN MAGAZINES

Baltimore also had literary aspirations. Its most prominent monthly in the second period of magazine development was the *Portico*. Of literary weeklies it had several, all brief, including the lively *Observer,* born *Companion,*[94] (1804-07) edited by the volatile "Beatrice Ironside." Two Baltimore class periodicals of these years reached age and fame: *Niles' Weekly Register*[95] and the *American Farmer*. Baltimore was the home of such literary characters as John Pendleton ("Horseshoe") Kennedy and Peter H. Cruse, whose *Red Book* was a pleasantly amateurish periodical; and Edward Coate Pinkney, N. C. Brooks, Francis Scott Key, Rufus Dawes, H. M. Brackenridge, Paul Allen, John H. B. Latrobe, George H. Calvert, and T. S. Arthur. John Neal was a picturesque Baltimore figure for the ten years ending with his departure for England in 1823, and John Pierpont for a briefer period. Jared Sparks became a pastor of a new Unitarian church there in 1819, and in 1821-23 edited there his *Unitarian Miscellany and Christian Monitor;*[96] he also made the North acquainted with Baltimore and the South through his articles in the *North American*. Baltimore's position as the Catholic capital of the country did not manifest itself by means of magazines until subsequent years.

Further south Richmond and Charleston were the literary centers. The *National Magazine,*[97] issued at Richmond twice a quarter through 1799 and part of 1800, appears to have been

[94] *Companion and Weekly Miscellany,* Nov. 3, 1804 – Oct. 25, 1806; *Observer,* Nov. 29, 1806 – Dec. 26, 1807.

[95] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 268-70.

[96] The Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood continued it through December, 1824.

[97] *The National Magazine; or a Political, Historical, Biographical, and Literary Repository.* Continued in Washington in 1801 as the *National Magazine; or Cabinet of the United States,* eight numbers, October, 1801 – January, 1802.

the first attempt at a magazine in that city. It was followed by a few others, notably John Holt Bruce's *Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine*[98] (1818-28); but Richmond was a town of less than fifteen thousand even at the end of this period, and its magazines were rather tentative.[99] It had strong and literary newspapers, and William Wirt contributed his essays to them. The convivial Richmond poet Richard Dabney went to Philadelphia for a time in search of the literary success which eluded him at home. Charleston was even smaller than Richmond, but it had the first magazine south of Baltimore—the *South Carolina Weekly Museum,* which ran to three semiannual volumes in 1797-98. The *Monthly Register, Magazine, and Review of the United States* published twelve numbers throughout 1805 and 1806. It was edited by S. C. Carpenter and John Bristed, and gave much attention to current events and the history of the Revolution.[100] For the next twenty years, however, anything like a magazine is hard to find in Charlestoniana. Only a religious paper or two reward the search; and in spite of the fact that Charleston was at this time the residence of such men as Hugh S. Legaré, Robert Y. Hayne, James L. Petigru, and Thomas S. Grimké, one is reminded of the discriminating statement of Professor W. M. Baskervill: "Before 1825 the physical and economic conditions of the southern states were such as to render the production of a southern literature a practical impossibility."[101]

WESTERN MAGAZINES

The West was making courageous efforts by 1825 to create a culture of its own. The *Western Monthly Review* printed in its first number—issued the second year after the close of our period—a review of western culture in which it pointed out that there were "several colleges" and fifty common schools in Ohio; and that there were two paper-mills, a type-foundry, and an extensive

98 The "Virginia" was omitted from the title after the third (1820) volume.

99 The *Visitor,* two volumes, Feb. 11, 1809, through Aug. 18, 1810; and the *American Gleaner and Virginia Magazine,* of 1807, may be mentioned.

100 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 260-61.

101 *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* VII, 93. No. 1, 1892. Holcombe's *Georgia Analytical Repository* (Savannah, Ga., 1802-03) may be mentioned.

printing industry at Cincinnati. Then, in its breezy western way, the *Review* makes a survey of western cultural centers outside of Ohio.

> Perhaps there is no town in the United States, where, among an equal number of people, so many will be found, able, and disposed to join in a literary conversation, as in Lexington. . . . On the opposite bank of the Ohio, Mr. Philosopher Owen resides. . . . The famous Miss Wright, still lower down, is cheering the forests back of Memphis with the brilliancy of literary soirees. . . . Natchez and New Orleans, too, have their distinguished literary circles, where the "knowing ones" from the Atlantic country who come with the confident expectation of lighting their candle in the midst of darkness, find their beams eclipsed. . . . In fact there is nothing deep in science, or polished in literature, or pretending in learning, or long-winded in oratory, or full even to bursting in the inspiration of the muse, in the Atlantic country, which may not be found in the West.[102]

The first periodical center in the new West was Lexington, Kentucky. It was an educational center too, for Horace Holley had, by 1825, made Transylvania University a really good institution enrolling on its faculty some of the most eminent men in the West.[103] The first general magazine west of Pittsburgh appears to have been the Lexington *Medley, or Monthly Miscellany,* published throughout 1803. Each issue contained twenty pages, largely of selected material, and the twelve numbers were sold at the low price of seventy-five cents.[104] In 1812 Thomas T. Skillman began a series of three distinctly polemical religious periodicals, none of which lived long enough to win an important place.[105] In 1824, however, Skillman began his weekly *Western Luminary,* an interdenominational journal which he published at Lexington for more than ten years.[106]

[102] *Western Monthly Review,* I, 62-63 (May, 1827).

[103] Ralph Leslie Rusk, *Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (New York, 1925), I, 58-59.

[104] *Ibid.,* I, 64-65.

[105] The *Evangelical Record, and Western Review* (1812-13), the *Almoner* (1814-15), and the *Christian Register* (1822-23). There is some record of an earlier religious periodical at Lexington—the *Alethian Critic; or Error Exposed* (1804). See Rusk, *op. cit.,* I, 188-90.

[106] The *Luminary* was sold in 1835 to Eli Taylor of Cincinnati. See Rusk, *op. cit.,* II, 159.

But Lexington's chief periodical was the *Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine*[107] (1819-21), edited by William Gibbes Hunt, and highly creditable to the frontier. In the same year began the oddest journal ever published in the backwoods, the *Journal of Belles Lettres,* a weekly devoted chiefly to Italian and French literature. It was doubtless a byproduct of Transylvania. Its editors, Mariano and Everett, suspended it February 26, 1820, "for want of sufficient patronage," after five fortnightly numbers.[108]

Cincinnati, which later arrogated unto herself the fond title, "the Athens of the West," had less to show before 1825 than Lexington. She had her medical journal and her literary weekly, however, in John D. Goodman's *Western Quarterly Reporter of Medical, Surgical, and Natural Science,* which published six numbers in 1822-23, and John P. Foote's *Cincinnati Literary Gazette,* of 1824-25.

The western magazines had perforce to be limited in circulation chiefly to their local communities, since the postal service in the West was rather primitive. At the beginning of the century the schedule time of the mails from Philadelphia to Lexington was nineteen days, though it sometimes took a full month for the post to get through the bad roads.[109] As late as 1838 the six horses hitched to a two-wheeled postal cart in muddy weather had difficulty in getting through Ohio roads at the rate of fifteen miles in three days.[110] Western postal service was greatly extended, however, in our period.

Eastern magazines paid some attention to the growing West. Discussions of politics, of railway possibilities, of emigration, of Indians, and of frontier adventure frequently revealed a western interest. A writer "On Emigration" in the *Analectic,* for example, advocates in 1818 a canal or "iron rail-way or tram-road" to Pittsburgh. The author of one of the "Hermit" papers in the

[107] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 311-12.

[108] It began Nov. 29, 1819, publishing sixteen octavo pages in each issue. Thomas Smith, at the *Reporter* office, was the publisher. The price named was four dollars a year, or twenty-five cents a number. German and Scandinavian literature was also given.

[109] See Wesley Everett Rich, *The History of the U. S. Post Office to the Year 1824* (Harvard Economic Studies, Vol. XXVII, 1924), p. 74.

[110] *Ibid.,* p. 86-87.

Port Folio hazards the wild prediction that "probably before a century has elapsed and the Anglo-American population amounts to a hundred million, it will have traversed the whole continent." He predicts—and this was in 1814—transcontinental railroads "perhaps at more points than one." He estimates the population of the United States in a hundred years at 120,000,000, which, as guesses go, is not so bad.[111] And lastly, he considers the possibility of a western confederacy and dismisses it.[112] The later volumes of the *Port Folio* contained much western material, including many excellent papers by Judge James Hall, a brother of the editor. The *Portico* also had a special interest in the West which it showed in various articles.

MAGAZINE ILLUSTRATION

The improvement of engraving on copper in the early years of the nineteenth century was apparently due to the coming of some English engravers, like David Edwin, to America, as well as to the development of tools and presses. In Boston Joseph T. Buckingham's *Polyanthos* published a portrait in each of its twenty numbers. They were chiefly by Samuel Harris, and were "the best that could be obtained in Boston."[113] Some other magazines in other cities published plates; but the center of engraving, for magazines at least, seems to have been Philadelphia, where the *Port Folio,* the *Analectic,* and the *Emporium of Arts and Sciences* were published. There Edwin was at work, and James Barton Longacre—two of the most important engravers of the time—as well as Cephas G. Childs, the engraver and lithographer; Thomas B. Welch, Longacre's partner; Robert Piggot and Charles Goodman, pupils of Edwin's; Bass Otis, who did some work in mezzotint and aquatint, and made the first American lithograph;[114] William Strickland, the architect, who worked in aquatint; the versatile Charles W. Peale, who scraped

[111] The population of the United States exclusive of foreign possessions, was 105,710,620 in 1920.

[112] *Port Folio,* 3d Series, IV, 382-97 (October, 1814). Article "On the Future Destiny of the United States," from the pen of "a distinguished scholar and well-read statesman."

[113] Buckingham, *op. cit.,* I, 55. The author lists the portraits, naming the engravers.

[114] Published in the *Analectic* for July, 1819. See reproduction opposite.

THE FIRST LITHOGRAPH PRINTED IN AMERICA

From the *Analectic Magazine* for July, 1819, though it bears the date of 1820. Bass Otis was the engraver.

mezzotints; as well as Gideon Fairman, Francis Kearny, Alexander Lawson, George Murray, Benjamin Tanner, Cornelius Tiebout, and William E. Tucker.

The *Port Folio* is the best periodical in which to study these developments and many of these engravers. It began to publish one plate with each monthly issue in 1809, and for nearly twenty years thereafter continued to exhibit the work of various engravers. Edwin's stipple portraits began in 1809, and continued at intervals for five years. Most of them are in miniature, and have a fine softness and delicacy. George Murray and Gideon Fairman, of Murray, Draper, Fairman & Company, did a good deal of work which was not very distinguished, though Murray's symbolic picture for Washington—a rock in the midst of a storm —in the April, 1811, issue is effective. William S. Leney and Cornelius Tiebout contributed stipple plates of various genres. As a whole, the views of nature are inferior to the portraits. Most of the views lack freedom: C. G. Childs's view of a scene on the Connecticut River after a drawing by Miss O. White (December, 1818) may be cited. Aquatints were attempted in the number for May, 1811, possibly by William Strickland. They were very unsuccessful, as was another in the issue for July, of which the *Port Folio* says apologetically that it is made by "a mode of engraving new in this country," and that better things are hoped for. The hope was justified, for by 1814, Strickland was doing good work in this kind, and his "View on the Susquehannah" was one of the best scenic plates printed in the *Port Folio* up to that time—February, 1816. Aquatint was used in this magazine not only for views but for portraits, mechanical designs, and pictures of various sorts. Strickland's "Battle of Niagara" in the number for September, 1815, is rather ridiculous; it is from a sketch by one Major Riddle, whom, if it were not for his title, one would suspect of never having seen a battle, so naïve is the conception. Several outline drawings of famous masterpieces of art were reproduced in connection with letter-press comment in 1811. They were engraved mainly by John Boyd. In 1822-23 appeared a series of delicate miniatures of scenes from the novels of Scott and Cooper, by Francis Kearny and C. G. Childs. These have a

jewel-like charm. Some hunting-scenes published in those years are very badly done. Goodman & Piggot were prominent in the later volumes of the magazine. Gimbrede, Maverick, and Longacre may also be mentioned.[115]

There was some trading of plates between the *Port Folio* and the *Analectic,* and the use of second-hand engravings came eventually to be a disgrace to American magazines. But the *Analectic* is notable for its plates. Bass Otis's lithograph, already mentioned, appeared there; there were also, for further novelty, half a dozen hand-colored aquatints by J. Drayton in the second series. But the stipple portraits by Gimbrede, Meyer, and others are the best; one of General Scott in the number for August, 1816, is particularly pleasing.

At the end of our period, wood-engraving was beginning to make its way into American periodicals. Under the influence of the "white line" work of the English Bewick, there had been a certain amount of engraving on wood during the first two decades of the century, chiefly by Dr. Alexander Anderson and his pupils. The *Analectic* had an ill-printed woodcut vignette by Anderson in September, 1815, representing Columbia seizing the trident of Neptune, a theme suiting that magazine's naval character. In August, 1818, it printed an outline woodcut portrait of Madame de Staël which surely made her turn in her grave. One of the earliest papers to use woodcuts extensively was General Morris's New York *Mirror,* which began to print a few such engravings in the middle twenties.

CONCLUSION

A summary of the Period of Nationalism in American magazine history must at least point out the facts that magazines of many kinds greatly increased in number, especially in the twenties; that there was a marked development of class periodicals, notably those devoted to religion; that politics occupied a large share of magazine energy to the detriment of *belles-lettres;* that weekly magazines of all kinds were prominent; that financial

[115] A list of the engravings published during the years 1816-25 was printed at the end of Vol. XX of the 4th Series of the *Port Folio* (July – December, 1825), but engravers' names are not given.

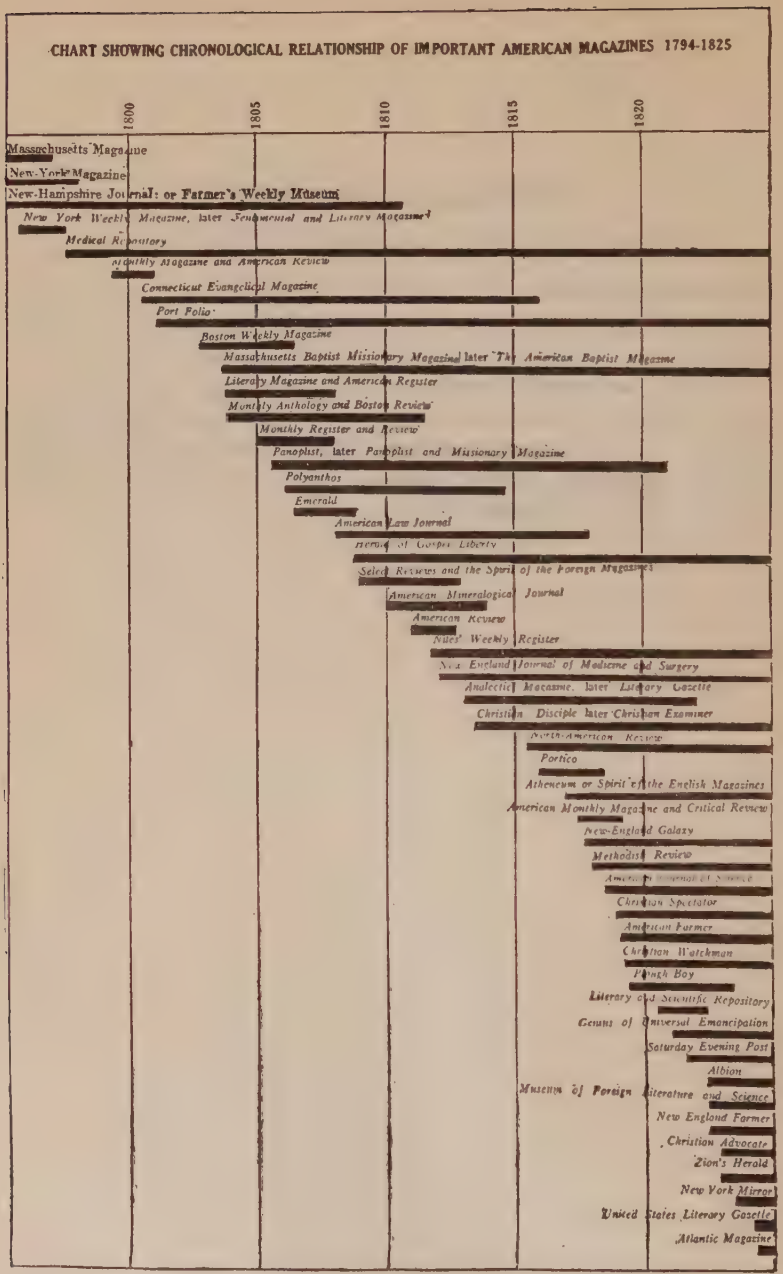
success was almost unknown to magazine publishers and editors; and that, in spite of large borrowings from English and other sources, there was a loud and insistent demand for a peculiarly American literature.

SUPPLEMENT TO PART II

SKETCHES OF CERTAIN IMPORTANT MAGAZINES, 1794-1825

The basis of selection and the method of treating the magazines for which special sketches are provided is explained in an introductory note to the Supplement to Part I, page 69.

Certain periodicals founded in the years 1794-1825 were much more important after 1850 than before, and have therefore been relegated to the second volume of this history for their more extended discussion. Among these are the *North American Review* and the *Saturday Evening Post.*



The magazines whose names appear in roman type began in the preceding period; those in italics began in the period charted. See pages 789-800 for chronological list of magazines shown in this chart. In that list dates and places of publication are given.

14

THE MEDICAL REPOSITORY[1]

THE first medical journal in America, and the first American magazine to pass the age of eight years, was the *Medical Repository,* a New York quarterly. It was issued, not always regularly to be sure, from 1797 to 1824.

The *Repository* was founded by three members of the Friendly Club in New York—Samuel Latham Mitchill, Elihu Hubbard Smith, and Edward Miller. All were physicians. Mitchill was trained both in law and medicine, was a member of Congress for twelve years, and was for a time United States senator by appointment. He possessed a mind cultivated in many fields of interest, and his literary ability and inclination did not interfere with a high standing in his profession. Smith, the youngest of the group, was the most literary of them all. One of the later Hartford wits, he wrote passable verse, contributed to several periodicals, and had published an opera. Miller was a gentleman of social gifts and scientific and literary acquirements.

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Medical Repository,* 1797-1800; (2) *The Medical Repository and Review of American Publications on Medicine, Surgery, and the Auxiliary Branches of Philosophy,* 1801-24. (Last word appears as "Science" in later volumes. Some cover titles have "New York Medical Repository" or "New York Medical Reporter.")

FIRST ISSUE: No. I, August 8, 1797. LAST ISSUE: No. IV, 1824.

Periodicity: Quarterly, four numbers to the volume. [First Series] I, 1797-98; II, 1798-99; III, 1800; IV, 1801; V, 1802; VI, 1803. (Title-pages bear no dates, but separate numbers bear year without month. There were three editions of I-II.) [Second Series] Second Hexade [VII-XII] I-VI, 1804-09. [Third Series] Third Hexade: [XIII-XV] I-III, 1810-12. [Fourth Series] New Series: (XVI) I, 1813; (XVII) II, 1815; (XVIII) III, 1817; (XIX) IV, 1818; (XX) V, 1820; (XXI) VI, 1821; (XXII) VII, 1822; (XXIII) VIII, 1824.

PUBLISHERS (all New York): T. and J. Swords, 1797-1807, 1815-17; Collins and Perkins, 1808-12; John Forbes, 1813; C. S. Van Winkle, 1818; William A. Mercein, 1819-20; E. Bliss and E. White, 1821-24.

EDITORS: Samuel Latham Mitchill, Elihu Hubbard Smith, and Edward Miller, 1797-98; S. L. Mitchill and Edward Miller, 1798-1812; S. L. Mitchill, Felix Pascalis, and Samuel Akerly, 1813-18; S. L. Mitchill and Felix Pascalis, 1819-20; James R. Manley and Charles Drake, 1821-24.

REFERENCE: Marcia Edgerton Bailey, *A Lesser Hartford Wit, Dr. Elihu Hubbard Smith* (University of Maine Studies, 2d Series, No. 11, 1928), pp. 94-99.

The "Introductory Address" was written by Smith.[2] In it he promised his readers that the *Repository* would give special attention to the study of epidemics, to the connection between climate and health, and to diet. This promise was well kept throughout the journal's entire life. Founded in the midst of the yellow fever epidemic, the *Repository* devoted its early volumes largely to that scourge; and in later volumes the winter, or spotted, fever, "the terror of the interior regions," received major attention. Case histories abounded. The journal was not limited to pathology, however; it was interested in many branches of science. Natural history, physical geography, chemistry, mineralogy, and meteorology occupied many pages. There were some plates in later volumes.

The editors were forced to write most of the early numbers themselves; but one can see by a reading of the prefaces that eventually they were offered more material than they could use. Drs. Benjamin Rush, Benjamin S. Barton, and James Mease, all of Philadelphia, were faithful contributors to the *Repository,* as well as Drs. Joseph Priestley, Phineas Hedges, Valentine Seaman, Samuel Osborn, Alexander Hosack, and Thomas Archer,[3] who lived in various other American cities. Contributions were sought and received from a wide extent of territory.

Dr. Smith was himself a victim of the yellow fever in 1798, but his two colleagues continued to conduct the journal for fifteen years. Dr. Miller died in 1812, and Dr. Mitchill then formed a partnership with Drs. Felix Pascalis-Ouvière and Samuel Akerly. Pascalis had had varied scientific experience in many parts of the world, particularly in connection with epidemics; he was also a botanist, and the founder of the Linnæan Society in New York. Akerly was a geologist, and a specialist in the treatment of deafness and blindness.

When Mitchill was appointed professor of materia medica and botany in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, he disposed of his interest in the *Repository,* and Drs. James R. Manley and Charles Drake became editors. They issued only three volumes.

The New York *Medical Repository* enjoyed a high reputation

[2] Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
[3] *Ibid.*

at home and abroad, and may be regarded as the parent of the numerous brood of medical journals which came on apace. To Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill is due a large part of the credit for its success.

15

THE MONTHLY MAGAZINE, AND AMERICAN REVIEW[1] *and its successors under the editorship of Charles Brockden Brown*

THERE are the elements of tragedy in the attempts of Charles Brockden Brown to found a literary magazine in America at the turn of the century. Courageous effort was followed by disappointment and death.

Brown had already contributed at some length to the *Columbian Magazine* and the Philadelphia *Weekly Magazine,* and had published his fragment of Socratic dialogue, *Alcuin,* and his first novel, *Wieland,* before he undertook the editorship of the first of his own series of magazines. He was ambitious to make a literary reputation and resolved to provide a living by his pen, the latter being something generally believed impossible in America at that time. He was promised contributions by his fellow members of the Friendly Club—a group of professional men of literary inclinations into which he had been received upon his arrival in New York from his native city Philadelphia the year before,—and he felt success to be assured. "Eight of my friends here," he wrote to his brother in December, 1798, "men in the highest degree respectable for literature and influence, have urged me so vehemently to undertake the project of a magazine and promised me their contributions and assistance to its success that I have written and published proposals."[2] So in April, 1799, as he was preparing his second novel for the press, he made his bow in the new adventure, called the *Monthly Magazine, and American Review.*

Throughout its career of less than two years, the *Monthly*

[1] TITLE: *The Monthly Magazine, and American Review.*
FIRST ISSUE: April, 1799. LAST ISSUE: December, 1800.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. I, April – December, 1799; II, January – June, 1800; III, July – December, 1800.
PUBLISHERS: T. and J. Swords, New York.
EDITOR: Charles Brockden Brown.

[2] William Dunlap, *Life of Charles Brockden Brown* (Philadelphia, 1815), II, 11.

Magazine was filled with diverse materials which, it would seem, should have been found interesting and informative by its public. Literary and scientific articles, current events, poetry, and fiction abound. In the last two numbers there was a "Theatrical Register." The second part of the periodical's title, the "American Review," was the name of a department which included notices of a variety of books, about a third of the matter being taken from other magazines.

But the *Monthly Magazine* is interesting chiefly because of Brown's contributions. There can be little doubt that he wrote a very large part of the contents himself. An extract from his *Edgar Huntly,* which was not to be published as a book until two years later, appeared in the first number; and his long "Thessalonica," a tale of a Roman province in 390 A.D., was in the second issue. Brown's less interesting memoirs of Stephen Calvert ran through the first two volumes. The essays, which deal with shaving, powdering the hair, gossip, May-Day moving, education, and so on *ad infin.,* also frequently sound like Brockden Brown. Over a hundred and fifty American publications are noticed more or less critically,[3]—a more ambitious program than any previous American magazine had undertaken.

Doubtless paucity of contributions had something to do with the decision to turn to quarterly publication, though the reason given is the difficulty of getting the numbers to subscribers. At any rate, at the beginning of 1801 the *Monthly Magazine, and American Review* became the quarterly *American Review, and Literary Journal.*[4]

Brown had begun his first periodical with a letter addressed to the editor, beginning, "Sir, You have undertaken, it seems, to amuse the world with a monthly publication"; after twenty-one months he was apparently convinced that the world wanted instructing rather than amusing. Certainly the eight numbers of the *American Review* were filled with matter that was not

[3] *View of a Periodical Work Entitled The American Review, and Literary Journal* [New York, 1800], p. 3.

[4] TITLE: *The American Review, and Literary Journal.*
FIRST ISSUE: January – March, 1801. LAST ISSUE: October – December, 1802.
PERIODICITY: Quarterly; two regular annual volumes.
PUBLISHERS: T. and J. Swords, New York.
EDITOR: Charles Brockden Brown.

particularly entertaining. A prospectus, printed in pamphlet form, says that the new periodical is "intended to comprehend a survey of the state of literature, arts, and science in America," and will sell for only fifty cents per number of a hundred and twenty pages.[5] Special attention in the reviewing department was given to American works, of which there were not a great many to select from. There were departments of current events, called "intelligence," and of patents and discoveries. Science occupied a considerable part; doubtless Brown's scientific friends of the Club contributed something.

The *American Review* was abandoned at the end of 1802, and Brown returned to Philadelphia; but his editorial ambitions were by no means abandoned, and in October, 1803, a Philadelphia magazine was launched under the name of the *Literary Magazine, and American Register.*[6] Again he trusts to "the zeal and liberality of my friends to supply me with" contributions.[7] In this expectation he was once more disappointed. The second number carried a prayer for "literary aid," and we find Brown writing his brother-in-law, J. B. Linn, on July 4, 1804:

> You will find but a single communication in it [the June, 1804, number]—all the rest original prose, I have been obliged to supply myself—for which I am sorry, for the sake of the credit of the work as well as of my own ease.[8]

And the next number did not have even one "communication."[9]

In his "Editor's Address" the optimistic and indefatigable Brown writes:

> Useful information and rational amusement being his objects, he will not scruple to collect materials from all quarters. He will ransack the newest foreign publications, and extract from them

[5] *View of a Periodical Work*, p. 6.

[6] TITLE: *The Literary Magazine, and American Register.*
FIRST ISSUE: October, 1803. LAST ISSUE: December, 1807.
PERIODICITY: Monthly; I, October, 1803 – March, 1804; II, April – December, 1804; III-VIII, regular semiannual volumes, 1805-07.
PUBLISHERS: John Conrad and Company, Philadelphia, 1803-07; T. and G. Palmer, Philadelphia, 1807.
EDITOR: Charles Brockden Brown.

[7] *Literary Magazine*, I, 3 (October, 1803).

[8] Dunlap, *op. cit.*, II, 111.

[9] *Ibid.*

whatever can serve his purpose. He will not forget that a work, which solicits the attention of many readers, must build its claim on the variety as well as copiousness of its contents.

As to *domestic* publications, besides extracting from them anything serviceable to the public, he will give a critical account of them, and, in this respect, make his work an American Review, in which the history of our native literature shall be carefully detailed.

He will pay particular attention to the history of passing events. He will carefully compile the news, foreign and domestic, of the current month, and give, in a precise and systematic order, that intelligence which the common newspapers communicate in a vague and indiscriminate way. His work shall likewise be a repository of all those signal incidents in private life, which mark the character of the age, and excite the liveliest curiosity.[10]

All of which was by way of saying that he planned a magazine much like his New York *Monthly*. It gave more attention, however, to political chronicles and general intelligence than the *Monthly* had. The pieces were nearly all brief, and in great variety. There was less fiction; though Brown's *Carwin the Biloquist* ran serially through the first three volumes, and a defence of novels (probably by Brown) appeared in "A Student's Diary," printed in the number for March, 1804. About half the contents of the eight semiannual volumes seems to be original. Agriculture, medicine, travel, feminism, and literature are among the common topics. A notable contribution was the poem "A Rural Walk," by the Scotch-American ornithologist Alexander Wilson, published in the number for August, 1804. Wilson had a talent for the observation of the American scene. His "Solitary Tutor" appeared in October, 1804.

The *Literary Magazine* lasted twice as long as its New York predecessor, but it suffered the same fate: it was transmogrified into a repository of information. The *American Register, or General Repository of History, Politics and Science*[11] was a

[10] *Literary Magazine*, I, 5 (October, 1803). Address dated Sept. 1, 1803.

[11] TITLE: *The American Register, or General Repository of History, Politics, and Science.*

FIRST ISSUE: Part I for 1807. LAST ISSUE: Part I for 1810.

PERIODICITY: Semiannual numbers, each number a complete volume; I-II, 1807; III-IV, 1808; V-VI, 1809; VII, 1810. (I deals with 1806 chiefly; VII was published in 1811.)

PUBLISHERS: C. and A. Conrad, Philadelphia.

EDITORS: Charles Brockden Brown, 1807-09; Robert Walsh, 1809-10.

semiannual encyclopedia of current information, five hundred pages to the issue. There were a little poetry and some miscellaneous articles in the first few volumes, but the bulk of the pages was devoted to "annals" of Europe and America, abstracts of laws, state papers, registers of deaths, and a sketch of American literature.

There is something very pathetic in the thought of Brockden Brown reduced to the slavery of almanac-making. Failure in his most ambitious literary attempts, the unfaith of his promising friends, the responsibilities of marriage, the lectures of his conventional brother, and—finally—physical illnesses, tamed his high spirit and made him a hack. Undoubtedly the confinement of hackwork—the labor of getting out a thousand encyclopedic pages a year—had much to do with Brown's early death in 1810.

Robert Walsh edited the last two volumes of the *Register*, the second of them devoted to 1810 but issued in the following year. Walsh then founded his *American Review* in October, 1811.

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THE PORT FOLIO[1]

MOST men of literary inclinations in the America of 1800 drove a tandem: they hitched their ambitions not only to literature but to politics as well. In witness whereof we have the new weekly *Port Folio,* eight-page super-royal quarto, first presented to the world in Philadelphia on the third day of January, 1801, which was created "not quite a Gazette, nor wholly a Magazine, with something of politics to interest Quidnuncs, and something of literature to engage Students."[2] To think of the *Port Folio* as a newspaper, however, even in a day when newspapers gave over many columns to tales and essays and poetry, is a mistake and a sad injustice to picturesque "Oliver Oldschool," the founder, who had, in his prospectus, declared his intention to "attempt something of a more honorable

[1] TITLE: *The Port Folio.* (The subtitle, *A Monthly Magazine, Devoted to Useful Science, the Liberal Arts, Legitimate Criticism, and Polite Literature,* is used on the title-page of Vol. I of the 3rd Series only. Half title to 4th [5th] Series, XIII and XIV (1822) reads: *The Port Folio and New York Monthly Magazine.*)

FIRST ISSUE: January 3, 1801. LAST ISSUE: December, 1827.

PERIODICITY: [First Series] I-V, 1801-05. Weekly; annual volumes; quarto (II began late—January 16—so that No. 51 was that for December '25; No. 52 was then published on January 15, 1803, which is also the date for Vol. III, No. 3). New [Second] Series: [VI-XI] I-VI, 1806-08. Weekly; semiannual volumes; octavo. New [Third] Series: [XII-XIX] I-VIII, 1809-12. Monthly; semiannual volumes; octavo. Third [Fourth] Series: [XX-XXV] I-VI, 1813-15. Monthly; semiannual volumes; octavo (also numbered IX-XIV, counting from beginning of the monthly). [Fifth Series]: [XXVI-XLV] 1816-25 (called I for 1816, II for 1816, and then Fourth Series III-XX). Monthly,1816-19, 1822-25; quarterly, 1820-21; octavo. Hall's Second [Sixth] Series: [XLVI-XLVII] I-II, 1826-27. Monthly; semiannual volumes; octavo. Suspended January – July, 1826, and January – July, 1827.

PUBLISHERS (all Philadelphia): Joseph Dennie, 1801-08 (with Asbury Dickins, 1801, Elizabeth Dickins, 1802); Bradford and Inskeep, 1809-15; Thomas Silver, 1815; Harrison Hall, 1816-27.

EDITORS: Joseph Dennie, 1801-11; Nicholas Biddle, 1812-14; Charles Caldwell, 1814-16; John Elihu Hall, 1816-27.

GENERAL INDEX: 1816-25 in Vol. XX. Indexed in *Poole.*

REFERENCES: Harold Milton Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and His Circle* (Bulletin of the University of Texas, 1915, No. 40), pp. 134-215; Albert H. Smyth, *The Philadelphia Magazines and Their Contributors* (Philadelphia, 1892), pp. 86-151.

[2] *Port Folio,* I, i, footnote 4.

destiny, than a meagre journal."[3] A first number which gives almost no news, and devotes three of its eight pages to a translation of the Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, printed alongside the Latin original, can scarcely be classified as a newspaper.[4]

It is pleasant to find on the threshold of the new century as interesting a magazine editor as this "Oliver Oldschool," who signed his name to unliterary papers as plain Joseph Dennie. There is a description of him by Joseph T. Buckingham, himself a prominent editor, who as a boy was printer's devil in the office of the *Farmer's Museum* at Walpole, New Hampshire, when Dennie was making a reputation as a writer for that paper. Little Joe Buckingham had been something of a country bumpkin then, and he had gazed open-mouthed at the great Mr. Dennie:

> In person he was rather below than above the middle height, and was of slender frame. He was particular attentive to his dress, which, when he appeared in the street on a pleasant day, approached the highest notch of the fashion. I remember, one delightful morning in May, he came into the office dressed in a pea-green coat, white vest, nankin small-clothes, white silk stockings, and shoes, or *pumps*, fastened with silver buckles, which covered at least half the foot from the instep to the toe. His small-clothes were tied at the knees, with ribbons of the same color, in double bows, the ends reaching down to the ankles. He had just emerged from the barber's shop. His hair, *in front*, was well loaded with pomatum, frizzled, or *craped*, and powdered; the *ear-locks* had undergone the same process; *behind*, his natural hair was augmented by the addition of a large *queue* (called, vulgarly, the *false tail*), which, enrolled in some yards of black ribbon, reached half-way down his back. Thus *accommodated*, the Lay Preacher stands before my *mind's eye*, as life-like and sprightly as if it were but yesterday that I saw the reality. . . .
>
> Dennie wrote with great rapidity, and generally postponed his task until he was called upon for *copy*. It was frequently necessary to go to his office, and it was not uncommon to find him in bed at a late hour in the morning. His *copy* was often given out in small

[3] *Ibid.*, page i.

[4] In spite of that classification in *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, II, 162, footnote 2. There we are told that in 1806 the *Port Folio* "took on most of the characteristics of a magazine." See the *Port Folio's* own declaration in this matter II, 6 (Jan. 16, 1802).

portions, a paragraph or two at a time; sometimes it was written in the printing-office, while the compositor was waiting to put it in type. One of the best of his lay sermons was written at the village tavern, directly opposite to the office, in a chamber where he and his friends were amusing themselves with cards. It was delivered to me by piecemeal, at four or five different times. If he happened to be engaged in a game when I applied for copy, he would ask some one to *play his hand for him while he could give the devil his due*. When I called for the closing paragraph of the sermon, he said, 'Call again in five minutes.' 'No,' said Tyler, 'I'll write the improvement for you.' He accordingly wrote the concluding paragraph, and Dennie never saw it till it was put in print.[5]

Dennie was a Harvard graduate, though he had been rusticated in his senior year. He had then studied law, and practiced in a New Hampshire village, where he had found literature a more pleasing mistress than the law. With Royall Tyler, another legal tyro gone astray in literary paths, he formed the famous literary partnership of "Colon and Spondee" and wrote for the country papers. A flier in publication on his own part in Boston followed, but the weekly *Tablet* was of short duration, and Dennie was soon back in New Hampshire, this time as editor of the *Farmer's Museum* at Walpole. There the association with Tyler was renewed; and other kindred literary spirits, such as the brilliant Thomas Green Fessenden, were attracted to a congenial collaboration. There, too, Dennie began his "Lay Sermons," upon which his literary reputation chiefly rests.

In 1799 Dennie was appointed private secretary to Timothy Pickering, secretary of state, at the same time that he was offered an editorial position on the *Gazette of the United States*, the chief federalist paper at the capital; he thereupon set out for Philadelphia, which remained his home for the rest of his life. But Dennie was not satisfied to be a political hackwriter. He projected a *Lay Preacher's Magazine*, which was aborted; then finally the *Port Folio* was born.

The publisher of the new periodical was Asbury Dickins, a bookseller, and the son of that Rev. John Dickins who edited

[5] Joseph T. Buckingham, *Specimens of Newspaper Literature* (Boston, 1850), pp. 196-97.

the *Methodist Magazine* in 1797 and 1798. The prospectus was elaborate, whimsical and lively. It began:

A young man, once known among village readers, as the humble historian of the hour, the conductor of a *Farmer's* Museum and a *Lay Preacher's* Gazette, again offers himself to the public as a volunteer-editor. Having, as he conceives, a right to vary, at pleasure, his *fictitious* name, he now, for higher reasons, than any fickle humour might dictate, assumes the appellation of OLD-SCHOOL. Fond of this title, indicative of his moral, political, and literary creed, he proposes publishing every Saturday, on super-royal quarto sheets,

A new weekly paper,
to be called
THE PORT FOLIO
By Oliver Oldschool, Esq.

The price was five dollars a year.

The first number was written chiefly by two men. No names were signed to *Port Folio* contributions; but it is known that the author of the "Journal of a Tour Through Silesia," which began in this number and ran through most of the first year, was John Quincy Adams, who was likewise the translator of the satire of Juvenal already referred to. Dennie began a series called "An Author's Evenings," in which he reviewed, with easy criticism and copious extracts, his reading of highly varied authors. These purported to come from "the Shop of Colon and Spondee," but Dennie was the author of nearly all of them.[6] Certain unpublished letters written by Hume, Richardson, Boswell, and others to Tobias Smollett, the novelist, which had found their way oddly enough to America, were also published in this first number, and there was a "Theatrical Review." Apologies were offered for the omission of a political article, for no number was considered complete without some politics.

The paper was a success from the first. Dennie had thought a printing of one thousand copies would be enough for the first issue, but Dickins had insisted on fifteen hundred; this liberal allowance was soon exhausted and a second edition called for.

[6] Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

By April 25 the regular edition consisted of two thousand copies.[7]

The *Port Folio* was a weekly for eight years, and in this time it was a greater and more important literary periodical than it ever was in its later career of nearly two decades as a monthly. Departments of "Literary Intelligence," "Law Intelligence," drama, politics, poetry, music, art, and fashion were more or less constant. Foreign and domestic occurrences were recorded, and essay series and translations from the German helped to furnish forth the *Port Folio's* table.

Politically the magazine was strongly federalist, and reactionary to a degree. "One of the primary objects of this undertaking," said the prospectus, "is to combat revolutionary doctrines"; [8] and the editor's pen-name was chosen with that purpose in mind. The *Port Folio* was to be a torch in "this dark night of jacobinism"; [9] it was a torch that sputtered and fizzed after the manner of the times. Dennie had been trained in the school of Fenno's *Gazette,* and of his friend "Peter Porcupine," and he thought that a spoonful of invective and a dash of scurrility were the proper seasoning for political writing. Through the spring and summer of 1801 Jefferson was pilloried almost weekly; his pretensions to literary skill are the special butt of the *Port Folio* writers. The grammar and diction of the Declaration of Independence are ridiculed, the reading of it on the Fourth of July is protested against, and the whole document called "that false, and flatulent, and foolish paper." [10] The return to America of "the loathsome Thomas Paine, a drunken atheist," and friend of Jefferson, was the cause for an outburst in July.[11] That Dennie himself was the author of most of the original political articles is evidenced by his lamentation in May that "we have such imperfect assistance in the political department of the *Port Folio.*" [12] At the beginning of 1802 he promises, on demand of his readers, more political pieces,[13] and starts out

7 *Port Folio,* I, 134 (April 25, 1801).
8 Prospectus, p. ii, footnote 9.
9 *Port Folio,* II, 150 (May 9, 1801).
10 *Ibid.,* I, 114 (April 11, 1801).
11 *Ibid.,* I, 251 (July 18, 1801).
12 *Ibid.,* I, 150 (May 9, 1801).
13 *Ibid.,* II, 2 (Jan. 16, 1802).

accordingly with "an exposition of the political imbecility of the president of the United States," in the shape of a review of Jefferson's message to Congress taken from the New York *Evening Post* and printed serially for three or four months. Much of the politics, especially for the first two years, was taken from federalist newspapers; but in time they came to be chiefly original. There were then politics not only in the department devoted to them, but also in the "Miscellaneous Paragraphs" and the "Original Poetry." More than once the versifiers of the *Port Folio* harped upon the scandalous reports of Jefferson's intimacies with a slave of his household. Once the two chief victims of the paper's attacks were pilloried at the same time, when an imitation of Horace, satirizing Jefferson, was ascribed to Paine. It began:

> Dear Thomas, deem it no disgrace
> With slaves to mend thy breed,
> Nor let the wench's smutty face
> Deter thee from the deed.[14]

There were also passages at arms with William Duane, editor of the *Aurora*, who had nicknamed the *Port Folio* the "Portable Foolery." Dennie once expressed the opinion that, "as Duane was not born to be *drowned*" he would meet a more shameful end:

> Duane, more fam'd than all the gang,
> Like tavern-sign on high shall hang.[15]

Dennie was a lover of England in a time when American politics divided sharply upon democratic sympathy with France and federalist preference for England. "We are under some trifling obligations to that hateful island" which the democrats traduce, wrote Dennie in 1807, when indignation over the impressment of American seamen ran high.

> We are indebted to her for our ancestors.
>
> We have taken up some goods at her shop for which even our *philosophers* have forgotten to pay. When we happen to be in a

[14] *Ibid.*, II, 344 (Oct. 30, 1802). See also II, 216 (July 10, 1802) and IV, 262 (Aug. 18, 1804).

[15] *Ibid.*, III, 207 (June 25, 1803).

court of justice, what of that virtue is meted out to us, is borrowed from the store-houses of Hale, of Talbot, of Mansfield, and of Kenyon; who, as the devil would have it, were all "to be found in the precinct" of England. What little knowledge we have of religion, politicks, morals, literature, and the fine arts, we have derived from British sources. Thence come our best style and our purest taste.[16]

But Dennie's English bias was the result of no passing wind of political opportunism: he sincerely admired English literature, English politics, and English culture. One writer in the *Port Folio* was at pains to show the failure of "democracy" under Cromwell, and Dennie continually harped upon its failure in America. To him the election of Jefferson seemed a mortal blow to the infant republic. "In the present state of affairs, in this ill-fated country," he writes, "there is a visible, and almost a total eclipse of talents and virtues."[17] Through the early part of 1803 he printed a series of articles on "The Progress of Democracy," and on April 23 appeared this paragraph, which applies the philosophy of the series to America:

A democracy is scarcely tolerable at any period of national history. Its omens are always sinister, and its powers are unpropitious. With all the lights of experience, blazing before our eyes, it is impossible not to discern the futility of this form of government. It was weak and wicked in Athens. It was bad in Sparta, and worse in Rome. It has been tried in France, and has terminated in despotism. It was tried in England, and rejected with the utmost loathing and abhorrence. It is on its trial here, and the issue will be civil war, desolation, and anarchy. No wise man but discerns its imperfections, no good man but shudders at its miseries, no honest man but proclaims its fraud, and no brave man but draws his sword against its force. The institution of a scheme of polity so radically contemptible and vicious is a memorable example of what the villainy of some men can devise, the folly of others receive, and both establish, in despite of reason, reflection, and sensation.[18]

For this publication Dennie was denounced as a traitor by the democratic press, and on July 4 he was indicted by the grand

[16] *Ibid.*, N.S. IV, 157 (Sept. 5, 1807).
[17] *Ibid.*, III, 23 (Jan. 15, 1803).
[18] *Ibid.*, III, 135 (April 23, 1803).

jury on charge of seditious libel. The trial was repeatedly postponed, until the end of 1805, when, after a brilliant defence by Joseph Hopkinson,[19] who had been Dr. Rush's leading counsel in his libel suit against Cobbett, Dennie was acquitted on December 2. Thus justified, the editor was able to thumb his nose again at democracy, which he characterized in his next issue, more picturesquely than ever, as "a fiend more terrible than any that the imagination of the classical poets ever conjured up from the 'vasty deep' of their Pagan hell." [20] Nevertheless Dennie had had his lesson, and had become noticeably less violent. He remained the strong adherent of England, taking the side of the mother country in the quarrel over the impressment of American seamen,[21] and he still hated democracy; but he was no longer the fiery political partisan. One further quotation must be given; it is from the "New Prospectus" issued in 1806:

> If by public opinion be meant, the *unlearned reason* of a majority *told by the head*, for that he [the editor] has indeed a MOST SOVEREIGN CONTEMPT. The *common people*, in any country, in every age, are nearly the same. Their praise is often to be dreaded, and their censure is generally proof of the merit of the object.[22]

But in 1809 the *Port Folio* became nonpartisan; and after the death of Dennie in 1812, politics were "rigidly" excluded from the magazine.[23]

Literary criticism occupied more space in the magazine than politics, even before 1806; though there was a confusion between the two departments, and both kinds of subject matter sometimes appeared in the same article.[24] The literary productions of Jefferson and Paine could not be discussed fairly, or even, it would seem, seriously. By 1807, however, the poems of the

[19] Jared Ingersoll, William Meredith, and William Lewis were also of counsel. See Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

[20] *Ibid.*, V, 583 (Dec. 7, 1805).

[21] *Ibid.*, N.S. I, 401 (July 5, 1806). Also N.S. IV, 157 (Sept. 5, 1807).

[22] "New Prospectus" (separately paged, but usually bound with N.S. II), p. 3.

[23] *Port Folio*, 3d [4th] Ser., III, 395 (May, 1813).

[24] For a discussion of the corruption of criticism by politics in the *Port Folio*, see Freda Mildred Dickson, *Federalism in Early National American Periodicals* (University of Iowa thesis, 1926), pp. 45-68.

democratic editor Freneau could be reviewed at length "with a spirit of no illiberal criticism," though there was passing rebuke for the poet's political principles.[25] In the first series of the magazine the critical columns were largely devoted to the literature of the past, far removed from contemporaneous clash of opinion. True to his name, "Oliver Oldschool" was ever the champion of the classics. There was a serial essay on Vergil in the second volume; imitations of Horace and Anacreon were frequent; a series of "Enconiums on Classical Authors" ran through the 1808 numbers; and in the recurrent "Author's Evenings," Greek and Latin authors, as well as established English and French writers, lived again.

So far as contemporary English literature was concerned, it received quite as much attention as that which was published this side of the Atlantic. Thomas Moore was greatly admired, and his visit to America and to the *Port Folio* group of writers in particular,[26] made that magazine the especial guardian of his reputation in this country. Besides, he contributed several poems to its pages. Wordsworth and Coleridge were praised, though their shortcomings were occasionally pointed out,[27] and even parodied.[28] The extravagances of Gothic romance and of Della Cruscan affectation were repeatedly censured and satirized. Cowper was often given high commendation. Scott was treated somewhat patronizingly by Dennie, because of Gothic elements in his work,[29] but he was done full justice in later volumes. W. L. Bowles's sonnets were called "incomparably the best in the English tongue." [30] Thomas Campbell and Leigh Hunt were eulogized and the latter's connection with Philadelphia mentioned, in connection with the publication of original pieces by these poets in the *Port Folio*.[31]

25 *Port Folio*, N.S. IV, 351 (Nov. 28, 1807).

26 See p. 180, *supra*.

27 See Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-47, 177-78, 207.

28 "Samuel Saunter" travesties Wordsworth elaborately, IV, 257-58 (Aug. 18, 1804).

29 *Port Folio*, N.S. IV, 134 (Aug. 29, 1807).

30 *Ibid.*, III, 227 (July 15, 1803).

31 Hunt's mother was a Philadelphian, and his father was educated there and later practised law in the city, but was driven out because of Tory sympathies. See *Port Folio*, III, 160-70 (May 28, 1803), and III, 200 (June 18, 1803). For Campbell see *Port Folio*, III, 7, 8 (Jan. 1, 1803).

German literature is given some attention. Kotzebue is burlesqued; Schiller and Gessner are translated. In spite of his politics, Dennie had a real liking for French literature; comments upon French writers, translations, and even poems and anecdotes in French are sprinkled through the volumes.

Of the American writers Robert Treat Paine ("Thomas Paine, of Boston") was a favorite, as was the precocious John Howard Payne, of New York. The criticism of Freneau has already been mentioned. The authors of *Salmagundi* were hailed as "purveyors of an exquisite taste."[32] Such *Port Folio* contributors as Charles Brockden Brown, Thomas G. Fessenden, William Dunlap, and Royall Tyler also received due praise. Dennie was not an indulgent critic of American writing, however. "Of that hoodwinked patriotism," he exclaimed, "which will not look at error because it is *domestick* and *native*, he never was nor can be a votary."[33] But he had not been long dead when the *Port Folio* was saying, "Americans are the only people on earth who uniformly undervalue the efforts of literary genius in their own country and hold in undue estimation much feebler efforts when received from abroad."[34] Trumbull, Dwight, Barlow, Humphreys, Paine, and Sargent are named as the great American poets. Poor Dennie must have been restless in his grave when the presses imprinted this creed of the new editor. And when an article pouring contempt upon his beloved Moore appeared in 1815[35]—ah, it was lucky for "Z" that Dennie was buried deep.

The department called "To Readers and Correspondents" bore some relation to criticism. In it Dennie spoke frankly to real and supposed contributors—or would-be contributors. One political essay submitted to the editor is

> grounded on principles not only radically rotten, but perfectly obsolete. . . . "Aminta," the poetess of Baltimore, with such *Sappho* softness calls her *Phaon*, that he must be colder than his insensible namesake of antiquity if he shun a lady whose heart appears to be the throne of love, and whose head is encircled with the chaplet of

[32] *Ibid.*, N.S. I, 308 (May 16, 1807).
[33] "New Prospectus," p. 3.
[34] *Port Folio*, 3d [4th] Ser. III, 387 (May, 1814).
[35] *Ibid.*, 3d [4th] Ser., VI, 506 (November, 1815).

the Muse. . . . "Torrismonde" is a very juvenile writer; and seems only to have reached that awkward era when although some of the school-boy's blunders have been reformed, the style of vigorous manhood is not acquired. "He's not yet old enough for a man, nor young enough for a boy; as a squash before 'tis a peascod" . . . We wish that our friend "Lucio" would, in the periodical style, describe . . . a character . . .[36]

Such was the manner of the messages to would-be contributors. They were nearly always interesting to the general reader, and they made it unnecessary to rely upon the expensive and uncertain mails of the time.

The departments of original and selected poetry furnished an important part of the *Port Folio*. The verse was varied and attractive. Translations from classical and continental poets have been mentioned, as have the contributions of Moore, Campbell, and Hunt. Original ballads, eclogues, and love lyrics from the pens of the young ladies and gentlemen who made up the "confederacy of letters" which supported the *Port Folio* were sometimes conventional, sometimes amusing, and seldom important. Epigrams and humorous skits enlivened the page; and, especially after "Anacreon" Moore's visit in 1804, there was some tendency to naughtiness. This may be said also of some of the anecdotes.

Of the essay series, those by Dennie are the most important. "The Lay Preacher," "The Farrago," and "An Author's Evenings" began with the first volume. Seventy-seven of the "Lay Preacher" papers appeared in the *Port Folio* during the years 1801-08, one-seventh of them having been written for that magazine and the others reprinted from other periodicals.[37] Each one has a text, and each has a didactic purpose. Some have to do with morals, some with politics, some with literature, some with manners. Often whimsical, always thoughtful, they are usually readable and entertaining. The literary references are too numerous for a later taste, and the style often too florid; but the humor still amuses, and the satire has not lost its point. Addison, Goldsmith, and Johnson were Dennie's models, as they were the gods of the

[36] *Ibid.*, N.S. II, 14 (July 12, 1806).
[37] Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-17.

Port Folio's idolatry.[38] "The Farrago" series consisted of somewhat lighter, racier satires. Seventeen of these were published in the *Port Folio,* all but one being reprinted.[39] Frequently they appeared in the miscellaneous department. "An Author's Evenings," which is not so much an Addisonian essay series as a scrapbookish kind of compilation with cursory comment, has already been referred to.

A more distinctively *Port Folio* essay series was "The American Lounger," which ran through the years 1802-06, and was resumed after Dennie's death. Several hands had parts in it, and it was consequently uneven. Characters, allegories, letters to the "Samuel Saunter" who was supposed to be the author of the series, and satires on dress and manners were its commonest ingredients. The "Lounger" essayists were greatly perturbed over the bare elbows and draped gowns of the ladies, and the growing fashion of leaving off a certain number of petticoats. Occasionally there was some rather elaborate literary criticism.

Other series require little or no mention. "The Day," by "David Diary," was chiefly political. Alexander Wilson's "The Naturalist" was a brief series on American natural history in numbers for 1809. "The Moral World" the next year was for the perusal of the pious "during the decline of Sunday." "Adversaria" was a late and uninspired succession in the so-called Fourth Series of the magazine.

The essayists were much concerned, in the traditional *Spectator* fashion, with manners; and indeed manners occupy a large space in the *Port Folio* as a whole. Men are rebuked for the indelicate habit of putting their hands in the pockets of their small-clothes; fops are satirized for wearing shoes sharp enough to kick out "a flie's eye"; the vulgar are corrected for omitting the *b* in their pronunciation of words like *debt* and *doubt.*

Styles received attention not only in the essays, but also in a regular department, "The Festoon of Fashion." In the original prospectus Dennie had written that the *Port Folio* "will not omit to notice sometimes the shop of the milliner," and had found literary justification in Anstey's lines:

[38] See Dickson, *op. cit.,* pp. 6-28.
[39] Ellis, *op. cit.,* p. 174.

Come then, nymph of various mien,
Votary true of beauty's queen,
FASHION, come—on me awhile
Deign, fantastic nymph, to smile.[40]

But the department did not begin until the second volume; thereafter it continued regularly for several years.

Travels formed a considerable part of the magazine from first to last. John Quincy Adams's "Journal of a Tour Through Silesia" was prominently displayed throughout the first volume. Condy Raguet's "Memoirs of Hayti" appeared in 1809-12. Alexander Wilson's versified journal of his trip to Niagara, called "The Foresters," ran serially through ten numbers in 1809-10, followed by Wilson's prose account of a western town. There were also accounts of travels in Europe, by Joseph Sansom and others, and some selected material of this kind. Bülow's "Interesting Travels in America" ran through the second and third volumes. It was a bold but characteristic piece of magazine policy for Dennie to publish this last serial, sharply critical as it was of American institutions; but he thought it was good medicine for his readers. "The picture, which this Prussian delineator, or dauber, has drawn," wrote Dennie in introducing the series, "is, in many respects, a frightful caricature; but, as it is often eminently useful to hear distinctly the reproaches of our enemies, the editor of the *Port Folio* was of opinion, that to know even the unfavorable sentiments, which a foreigner entertained of America, might interest some, and instruct others."[41]

Biography also occupied many pages. It had usually, before 1809, been extracted from the British reviews, and dealt most frequently with English worthies. But after the change to monthly form it was with American characters that the *Port Folio's* biography chiefly dealt.

Another subject of no small interest was American speech. Noah Webster is pilloried again and again for his liking for Americanisms.[42] In this connection it is interesting to know that Dennie had once admired that lexicographer's early essays.

[40] Prospectus, p. iv.
[41] *Port Folio*, II, 137 (May 8, 1802).
[42] See pp. 147-48, *supra*.

"If there be any merits in the short essays of 'The Lay Preacher,'" he had written to Webster in presenting him with a copy of the book, "consider the Author as your debtor."[43] But in later years Dennie forgot the essays and took much joy in lambasting Webster for treachery to the older standards of speech. A good letter from a "*true* American" to a "*Yankee* acquaintance" in 1808 satirizes Webster and uses such terms as "boatable," "snack," "gin sling," "to bottom," "swingeing thick," "black-strap," "anti-fogmatic," "dicker," "swap horses," "hellniferous," "neat as plush," "la for me," "caucus," "go-betweenity," "bran new," "spry," and so on at length.[44] Antagonism to an American, or "Columbian" speech was, it will be seen, part of Dennie's pro-Anglican creed.[45] He was also much given to criticizing the grammar, diction, and style of prose written by his enemies, as Jefferson, Fenno, and others. A treatise on rhetoric appeared serially in the *Port Folio* in 1809-10.

Amusing miscellany occupied many pages of the magazine. Much of this was literary, showing the wide reading of the editor. Under such headings as "Merriment" and "Levity" were grouped anecdotes and comic verse. A fearful plague of punning seems to have been abroad. The Pat-and-Mike repartee, the Sandy joke, and witticisms about hangings, gout, and rural illiteracy were common. One recognizes oldsters like this:

Two friends who had not seen each other a long while, met one morning quite by chance. "How do you do?" said one. "Why not very well," replied the other, "I have been married since I saw you." "Well done, that is good news however." "Not so very good, for my wife was a most awful scold."—"That was bad."—"Not so bad neither, she brought me two thousand pounds."—"That was consolation though."—"Not entirely, for I speculated in sheep, which all died of the rot."—"That was very unfortunate!"—"Not so *very* unfortunate, for I made as much by their skins as I should have done by their flesh."—"Then you were as lucky as if it had not happened."—"Not quite; for my house was one night burnt and every note of the money consumed."—"What a most

[43] *Notes on the Life of Noah Webster* (New York, 1912. Compiled by Emily Ellsworth Fowler Ford; edited by Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel), I, 299.

[44] *Port Folio*, N.S. VI, 300 (Nov. 5, 1808).

[45] See Dickson, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-44.

woful misfortune!"—"Not so woful as you may imagine, for my *wife* and my house were burnt together."[46]

There were no tales in the earlier volumes, but one very didactic seduction story from the *New England Republican* was reprinted in the January numbers of 1807. Tales became common in the *Port Folio* after 1810, some western pieces by James Hall being especially notable. In the volumes after 1820 the benefits and dangers of novel reading furnished a moot question for the magazine's writers.[47]

There was always more or less selected material in the *Port Folio*. The editor occasionally suggests the propriety of his subscribers sending him old numbers of foreign magazines and newspapers. "The literary journals of Europe supply most valuable and shining materials for such a miscellany as the *Port Folio,*" he writes.[48]

In short, there was a great variety in the contents. "Variety is the motto of this paper," declared the editor, and added:

> It is our wish to traverse the whole province of the Belles Lettres. . . . Variety, Sprightliness, and the Graces, are powers which we shall invoke, as well as Genius and Learning. . . . The most fastidious reader, tired with the front pages of the *Port Folio,* shall find his fickle humour soothed by merriment and melody at the last.[49]

Though the most successful literary periodical that had been published in America up to that time, the *Port Folio* could scarcely be said to be prosperous. Notices beseeching delinquents to pay their subscription arrearages were not infrequent. At the end of its second year the *Port Folio* said, "The public encouragement of this Journal is so moderate, that the Editor, far from receiving the *labourer's hire,* has *gained* nothing, but the kindness of a few of the most partial of his friends. . . . His sketches have scarcely been lucrative enough to pay for the oil

[46] *Port Folio,* N.S. IV, 174 (Sept. 12, 1807).
[47] See, for example, *ibid.,* 4th [5th] Ser., XIV, 236 (September, 1822).
[48] *Ibid.,* III, 327 (Oct. 8, 1803).
[49] "New Prospectus," p. 5.

consumed in their composition." [50] The partnership between Dennie and Asbury and Elizabeth Dickins in the publication of the paper was dissolved at the end of 1802. The price was increased from five to six dollars a year in 1804.

In 1806 the size was changed from quarto to octavo, with double the number of pages, and a somewhat greater variety introduced. Within the next few years Dennie's health declined, and the magazine deteriorated correspondingly. There was more eclectic material, and the amount of poetry and miscellany was reduced, giving place to articles somewhat more of the review type. In October, 1807, it was necessary to give editorial recognition to rumors "that the property of the *Port Folio* had passed into other hands and that for more than two years the Editor had merely lent his name to assist the sale of that work." Dennie asserted that "He is the sole proprietor of this paper, of which, for years, he has had the absolute direction, and, if any emoluments arise from the subscription, the property is exclusively his." [51] A year later he announced apologetically that "for some time past ill-health and the effects of the Embargo, have compelled him to give to the pages of the *Port Folio* nothing but an interrupted and desultory attention," and declared that his subscribers owed him ten thousand dollars, which, because of the financial stringency, he could not collect. "Who feedeth a flock," he asks plaintively, "and eateth not of the milk of the flock?" [52] Shortly afterward he was forced to dispose of the property, and Bradford & Inskeep became publishers; Dennie, however, remained as editor.

In 1809 the magazine became "*A Monthly Miscellany*, dedicated in chief, to original communications in the popular departments of science, combined with occasional criticism, classical disquisitions, miscellaneous essays, records of the progress of the fine and useful arts, with all the extensive and variegated departments of literature, merriment, and wit." The name of "Oliver Oldschool, Esq.," which originally appeared in the half-title, speedily gave way to that of Joseph Dennie, Esq., as savor-

[50] *Ibid.*, II, 415 (Jan. 15, 1803).
[51] *Ibid.*, N.S. IV, 284 (Oct. 31, 1807).
[52] *Ibid.*, N.S. VI, 239 (Oct. 8, 1808).

ing less of partisanship. The former departments of criticism, travel, and biography ran along much as before, except that American worthies supplanted Englishmen as subjects for the biographers: the series started off with Charles Brockden Brown's life of his brother-in-law, John Blair Linn. The scientific material was not highly important, consisting chiefly of accounts of inventions and descriptions of natural history. But the great innovation was in the addition of an engraved plate for each number.[53]

Dennie was the victim of a severe illness in the autumn of 1811, during which Paul Allen, a newspaper editor and poet of varied achievement, did most of the editorial work on the *Port Folio*. In the number for January, 1812, Dennie announced that an associate editor has been taken into "full communion"; Professor Ellis, the painstaking biographer of Dennie, says that this associate was "undoubtedly Nicholas Biddle."[54] The announcement of the plans for the new year were characteristically hopeful, but on January 7, 1812, Dennie's illness suddenly came to a fatal termination. In the magazine for the following month appeared a sketch of his personal and literary character.

Biddle succeeded Dennie as editor, assuming the name, lately discarded by his predecessor, of "Oliver Oldschool." Biddle was a handsome, gifted, and highly cultivated young man—later the president of the United States Bank and a chief figure in President Jackson's war on that institution. When he became editor of the *Port Folio,* at twenty-five hundred dollars a year,[55] he was twenty-six, fresh from European travel and the diplomatic service, and had been a frequent contributor of critical articles on art and literature to the magazine. Under his supervision the *Port Folio* became more and more a review. Though still entertaining in parts, it was much less witty and less arch than under Dennie. Emphasis on the classics was maintained, and the art criticism was better than it had ever been before.

Early in 1814 Biddle, who had become absorbed in politics, resigned his editorship to Dr. Charles Caldwell, a southern-born

[53] See pp. 209-10, *supra*, for an account of illustration in the *Port Folio*.
[54] Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 210.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 201, footnote 3.

physician then practising in Philadelphia, who claimed in his *Autobiography,* written many years later, to have published more variously and extensively than any other medical author in America.[56] He was an active editor, writing voluminously himself, and securing for his magazine enough material bearing on the recent war with England to run through several years. The *Port Folio* 1814-16 is an excellent source for the facts as to that war. Caldwell is said to have increased the declining circulation of the magazine by twenty-five per cent within the first six months of his editorship.[57]

In 1816 the *Port Folio* was purchased by Harrison Hall, and his brother John Ewing Hall was made editor. The Halls were one of the leading literary families in Philadelphia. Mrs. Sarah Ewing Hall, the mother of Harrison and John, was a daughter of Provost John Ewing of the University of Pennsylvania, and a sister of Samuel Ewing, who contributed much in both prose and verse to the *Port Folio* and later edited *Select Reviews* and its successor, the *Analectic Magazine.* Mrs. Hall was a faithful *Port Folio* contributor, and author of the once popular *Conversations on the Bible.* She had four sons, all literary and active in various interests. John was editor of the *American Law Journal* before he took over the editorship of the *Port Folio,* to which he had been a contributor under the name of "Sedley." Harrison was a printer and publisher. James became a judge in Illinois, and founded the *Illinois Monthly Magazine;* he contributed some excellent western sketches and stories to the *Port Folio* after his brother became editor. Thomas, a physician, was also a *Port Folio* author; he disappeared while on a trip to South America.

The new publisher said, in beginning a new series under the pseudonym of "Oliver Oldschool the Fourth," that "it shall be the principal object of the *Port Folio* to vindicate the character of American literature and manners from the aspersions of ignorant and illiterate foreigners."[58] This was very different doctrine from Dennie's, but the country had just passed through a

[56] Charles Caldwell, *Autobiography* (Philadelphia, 1855), p. 417.
[57] Smyth, *op. cit.,* p. 142.
[58] "Advertisement" to 4th [5th] Series, p. 1.

war with England and a little jingo was to be expected. A determined effort was made by the fourth Oliver to renew the spirit of the old *Port Folio* and to rally the "confederacy" which had supported it by contributions. In this he partially succeeded for a time. "The American Lounger" and "An Author's Evenings" were resumed. But in spite of the exertions of the Halls, the magazine never regained the verve, insouciance, and *savoir-vivre* which it possessed under Dennie.

It lived up to its promise to defend Americanism against European attack, and it continued the accounts of the heroism of American sailors in the War of 1812-14. After his failure to Denniefy the magazine, Hall fell back upon the pastepot and shears; and from 1818 forward there was a growing preponderance of selected material. During 1820-21 the periodical was a quarterly review, but the monthly form was resumed in 1822. One of the distinctive things in these years was the comparative abundance of material about the West in some of the volumes, and of travel in general. The "Memoirs of Anacreon," which John E. Hall had begun for Dennie years before, at the suggestion of none other than "Anacreon" Moore himself, were now continued at length through the numbers for 1819-21. The poems quoted were Moore's anacreontics, so this, like most of the remainder of the magazine, was eclectic.

The book reviewing was often original, however, and sometimes pungent. One incident of it is perhaps worth recording here. It is possible that Editor Hall, who had lived in Baltimore, had known John Neal there; if he had, his impression of that eccentric, violent, and egregious person had probably been unfavorable. At any rate a review of Neal's novels *Logan* and *Seventy-Six* in the *Port Folio* in August, 1823, begins:

> These are truly what the immortal bard would denominate
>
> Tales
> Told by an *ideot;* full of sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing!—[59]

The next year Neal wrote an article for *Blackwood's Edinburgh*

[59] *Port Folio,* 4th [5th] Series, XVI, 152 (August, 1823).

Magazine on American literature. In due course he came to notice the *Port Folio*. Of Dennie he wrote, "There is nothing remarkable in anything that he ever said or did." Then he added: "Dennie is dead. John E. Hall, the present editor, is alive. Dennie was a gentleman: John E. Hall is a blackguard. Dennie did now and then say something that a man might remember if he worked hard: Hall—heaven help him!—has no other hope but in being forgotten." The vitriolic author then capped the climax by remarking: "We do not think very highly of the mutton-headed Athenians at Philadelphia; but we do think, nevertheless, that Mr. John E. Hall is a little too much of a blockhead even for their meridian."[60] In the *Port Folio* for the following December Hall retaliates by saying that Neal is "so exactly midway between the fool and the knave that no two men can agree how he deserves to be treated: whether he should be spit upon or cow-skinned."[61] This is not quite all of the edifying quarrel, but perhaps it is enough.

In spite of its absorption in 1822 of the *New York Monthly Magazine*, the *Port Folio* steadily declined. It was suspended from January to June, 1826. In August of that year the editor wrote:

> On the publication of the *Port Folio* for December, 1825, it was determined to suspend the work, until some portion of our delinquent subscribers should liquidate the demands existing against them. Many persons had received this journal for several years, without contributing a cent toward the support of it. . . .
>
> During the first six months of this year no number was published; but a New Series was commenced in the month of July. All the drones upon our list, who take care to forget that *the labourer is worthy of his hire*, will be excluded from it henceforth, and the journal will be sent only to those who, we have some reason to know, are able, and therefore ought to be willing, to discharge our claims with promptness.[62]

The publisher, it will be seen, did not dare attempt a cash-in-advance system; that was not to come to American magazines for many years.

[60] *Blackwood's*, XVI, 566 (November, 1824).
[61] *Port Folio*, 4th [5th] Series, XVIII, 492 (December, 1824).
[62] *Ibid.*, Hall's Second Series, I, 170 (August, 1826).

The current volume was distinguished by a few hand-colored prints of American birds, reduced in size, from Wilson's *Ornithology,* and engraved by Miss Helen Lawson. There was also a department of current events. The suspension of 1826 was repeated the next year, and the volume July-December, 1827, was the last.

It remains to say something about the contributors to the *Port Folio.* Thanks to the labors of Smyth, Ellis, and others, many of them have been identified.

The Tuesday Club was the nucleus of Dennie's writing staff. He himself was eminently a "clubable" person. Indolent, foppish, vain, and even priggish he may have been; but he was a man to make friends among men. It has been said that he was too convivial for his own good,[63] and his sophistication sometimes shocked the pious; but these qualities undoubtedly drew many young Philadelphians to him. Most of the members of the Tuesday Club, Professor Ellis points out, were young lawyers and doctors.

> Most of them were graduates of the University of Pennsylvania or other colleges, most of them were Federalist in politics, and all were imbued with a love of literature, and ambitions of gaining literary fame. All were likewise fond of good dinners and exchange of wit, and their meetings overflowed with eloquent and rollicking fun.[64]

The most famous member of the club was Charles Brockden Brown, who probably contributed occasionally to the *Port Folio,* but who was engaged upon his own periodicals practically all the time from his return to Philadelphia in 1803 until his death. At least we know he wrote his memoir of the Rev. John Blair Linn, another member of the club and the brother of his wife, for the *Port Folio.* Charles J. Ingersoll, still another member, wrote some youthful poetry for the magazine. Ingersoll was a democrat, but a devoted friend of Dennie, and defended him in his libel suit. He wrote two tragedies, a history of the War of 1812, and a famous contribution to the paper

[63] Ellis, *op. cit.,* p. 175.
[64] *Ibid.,* p. 157.

war with England called *Inchiquin the Jesuit's Letters.* Dr. John E. Stock wrote theatrical reviews in the early volumes of the *Port Folio,* as well as some verse. Horace Binney was a prominent lawyer, who wrote on classical literature and politics. Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, founder of the *Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences,* contributed not only medical but literary and political articles under the name of "Falkland." Judge Joseph Hopkinson, son of Francis Hopkinson, an earlier magazinist, signer, and poet, is chiefly remembered for his flamboyant "Hail, Columbia!" He wrote Shakespearian criticism for the *Port Folio.* Richard Rush, who later occupied three cabinet positions and was minister to England and France, is said to have furnished some of the anecdotes which were characteristic of the early *Port Folio.* Philip Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton, is thought to have written for the magazine in its first year. On November 24, 1801, he fell in a duel on the same field where his father was to meet a similar death three years later.[65] Samuel Ewing has already been mentioned; other members of the club are said to have been William Meredith, Thomas Cadwalader, Thomas I. Wharton, and Richard Peters.[66]

Representing the women were Mrs. Hall, who has been mentioned already, and who wrote for the magazine under the name of "Constantia"; Harriet Fenno, daughter of the famous John Fenno, the founder of the *Gazette of the United States;* and Mrs. Gertrude Meredith, wife of William Meredith, in whose home Dennie lived when he first came to Philadelphia.

Contributors from New England included Dennie's Walpole friend Royall Tyler; the Rev. J. S. J. Gardiner, rector of Trinity Church in Boston and one of the *Monthly Anthologists;* John Quincy Adams, whose contributions have been recorded already; Josiah Quincy, a classmate of Dennie's at Harvard, who wrote political burlesques for the *Port Folio;* and others less known

[65] A very interesting number of the *Port Folio* is that for July 21, 1804, which is dressed in mourning for Alexander Hamilton, lately killed, and carries an account of the duel. Dennie and Hamilton held, of course, very similar political views.

[66] Professor Ellis (*op. cit.,* pp. 157-58) also lists James Abercrombie, Thomas Chalkley James, Alexander Graydon, John Sanderson, Charles Caldwell, Francis Cope, the Hall brothers, and Thomas Sergeant as possible members of the Tuesday Club.

to fame. From Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, Dr. Robert H. Rose sent the *Port Folio* a large amount of verse. From Maryland John L. Bozman, George L. Gray, and Dr. John Shaw dispatched prose and verse. Gouverneur Morris, of New York, toward the close of a life of prominent public service, was a *Port Folio* contributor.

When Dennie made his magazine a monthly, he announced it as "conducted by Oliver Oldschool, Esq., assisted by a Confederacy of Men of Letters." The confederacy doubtless consisted of remnants of the Tuesday Club, now more or less dispersed, with additions. Dennie wrote his mother: "We have Bishops and Lawyers in our Confederacy. The Chief Justice of the United States, Judge Washington, Judge Peters, and the Honourable Mr. Penn are with us." [67] It may be doubted whether Chief Justice Marshall, Judge Bushrod Washington (nephew of the first president), Judge Richard Peters (the revolutionary patriot, wit, and jurist, now sixty-five years old), or William Penn (grandson of the founder, lately come to America) contributed much to the *Port Folio*. Two other writers, neither of whom have been listed as Tuesday Clubmen, did write prominently for the magazine, however, after 1809, and indeed after Dennie's death in 1812. They were Condy Raguet, who had seen something of the Haytian Negro rebellion, had later taken part in the War of 1812, and had then become a consul at Rio de Janeiro; and Alexander Wilson, ornithologist and poet. These men wrote for later volumes, along with Allen, Biddle, Caldwell, and others who have been mentioned. Thomas Cooper was an associate of Dr. Caldwell during the latter's editorship. Cooper, though an Englishman, had been, like Paine, a member of the French National Assembly during the revolution, and had challenged Robespierre to a duel. At the time of his associate editorship he was a professor of chemistry at Dickinson College.

Such were some of the more important of the men who are known to have formed the groups which employed their pens without money compensation in the support of the *Port Folio*.

The *Port Folio* had a longer life than any previous American

[67] Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-03. Letter dated July 15, 1809.

magazine; and although it was never very remunerative financially, it commanded a certain measure of respect from its contemporaries throughout most of its life. It is an invaluable repository of social and political comment upon its times.

17

THE BOSTON WEEKLY MAGAZINE; THE EMERALD[1]

THE young booksellers and printers, Samuel Gilbert and Thomas Dean, of Boston, commenced the last of October, 1802, the weekly publication of a four-page quarto miscellany at two dollars a year called the *Boston Weekly Magazine.* It contained two or three essay series—that staple of the eighteenth century magazine; some scientific miscellany; a "monitorial department" balanced by a section devoted to "amusement"; two or three columns of poetry; epistolary fiction in serial form; current events; and a good deal of *et cetera.* There is no question but that the paper was designed chiefly for "fashionable females." In the seventh number the editors said,

> We formed our plan at first, on the hope of rendering an essential service to the Fair Sex, by offering them a work in which should be united at once, Amusement and Information, and thought it would be peculiarly acceptable to them, as the daily papers are merely vehicles of political controversy, and advertisements.[2]

Accordingly there is much advice offered the ladies on this and that. "A Practical Physician" signs the following:

> An admirer of female delicacy, presumes, in point of dress, that

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Boston Weekly Magazine; Devoted to Morality, Literature, Biography, History, the Fine Arts, Agriculture, &c., &c.,* 1802 – Oct. 19, 1805; (2) *The Boston Magazine,* Oct. 26, 1805 – April 26, 1806; (3) *The Emerald; or, a Miscellany of Literature, Containing Sketches of the Manners, Principles, and Amusements of the Age.* May 3, 1806 – Oct. 15, 1808. (The words "(New Establishment)" are inserted after "The Emerald" on the title-page of the 1807-08 volume.)

FIRST ISSUE: October 30, 1802. LAST ISSUE: October 15, 1808.

PERIODICITY: Weekly. Boston Weekly Magazine Series, I-III, Oct. 30, 1802 – Oct. 19, 1805; annual volumes; 4to. Boston Magazine Series, complete in twenty-seven numbers of Vol. I, Oct. 26, 1805 – April 26, 1806; 4to. Emerald Series, [I], in seventy-seven numbers, May 3, 1806 – Oct. 17, 1807; II in fifty-two numbers, Oct. 24, 1807 – Oct. 15, 1808; small 8vo.

PUBLISHERS AND EDITORS: Samuel Gilbert and Thomas Dean, 1802-05; Joshua Belcher and Samuel T. Armstrong, 1805-07; Oliver C. Greenleaf, 1807-08.

[2] *Boston Weekly Magazine,* I, 27 (Dec. 11, 1802).

naked elbows being exhibited are highly disgusting; but more particularly that skinny or scraggy elbows, as also tumid or brawny elbows being displayed are most detestable objects. He is even still more sensible of the folly of fashion, in observing, as repugnant to nature, the flowing ornamental hair being worn inverted, and allusively frizzled over that prominent feature the forehead. It cannot but be supposed, at all events, he is induced from professional experience, to advise, with becoming deference, the fashionable females of every description, while winter, is in its rigour, to lengthen the sleeves of their chemises, as also to add cuffs to the sleeves of their gowns; lest their naked elbows, being exposed to the inclemency of the weather, should occasion that very incommodious complaint—a lumbago—which could not fail most sensibly, to interrupt their pleasurable enjoyments.[3]

And nearly a year later a clergyman's will is quoted in which a daughter is disinherited because she was addicted to "the filthy and lewd custom of dressing with naked elbows."[4] A paragraph on fashions appeared occasionally to inform the ladies what was being worn in London and Paris.

There are only a few references to the theater in the first volume; but in December, 1803, a "Thespian Department" begins, and thereafter we have reviews of the productions of Charles S. Powell at the Boston Theater. Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Powell, Mr. Bernard, and Mr. Barrett were the leading actors that season; and Shakespeare, Coleman, O'Keefe, Cumberland, Mrs. Centlivre, Wycherly, M. G. Lewis, and others were played. Kotzebue makes his entrance the next season. In the winter of 1805-06 we are told that the company is "unquestionably the best we ever had in this town."[5] Thomas Abthorpe Cooper "stands now without a rival in the United States" as a tragedian;[6] Mr. and Mrs. Darley, former favorites, are back; and there are others mentioned from time to time. The criticism is outspoken, but sympathetic. In the *Emerald* series the theatrical review is called "The Ordeal," and begins October 18, 1806, on which date "a Mr. and Mrs. Poe" are noted "as

[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, II, 7 (Nov. 5, 1803).
[5] *Boston Magazine*, I, 3 (Oct. 26, 1805).
[6] *Ibid.*; see also I, 88-89 (March 29, 1806).

new performers" in Morton's popular play "Speed the Plough." Their son Edgar was born in Boston in January, 1809; later in that year the Poes joined Dunlap's company in New York. But the *Emerald* was gone by that time.

In January, 1804, the conductors of the *Boston Weekly* suffered a serious loss by fire; among the property destroyed was two thousand dollars in currency which they were holding as agents for the South Hadley Lottery—receipts from tickets they had sold. But friends came to their aid, fellow printers were generous, and Colonel David Humphreys made them a gift of the copyright of the edition of his works which was just coming out. Gilbert and Dean thereupon continued the work for nearly two years longer, selling out in October, 1805, to Joshua Belcher and Samuel T. Armstrong. The latter became governor of Massachusetts in later years, after making a fortune in bookselling. Belcher and Armstrong reduced the title of the paper to "The Boston Magazine," though it was still a weekly, issued on Saturday evening for the Sunday reading of the more worldly Bostonians. After six months the name was changed again, the size was reduced from quarto to small octavo, the number of pages was increased from four to twelve, and the price was raised from two to three dollars. The *Emerald* was a continuation of the *Boston Magazine,* though it dropped all volume numbers for a time. It was introduced by the publishers as a continuation,[7] and it printed precisely the same character of material. In October, 1807, it was sold to Oliver C. Greenleaf, who ran it during its last year.

This old magazine is full of interest. Next in importance to its richness in theatrical comment is, perhaps, its attention to fiction. In the early volumes especially, epistolary novels, "fragments," and short stories abound. It is interesting, too, to find references to certain persons of importance who were not at that time notable for the things we remember them by today. We have pointed out the activities of the David Poes on the Boston stage; we may note also that "The only Manufactory in America, of Sheet Copper, is in this State. The proprietors are Col. Paul Revere and Son, of this town." In October of each

[7] *Ibid.*, I, 107 (April 26, 1806).

year the *Boston Weekly* recorded at length the "exhibition" of Mrs. Rowson's academy at Medford; there Susannah Rowson, forgetful of her actress past, was trying to teach young ladies to avoid the fate of Charlotte Temple, her heroine in the first popular American novel.

18

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MAGAZINE[1]

THE *American Baptist Magazine* was first of the church magazines to celebrate a hundredth birthday. It was begun in 1803 as a semiannual publication, to become after a few years a quarterly. Its founder, the Rev. Thomas Baldwin, was its editor for more than twenty years. It began life under the name of the *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine*, ministering to the immense interest of the times in missionary activity.

After fourteen years of gradual growth, in which it increased from one to four thousand circulation,[2] it began a new series with new numbering in 1817. It was now a bimonthly, selling for a dollar and a half for each biennial volume. The name was also changed at this time: "From an impression that the former title," wrote the editor, "though proper at first, might give the magazine too much of a local appearance, it has been determined to alter it to one more general, and appropriate to the whole denomination."[3]

Though the editor was preëminently a polemical author, one

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine*, 1803-16; (2) *The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer*, 1817-24; (3) *The American Baptist Magazine. Containing the Proceedings and Missionary Intelligence of the Board of Missions of the Baptist General Convention*, 1825-26; (4) *The American Baptist Magazine*, 1827-35; (5) *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, 1836-1909.
FIRST ISSUE: September, 1803. LAST ISSUE: December, 1909.
PERIODICITY: [First Series] I, September, 1803, May, September, 1804; May, September, 1805; January, May, September, 1806; February, May, September, 1807; January, 1808; II-IV, 1808-16, regular quarterly numbers in triennial volumes. New Series, I-IV (1817-24), bimonthly, biennial volumes; V-LXXXIX (1825-1909), monthly, annual volumes.
PUBLISHERS: Baptist Missionary Society of Massachusetts, 1803-26; Board of Managers of the Baptist General Convention, 1827-45; American Baptist Missionary Union, 1846-1909.
EDITORS: Thomas Baldwin, 1803-25.

[2] *American Baptist Magazine*, N.S. I, 5 (January, 1817). This circulation was doubled six months after the change. I, 120 (June, 1817). See also Preface to Vol. II, First Series.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 6 (January, 1817).

finds less of polemics in this magazine than of church records and proceedings. "For many years this was the only Baptist periodical work in America," wrote the author of a memorial sketch of Baldwin in 1826.[4] Besides the pages which marked it as distinctively an official organ, there was a variety of religious reading: memoirs, obituaries, news, reviews of sermons and other religious literature, accounts of revivals, and some poetry and selected miscellany. Especially prominent were the missionary articles, chiefly about missions in India. Adoniram Judson was the hero of the magazine. There was also something of home missions in the West.

After the death of Baldwin and the removal of the Board of Managers of the General Convention to Boston in 1826, that board took over the magazine and ran it nearly twenty years. The American Baptist Missionary Union then published it until it was united, at the beginning of 1910, with the *Baptist Home Mission Monthly* and *Good Work;* the resultant publication was called *Missions.*

A few words may be said about illustration in this magazine. The new series had a few rude woodcuts in its earliest numbers. In September, 1818, there was a stipple portrait of Judson by Freeman; thereafter there was an engraved frontispiece for each volume, usually a portrait, until 1836. Woodcuts reappeared in the seventies. There was a half-tone frontispiece in 1890, followed by an increasing amount of illustration of that kind. In its character of a missionary magazine, which it retained to the end, the *Baptist Magazine* printed many articles about foreign lands, all of which lent themselves especially well to illustration.

[4] *Ibid.,* VI, 41 (February, 1826).

19

THE MONTHLY ANTHOLOGY AND BOSTON REVIEW[1]

IN November, 1803, there appeared in Boston a little magazine called the *Monthly Anthology, or Magazine of Polite Literature,* edited, according to the title-page, by Slyvanus per Se. The Slyvanus who thus nonchalantly borrowed "per Se" the name made famous by the editor of the English *Gentleman's Magazine* was Phineas Adams, a Boston schoolmaster, and a graduate of Harvard. The editor borrowed more than his name from English periodicals, moreover, for no small part of the contents of his magazine came from overseas to be inserted with such original book reviews, sermons, and verse as came into Adams's hands. Six months of editorship proved enough for the founder, and friends of the infant magazine then prevailed upon the Rev. William Emerson, pastor of the First Church of Boston, and father of a child of eleven months named Ralph Waldo, to take upon himself the responsibility of keeping so excellent an

[1] TITLES: *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review. Containing Sketches and Reports of Philosophy, Religion, History, Arts and Manners.* (Numbers 1-16 had separate title-pages with the following titles: *Monthly Anthology, or Magazine of Polite Literature,* November, 1803 – April, 1804; *Monthly Anthology, or Massachusetts Magazine,* May – July, 1804; *Monthly Anthology, or Boston Review,* August, 1804 – February, 1805.)

FIRST ISSUE: November, 1803. LAST ISSUE: June, 1811.

PERIODICITY: Monthly. Octavo. I, November, 1803 – December, 1804 (fourteen numbers); II-V, 1805-08 (regular yearly volumes); VI-X, 1809 – June, 1811 (two volumes a year).

PUBLISHERS (all Boston): [David Phineas Adams] November, 1803 – April, 1804; Munroe & Francis, May, 1804 – 1807; Snelling & Simons, 1808; Hastings, Etheridge & Bliss, 1809; T. B. Wait & Company, 1810-11.

EDITORS: David Phineas Adams, 1803 – April, 1804; William Emerson, May, 1804 – October, 1805. The Anthology Club, whose name appears on title-pages of Vols. V-X as "A Society of Gentlemen," appointed editors—called "superintending committees" 1806-11—as follows: Samuel Cooper Thatcher, November, 1805 – May, 1806; William Smith Shaw, June, 1806 – October, 1807; W. S. Shaw and James Savage, November, 1807 – November, 1808, September, 1809 – June, 1811; W. S. Shaw, James Savage, and Alexander H. Everett, December, 1808 – August, 1809.

REFERENCE: *Anthology Society: Journal of the Proceedings of the Society Which Conducts the Monthly Anthology and Boston Review. Oct. 3, 1805, to July 2, 1811.* With an Introduction by M. A. DeWolfe Howe (Boston, 1910).

enterprise going. In the preface which he later wrote to Volume I, Emerson said:

> Although we have the feeling of a parent for the publication before us, yet it may be proper to declare to the world that it is not indebted to us for birth, nor was it born in our house. We knew neither its father nor its mother, nor hardly of its existence, until, naked, hungry, and helpless, it was brought and laid at our door. In proportion as it engaged our care it won our affection. We shall give to our charge expensive advantages, in order to make him extensively and permanently useful.

Emerson "induced two or three gentlemen to join with him in the care of the work," and under the new editorial régime the *Anthology* showed more originality than under that of Adams, and more authority. There was a series called "The Botanist," and a good deal of popular medicinal information, as well as other series under the self-explanatory titles "Biographia Americana" and "The Theologist." But the two series that proved valuable enough to continue through the whole file of the magazine were "Silva," a miscellanea consisting of brief extracts from many books; and "The Remarker," a typical "periodical essay" series. Then there were State Papers, and Necrology, and the omnipresent Meteorology of the early magazines; besides Marriages, Intelligence, and a Catalogue of New Publications in the United States. With all this very miscellaneous and not very literary material, there was a department of Original and Selected Poetry—chiefly selected—and some tales, also selected, including a translation of Barclay's *Argenis*.

The two or three gentlemen whom Emerson enlisted in aid of the *Anthology* proved to be the nucleus of a larger group which was organized October 3, 1805, to take over the care, financial and literary, of the magazine. This club, which was called the Anthology Society, met weekly to discuss the manuscripts offered, assign work, and act upon business matters.[2] "The club was regularly organized," wrote one of the members later,

[2] A similar organization was the Mirror Club, which passed on contributions to Henry Mackenzie's *Mirror* (Edinburgh, 1780). The same method was used with *Mirror's* successor, the *Lounger*.

and governed by certain rules; the number of resident members varied from seven or eight to fifteen or sixteen. It was one of the rules that every member should write for the work: the contributions were in some cases voluntary, in others were assigned by vote, which was the general practice in regard to reviews. . . . A few of the members, I believe, never wrote anything.[3]

The first president was the Rev. J. S. J. Gardiner, the versatile rector of Trinity Church of Boston—he who once preached a sermon against President Madison's Anglican policy from the text, "And they began to be much displeased with James." (Mark x:41). Emerson was vice-president. Among the other original members were the Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster, young, brilliant, a pioneer Unitarian; the Rev. Joseph Tuckerman, the philanthropist, and also a Unitarian minister; William Tudor, a business man with literary inclinations who was later to found the *North American Review;* and William Smith Shaw, another business man very industrious in *Anthology* affairs.[4] To these were later added such scholars and men of letters as the Rev. John T. Kirkland, soon to be called to the presidency of Harvard; George Ticknor, who was to become an authority on Spanish literature; and Alexander H. Everett, later to be a minister to Spain, and editor of the *North American.* Corresponding members were Daniel Webster, John Pickering, Andrews Norton, President Josiah Quincy, Chancellor James Kent, and Professor Benjamin Silliman. Among other contributors may be mentioned John Quincy Adams, Judges Parsons and Story, and Washington Allston.

Tudor, in his reminiscences of the Club, says that it "met once a week in the evening, and after deciding on the manuscripts that were offered, partook of a plain supper, and enjoyed the full pleasure of literary chat."[5] Nights more than ambrosial

[3] William Tudor, *Miscellanies* (New York, 1821), pp. 1-2.

[4] Other charter members were Thomas Gray, S. C. and Peter O. Thatcher, A. M. Walter, Dr. John C. Warren, Dr. James Jackson, William Welles. and E. T. Dana. Later comers not mentioned above: James Savage, Dr. Jacob Bigelow, Benjamin Welles, R. H. Gardiner, Robert Field, Dr. John Gorham, Sidney Willard, Rev. Joseph McKean, Winthrop Sargent, John Stickney, and Joseph Head. See *Journal,* Tudor's *Miscellanies,* and *Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Association,* II, 387.

[5] Tudor, *op. cit.,* p. 3.

these must sometimes have been, when good-fellowship was of greater importance than even the *Anthology* and its fortunes. Though the cloth was so prominent in the Club's activities, it does not seem to have subdued youthful spirits. "The Society sat down to supper," writes the secretary, "and much pleasant talk and good humor ensued."[6] And frequently one finds in the proceedings such entries as "Supper of widgeons and teal," "Supper of brants," and again one of the members furnished "some very good claret, without ice. *Tant pis.*" And these, Mr. Tudor, are your "plain suppers"! Sometimes the *Anthology* was quite forgotten. "We had a charming supper, pretty well attended, and uninterrupted by business."[7] And again: "At this meeting, no business except eating, drinking, and smoking was attended to."[8] But sometimes the suppers, which during at least a part of the Club's life were furnished by indulgent members, lacked in something, and once "Segars failing, we were compelled to adjoin [sic] much earlier, than we would have done."[9]

But it was really very seldom that business was neglected. Contributions were usually read at length, and alterations were frequently ordered. "The Secretary read a piece of poetry by some person unknown on the death of a young lady of this town. One line was bad. The Prest. tried 'to tinker it,' but could not succeed. It was however accepted."[10] Attendance was sometimes insufficient for business, and from time to time there is talk of abandoning the enterprise. In March, 1808, the faithful secretary writes: "Upon this report [a discouraging statement from the publishers] some conversation of a most desponding character ensued."[11] But some fifteen months later, "*Anthology* stock looks up very high."[12] Other public projects besides the magazine occupied the Club's thoughts also, and its greatest work was the founding of the Boston Athenæum.[13]

[6] *Anthology Society Journal*, p. 38 (Oct. 17, 1805).
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 159 (Nov. 1, 1808).
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 113 (May 7, 1807).
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 148 (June 21, 1808).
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 75 (May 22, 1806).
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 140 (March 24, 1808).
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 190 (June 13, 1809).
[13] See Josiah Quincy, *History of the Boston Athenæum* (Boston, 1851).

The *Anthology* under the Club's direction was not radically different from the numbers edited by Emerson. Reviews and essays took up perhaps a larger part of the room, and miscellaneous whatnots less. The "Silva" became the periodical-essay series, and "The Remarker" a department of editorial comment. There was great attention to classical literature, and Sidney Willard's essays on the translations of the classics were a feature. Coleridge and the new English romantic movement were condemned. The tone of the reviews was, on the whole, severe. The preface to the seventh volume defended this attitude as follows:

> We have been accused of depreciating our own country and everything indigenous. Owing to some glaring faults in our scheme of widespread superficial education, we are harassed with a class of authors more numerous here, in proportion, than in any other country—worthless weeds springing up prematurely, and their number is augmented by those who have mistaken virtuous patriotic sentiments for inspiration. These we have felt bound to contribute our efforts to eradicate.

One of the chief of such weeds, in the collective mind of the *Anthology,* was Noah Webster. There is much anent "Websterianism" in the magazine's pages: criticisms of the *Compendious Dictionary,* replies by Webster, and rejoinders. We learn from the Society's *Journal* that James Savage, one of the editorial committee, wrote the rejoinders, and they show him living up to his name. But the Society was in perfect agreement with him. "The conversation of the evening," runs the record of the meeting for Aug. 29, 1809, "was chiefly at the expense of Noah Webster, as long as the Secretary kept awake." [14]

There is also a sarcastic review of Barlow's *Columbiad,* and the controversy between the poet and Henry Gregoire, Bishop of Blois, in regard to the religious ideas of the epic is followed. Retrospective reviews of old American books, especially of certain ones dealing with New England history, appear with some regularity. In June, 1808, a reviewer may be noticed who doubts if the newly published *Embargo* could have been written

[14] *Anthology Society Journal,* p. 200.

by a boy of thirteen: a second edition of the poem contained documented evidence that it had been. The editors of the *Anthology's* successor, the *North American Review,* were to be equally skeptical of the authorship of another poem by the same hand—a poem called "Thanatopsis." Finally the letters of John Lowell and Alexander H. Everett from Europe must be mentioned.

A word should be added here as to the theological attitude of the *Anthology.* It was distinctly liberal. Congregational, Unitarian, and Episcopal clergymen were members of the Society; and though conservative in politics and criticism, in religion they were progressive much beyond the Boston of their day.

The last issue of the *Anthology* was the one for June, 1811, and the Society was dissolved on July 2 of that year. There had been many troubles with many publishers, and the financial affairs of the magazine were never prosperous. It had 440 subscribers in 1805.[15] Tudor put the matter thus:

> Whatever may have been the merit of the *Anthology,* its authors would have been sadly disappointed if they had looked for any other advantages to be derived from it than an occasional smile from the public, the amusement of their task, and the pleasure of their social meetings. The publication never gave enough to pay the moderate expense of their suppers, and through their whole career they wrote and paid for the pleasure of writing. Occasionally a promise was held out that the proceeds of the work would soon enable them to proceed without assessments, but the observance never came. The printers were changed several times, and whenever they paid anything it was an omen of ill luck to them.[16]

But President Quincy was right in calling their magazine "one of the most lasting and honourable monuments of the taste and literature of the period."[17] The same authority thought that the *Anthology* gave rise to "two independent currents of journalism—one religious but liberal, the other literary and critical."

[15] Henry Adams, *History of the United States* (Boston, 1890), IX, 210.
[16] Tudor, *op. cit.,* p. 4.
[17] Quincy, *op. cit.,* p. 3.

Representing the first was Andrews Norton's *General Repository and Review* and Noah Worcester's *Christian Disciple* (later the *Christian Examiner*), founded in 1812 and 1813 respectively; and representing the latter was the *North American Review*, started in 1815 by William Tudor, one of the Anthology Society. All three of these periodicals drew largely upon the group of contributors which the *Anthology* had initiated into the pleasures and benefits of magazine writing.

20

THE MONTHLY REGISTER AND REVIEW OF THE UNITED STATES[1]

A CURIOUS magazine was that founded in Charleston, South Carolina, by the erratic Stephen C. Carpenter in 1805, under the name of the *Monthly Register and Review*. Carpenter was an Englishman who, after long service in India, had gained some journalistic fame by brilliant work in reporting the parliamentary speeches at the trial of Warren Hastings. Coming to Charleston, he became editor of the *Courier* in that city, and the founder of the magazine mentioned. Late in 1806 he went to New York, where he edited the daily *People's Friend* and his magazine. Still later he ran the *Mirror of Taste*, a theatrical sheet, in Philadelphia.

The Charleston magazine was divided into two separately paged sections. One consisted of a "Retrospective History" of the American Revolution, and a "History of the Passing Times," while the other contained an essay series called "The Wanderer," a "moral tale" called "Men and Women" and published serially, reviews of American publications, poetry, and communications. Notable attention was given to French literature in the first volume. The twofold division, with separate paging, was abandoned in later volumes, but Carpenter's liking for sections and departments was noticeable to the last.

When Carpenter went to New York he took the magazine

[1] TITLES: *Monthly Review and Literary Miscellany of the United States.* (A separately paged section has title-page: *The Monthly Register, Magazine, and Review, of the United States.* Cover title: *The Monthly Register, and Review of the United States.* Caption: *Monthly Register and Review.*)

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1805. LAST ISSUE: December, 1807.

PERIODICITY: Irregular to November, 1806; monthly thereafter; I, twelve numbers January, 1805 – November, 1806; II, December, 1806 – May, 1807; III, June – November, 1807; IV, December, 1807, only.

PUBLISHERS: S. C. Carpenter, Charleston, 1805 – November, 1806; E. Sargeant, New York, December, 1806-1807.

EDITORS: S. C. Carpenter, 1805 – May, 1807; John Bristed, June – December, 1807.

with him, and employed John Bristed as associate editor. This is the "Oxonian Bristed" whom Halleck satirized in *Fanny* and Neal lambasted in *Blackwood's;*[2] he married a daughter of John Jacob Astor and was the father of "Carl Benson." He showed himself rather bellicose in his reviews; he was wordy, and not so sprightly as Carpenter, who, though amazingly addicted to "fine writing," was usually amusing. In June, 1807, Bristed succeeded Carpenter as editor; the magazine was suspended in December of that year.

[2] *Blackwood's,* XVI, 565 (November, 1824).

21

THE PANOPLIST [1]

THE appointment of Henry Ware to be Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College in 1805 caused a bitter theological dispute in New England, for it was earnest of an acceptance by that institution of the new doctrines of Unitarianism. One of the leading opponents of the revolutionary appointment was the Rev. Jedediah Morse, pastor of the Charlestown church, a member of the Harvard Board of Overseers, and author of a famous work on geography for use in schools. Out of the controversy which arose over the matter came the *Panoplist, or the Christian's Armory*, equipped in the Paulist panoply—the Christian's armor—and manned by "An Association of Friends to Evangelical Truth," at whose head was Dr. Morse.

The chief business of the new magazine was, of course, doctrinal propaganda, and essays and sermons on theological principles were the staple fare. Of a somewhat lighter sort were such articles as "Serious Thoughts Addressed to the Aged," more than one series of letters to the young divinity student, and Repentance (or some other virtue) illustrated in an *exemplum*. There were some reviews in nearly every number, and these were often militantly controversial. "Happy indeed should we have

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Panoplist*, June, 1805 – May, 1808 (half-title: *The Panoplist; or, The Christian's Armory*); (2) *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine*, June, 1808 – December, 1817; (3) *The Panoplist and Missionary Herald*, January, 1818 – December, 1820.

FIRST ISSUE: June, 1805. LAST ISSUE: December, 1820.

PERIODICITY: Monthly, except August – December, 1813, when semimonthly numbers were issued to make it possible to end volumes at ends of years. I-[VIII], annual volumes June-May, June, 1805 – May, 1813; IX, June – December, 1813; X-XVI, regular annual volumes 1814-20; New Series: I-V [IV-VIII] June, 1808 – May, 1813. Continued as *The Missionary Herald*, regular yearly volumes, continuing the numbering of the *Panoplist*.

PUBLISHERS (all Boston): E. Lincoln, printer, 1805-08; Farrand, Mallory & Company, 1808-11; Samuel T. Armstrong, 1811-20.

EDITORS: Jedediah Morse, 1805-10; Jeremiah Evarts, 1810-20.

been, had no necessity existed for the animadversions and censures, which, by a sacred sense of duty, we have been constrained to introduce, particularly into the department of Reviews," wrote the editor in one preface.[2]

Occasionally there were reviews of secular works; encyclopedias, dictionaries, and other reference books were noticed especially. The reviewing, as well as everything else in the *Panoplist,* was in the strain of utmost seriousness. About as near to a joke as this magazine ever came, perhaps, was in a review of the *Life of George Washington* by M. L. Weems, "formerly rector of Mt. Vernon parish," in which that worthy is commended for having

> collected a number of facts particularly relating to the childhood and youth of the American sage, and presented them to the public in such an interesting, and frequently comic dress, that it will require the most immoveable gravity of disposition to preserve a composure of muscles in reading this book.

The cherry tree episode and the other fairy tales are then presented in quotation.[3]

Biography played a large part in the *Panoplist,* nearly every number being introduced by a memoir, original or selected. There was also a modicum of religious poetry; and, as if to offset that, a growing amount of "religious intelligence"—that is, news of the churches. After the *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine* was merged in the *Panoplist* in 1808, large space was given missionary activity in the West and abroad. The editors apologized for this increasing emphasis, in the preface to the ninth volume; but it showed no signs of diminution, and, with the change of name which marked the end of the older series, the magazine became in 1821 the *Missionary Herald.*

Who composed the "Association of Friends to Evangelical Truth" which conducted the journal, we are nowhere informed. Certainly Jedediah Morse, Jeremiah Evarts, Leonard Woods, and Abiel Holmes were four of them. Woods, one of the ablest exponents of the older Calvinism, attacked Channing, Buck-

[2] *Panoplist,* p. iii of Preface to Vol. IV (1808-09).
[3] *Panoplist,* V, 525 (April, 1810).

minster, and the other Unitarians in the early volumes of the *Panoplist,* and later became a professor in the seminary at Andover. Indeed the establishment of Andover as a protest against the intrenchment of Unitarianism at Harvard is tied up with the whole *Panoplist* project. Holmes, conservative father of a more famous if less orthodox son, was pastor of the First Church at Cambridge, and an industrious historian.

Morse retired as editor in 1810, and was succeeded by Jeremiah Evarts, father of W. M. Evarts. Educated in the law, and with a great interest in missions, Evarts was an efficient editor. He later became secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and held that position for many years.

There is evidence that the *Panoplist* met with something like success in its limited field. Its proprietors in 1808 extend thanks for "the liberal patronage and support given this publication," though it rather spoils the effect on the next page by urging its subscribers to "settle arrearages."[4] The next year it claims "six to seven thousand subscribers";[5] that is after the merger with the *Missionary Magazine.* It was in form a large duodecimo of forty-eight pages.

A writer in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims* praised it some years later in the following terms:

> If any good is to be derived from the Theological Seminary at Andover; if true religion is to be promoted by the erection of new churches for orthodox assemblies at Boston; if the doctrines of the Reformation, as preached in these assemblies, are to be approved; if revivals of religion, as the orthodox understand the phrase, are to be desired; if the education of hundreds of ministers, and ultimately of thousands, under the fostering care of charitable institutions, is to bring down countless blessings on our land; if the sending of the gospel to the heathen, by Christians in America, is a good work . . . then must the *Panoplist* be allowed to have discharged an important service, as it promoted and defended all the measures, which led to these results, and was the organ of many original suggestions respecting them.[6]

[4] "Address" at end of Vol. III, p. iii-iv.
[5] Preface to Vol. IV, p. iii.
[6] *Spirit of the Pilgrims,* I, 3-4 (January, 1828).

The final disposition of the *Panoplist* has already been mentioned: it became the *Missionary Herald* in 1821, Evarts remaining as editor. Indeed the present *Missionary Herald,* issuing its hundred and twenty-fifth volume in this year of grace 1929, having retained the original numbering of the *Panoplist,* might be considered not merely the descendant, but in a sense the same magazine founded by Jedediah Morse in 1805.

A second *Panoplist, or the Christian's Armory,* professing the same purposes as the original periodical of that name, was conducted by an "Association of Gentlemen" in Boston during the years 1850 and 1851, but the more immediate successor of our *Panoplist* was the *Spirit of the Pilgrims,* of 1828-33.

22

THE AMERICAN MINERALOGICAL JOURNAL[1]

THOUGH very brief as to file, the *American Mineralogical Journal* is of special interest because it was one of the very first American specialized scientific periodicals, because it was a work of high scientific character, and because the interest in geology which it exemplified was of wide general significance.

Archibald Bruce, the editor, was described on the title-page as "M.D., Professor of Materia Medica and Mineralogy in the Medical Institution of the State of New-York and Queen's College (N. J.)." He had been graduated from Columbia, had received his M.D. from the University of Edinburgh, and had traveled widely, collecting mineralogical specimens in Europe. He was the discoverer of the mineral Brucite, which was named after him. He had a wide acquaintance among scientists both in America and Europe.

The subtitle of his journal describes its contents: "Being a collection of facts and observations tending to elucidate the mineralogy and geology of the United States of America, together with other information relating to mineralogy, geology, and chemistry, derived from scientific sources." The contents consist chiefly of brief and succinct reports of scientific observations in various parts of the United States; to these are added extracts from the *Transactions* of the American Philosophical Society, the *Philosophical Magazine,* of London, the *Journal de Physique,* of Paris, and other printed sources. The *Journal's* opening article is a description of specimens collected by Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill on a tour to Niagara. Other leading con-

[1] TITLE: *The American Mineralogical Journal.*
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1810. LAST ISSUE: January, 1814.
PERIODICITY: One volume, consisting of four numbers as follows: (1) January, 1810; (2) undated, but after Aug. 1, 1810; (3) undated, but after Oct. 24, 1811; (4) undated, but probably about January, 1814.
PUBLISHER: Collins and Company, New York.
EDITOR: Archibald Bruce.

tributors were Col. George Gibbs, Dr. W. Meade, John Griscom, Dr. Samuel Akerly, and Professors Benjamin Silliman and Benjamin S. Barton.

The publication of the *Journal* was irregular, a number of sixty-four pages being issued, apparently, whenever the editor had enough material which he considered publishable. Only four numbers were issued in the four years, or slightly more, of the *Journal's* life.

"Both in this country and in Europe," said the *American Journal of Science* in its opening number in 1818, the *American Mineralogical Journal* was "received in a very flattering manner." [2]

[2] *American Journal of Science*, I, 3 (July, 1818).

23

NILES' WEEKLY REGISTER[1]

A CHIEF reliance of the historiographer for the first half of the nineteenth century is *Niles' Weekly Register,* or, as it was called in its last dozen years, *Niles' National Register.* Its file is a repository of contemporary data, and includes, to quote the subheading, "political, historical, geographical, scientifical, statistical, economical, and biographical documents, essays and facts: together with notices of the arts and manufactures, and a record of the events of the time."

Hezekiah Niles, trained as a printer, and for some years editor of a Baltimore daily, was the founder and for twenty-five years the editor and publisher of the *Register.* "Indefatigable and precise in everything," wrote a contemporary observer, "he was capable of enlarged and comprehensive views."[2] A son, William Ogden Niles, was assistant to his father for nearly four years, 1827-30, and finally took over the business in 1836, moving it to Washington as a more convenient center for national news. But when the elder Niles died, in 1839, the *Register* was

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Weekly Register,* 1811 – August, 1814. (2) *Niles' Weekly Register,* September, 1814 – August, 1837. (3) *Niles' National Register,* September, 1837-1849.

FIRST ISSUE: September 7, 1811. LAST ISSUE: September 19, 1849.

PERIODICITY: Weekly. Semiannual volumes September – February, March – August [First Series] I-XII, 1811-17. New [Second] Series: I-XII (XIII-XXIV), 1817-23. Third Series: I-XII (XXV-XXXVI), 1823-29. Fourth Series: I-XIV (XXXVII-L), 1829-36. Fifth Series: I-XXIII (LI-LXXIII), 1836-48. (Suspended March – June, 1848). [Sixth Series] LXXIV, July 5, 1848 – Dec. 27, 1848; LXXV, Jan. 3, 1849 – June 27, 1849; LXXVI, incomplete, Sept. 5, 12, 19, 1849. (Suspended July – August, 1849.) (Supplements to I, V, VII, VIII, XV, XVI, XXIII, XXXVIII, and XLIII.)

EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS: Hezekiah Niles, Baltimore, 1811 – August, 1836; William Ogden Niles, Washington, September, 1836 – October, 1839; Jeremiah Hughes, Baltimore, October, 1839 – February, 1848; George Beatty, Philadelphia, July, 1848-1849.

GENERAL *Index to the First Twelve Volumes,* 1811-17 (Baltimore, 1818). First four series indexed in *Poole.*

[2] John Neal, *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life* (Boston, 1869), p. 211.

sold to Jeremiah Hughes, who wisely brought it back to Baltimore, keeping the name of the trustworthy founder in the title of the periodical during the eight and a half years he published it. The paper declined, however, appearing to be dead in March, 1848; after a period of suspended animation, George Beatty revived it in July. Then it ran for another year, was suspended for two months, managed to get out three last numbers in September, 1849, and then gave up the struggle.

The *Register* was not partisan, but it had some editorial expression in the early volumes. It disapproved the Boston faction which opposed the War of 1812, and it favored the protective tariff of Carey's American System. It seldom lost an opportunity to twist the British lion's tail. "Some have considered me," wrote the editor, "as unnecessarily hostile to *crowned heads* and the government of *Great Britain.*" [3] The *Register* even opposed the circulation of British books which "extol the government and resources of their country, and speak of their king himself, as great, intelligent, and munificent!" [4] But the most influential articles were doubtless certain "editorials" in which there was little expression of individual opinion, but a very skilful marshalling of facts—as the short piece in the issue for May 11, 1844, setting forth the crumbling of Van Buren's support, which is said to have put an end to that statesman's hopes for a nomination to succeed Tyler.[5]

Whatever the editor's opinions, however, the *Register* printed the documents and speeches on both sides. Its reputation was won at the outset by its reliable reports of fact in the events of the second war with England; and its honest record of politics, especially in Jacksonian times when partisanship was bitter and unbiased reports rare, gave it a standing which it retained for many years. So strong was the demand for back numbers on the part of libraries, private and public, that the first thirty-two volumes were reprinted. An index to the first twelve volumes was compiled by John Neal, the novelist and magazine writer. With characteristic boastfulness he thought himself "the only

[3] *Register*, XI, 1 (Aug. 31, 1816).
[4] *Register*, II, 159-60 (May 9, 1812).
[5] See G. P. Garrison, *Westward Extension* (New York, 1906), p. 129.

man living who could turn off such a job within a reasonable time and in a workmanlike fashion." [6] As long as the elder Niles published it, the *Register* was large octavo in size, sixteen pages to the number; but with the fifty-first volume it was enlarged to a quarto. The price was five dollars a year.

"To the future Historian," wrote the editor toward the close of the *Register's* career, "we commit the record, and await the judgment with full confidence." [7]

[6] Neal, *op. cit.*, p. 212.
[7] *Register*, LXXIV, 1 (July 5, 1848).

24

THE AMERICAN REVIEW,[1] AND *THE AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW*[2]

THE first standard quarterly review in America was the *American Review of History and Politics*[3] founded by Robert Walsh in Philadelphia and edited by him through eight numbers in the years 1811 and 1812.

Robert Walsh, son of an Irish Catholic father and a Pennsylvania Quaker mother, was educated for the law; but handicapped as he was by a partial deafness, he turned to political writing. His specialty was French affairs. He had first attracted attention by a pamphlet on Napoleon's government which had been widely circulated and highly praised in England. "We must all learn to love the Americans if they send us many such pamphlets," said the *Edinburgh Review;* and added that its author "writes better and shows more good learning than most of our men of letters."[4] Thus launched on a career, Walsh edited Brown's *American Register* during its last year. He was a fed-

[1] TITLE: *The American Review of History and Politics, and General Repository of Literature and State Papers.*
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1811. LAST ISSUE: October, 1812.
PERIODICITY: Quarterly—January, March, July, October. Regular semiyearly volumes (I-IV). Octavo. Appendix of State Papers separately paged.
PUBLISHERS: Farrand and Nicholas, Philadelphia.
EDITOR: Robert Walsh.
INDEXED in *Poole,* Vol. I.

[2] TITLE: *The American Quarterly Review.*
FIRST ISSUE: March, 1827. LAST ISSUE: December, 1837.
PERIODICITY: Quarterly—March, June, September, December. Regular semiyearly volumes (I-XXII). Octavo.
PUBLISHERS (all Philadelphia): Carey & Lea, 1827-33; Key & Biddle, 1834; Lydia R. Bailey, 1835; Adam Waldie, 1836-37.
EDITOR: Robert Walsh.
INDEXED in *Poole,* Vol. I.

[3] See p. 129, *supra,* for a discussion of primacy in this field. The *Edinburgh Review* and the *Mercure de France* are mentioned in the prospectus as models.

[4] *Edinburgh Review,* XVI, 1 (July, 1809). But see a less favorable comment on Walsh's acquaintance with French affairs in the *Portico,* III, 352 (May, 1817).

eralist, and thought the country "hideously metamorphosed since the days of Washington." [5]

"The chief ends of this miscellany," says the *Review*, "are the propagation of sound political doctrines, and the direction and improvement of the literary taste of the American people." It was largely devoted to politics, however, and particularly to the difficulties with Napoleon. Comparatively little space was given to *belles-lettres*, and only one article to contemporaneous American literature.

Each number of the *Review* consisted of two hundred well printed pages and an appendix of state papers running to fifty or a hundred pages more. There were a few extracts from English and French periodicals, but most of the *Review* was written by the editor. Walsh's style was too wordy, and the balanced sentence was a fetich with him; but he shows some fire, and if he is not always dependable, he is often illuminating. His review was reprinted in England. The failure of support from other writers, and the war with England, are probable causes for its discontinuance. John Neal's comment on its finances is obviously unreliable,[6] though it was doubtless unprosperous.

Walsh continued his career as a publicist after the end of the *Review*, founding a second *American Register* and editing it during a brief career, 1817-18, founding a newspaper a few years later, and editing Littell's *Museum of Foreign Literature* in 1822 and 1823.

In 1827, while still occupied with his newspaper, the *National Gazette*, he began a new periodical which he called the *American Quarterly Review*. This is really a resuscitation of the former review, though different in certain particulars. Walsh's acquaintance with literary men in America was now wider; American literature had developed remarkably since the abandonment

[5] *Review*, IX, Prospectus, p. ix.

[6] In a footnote to the second of his articles on "American Writers" in *Blackwood's*, XVI, 422 (October, 1824), Neal says that Walsh's publishers paid him $1,500 a number, or $6,000 a year! And that in 1811-12! He also says that Walsh made use of many contributors, whom he did not pay. Neal's epithet "the Jupiter of the American Olympus" does not have reference to Walsh's work as editor of the *American Quarterly Review*, as Smyth (*Philadelphia Magazines*, p. 188) seems to think, since the epithet was applied more than two years before the *Quarterly* was begun.

of the venture of fifteen years before; and the fall of Napoleon had changed the whole posture of world politics.

Critics have united to damn the *American Quarterly Review* by one adjective: dull. The contemporaneous *New York Mirror,* which, as a "Ladies' Gazette of Literature," found disquisitions on politics and the sciences hateful, remarked suavely: "The most fastidious critic will not accuse Mr. Walsh of devoting the pages of his *trimartial* to anything in the shape of frivolity or bagatelle."[7] A more recent critic remarks, "For an extreme example of American heaviness, the reader has only to refer to this review, each number of which contained 250 uninviting pages in fine type."[8] But the type is quite as large as that used in magazines today; and as to the dullness complained of, while it is evident enough in all conscience, it is no more characteristic of the *Quarterly* than of the *North American Review* in those years, nor, indeed, of many a number of the prototype of both, the *Edinburgh.* Hundreds on hundreds of heavy tomes were yet to line the long shelves of the reviews before their contributors learned to write attractively of serious things: so it was to be in America at least.

If it were not for certain marked shortcomings, one would be tempted to claim for Walsh's *Quarterly* an importance quite equal to that of the *North American* for the corresponding years. One of the weaknesses referred to has to do with the reviewing of poetry, and another with a naïve nationalism.

The history of the *Quarterly's* reviewing of American poetry is curious. At first it was namby-pamby and too indulgent. Joseph Hopkinson, the author of "Hail Columbia," reviewing the crop of annuals for 1827, could say: "The taste which they have charmed by their delicacy, the hearts which they have touched by their sensibility, bear a testimony in their favour which cannot be impeached by criticism, nor shaken by disdain."[9] Follows a mass of bad verse from these "souvenirs." But this complaisance soon gives way to better reviewing, and that, in turn, after a few years of hardening of the critical heart, yields to an

[7] *Mirror,* VI, 79 (Sept. 13, 1838).
[8] W. B. Cairns, *On the Development of American Literature from 1815 to 1833* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, 1898), p. 39.
[9] *American Quarterly,* I, 287 (March, 1827).

ungrateful severity. A leading poetry reviewer among the *Quarterly's* contributors was Dr. James McHenry, an Irish-born poet and physician of Philadelphia who had edited a short-lived *American Monthly Magazine* in 1824; and it was he who wrote the article "American Lake Poetry" in the issue for March, 1832, in which Bryant and Willis were condemned for imitation of Wordsworth, and Bryant's admirers were shocked by hearing him called "commonplace." [10] This stirred up much criticism, drawing fire particularly from Professor Willard's *American Monthly Review* in Cambridge.[11] Two years later an article from the same pen complained, "There is scarcely anything more remarkable in the character of the last five or six years than their sterility in literary production." [12] The doctor can find "of the good none at all, of the bad little"; and this is a lustrum in which Poe's *Poems* of 1831 had appeared, and Bryant's *Poems* of 1832, as well as Whittier's *Legends of New England,* in poetry; and Irving's *Alhambra* and *Columbus,* Paulding's *Dutchman's Fireside* and *Westward Ho!* and the first volume of Bancroft's *History,* as well as some good and racy western books by Crockett and Hall and Pike, in prose. But there was also a poem by a dentist on diseases of the teeth, and Dr. McHenry spent some space on it. The next month the *Knickerbocker,* which had just come under the management of the twin brothers Clark—Lewis Gaylord and Willis Gaylord—contained an article about Dr. McHenry which pretty effectually finished him as a critic with an audience. The article was by Willis Gaylord Clark, himself a poet, and consisted largely of damaging examples of McHenry's work in both criticism and poetry. "While other departments of his [Walsh's] periodical are sustained with a very laudable degree of talent, that of poetical criticism has been usually consigned to a person so utterly unfit for the office as to excite surprise and derision," [13] concluded Clark. Irving's style

[10] Much worse criticism has appeared in American magazines than this article on Willis and Bryant. But better justice was done Bryant in a later review, in the number for December, 1836. Neal had been quite as severe on Bryant in *Blackwood's,* XVI, 311 (September, 1824).

[11] *American Monthly Review,* I, 427 (May, 1832). Sectional jealousies are responsible, at least in part, for this controversy.

[12] *American Quarterly,* XV, 448 (June, 1834).

[13] *Knickerbocker,* IV, 13 (July, 1834).

had been called awkward, Byron dull, and even Scott had been found wanting. Worst of all, excerpts from McHenry's own poems showed him a kind of mountebank. Lewis Gaylord Clark claimed later that this article and its echoes in the newspaper press drove "the little Doctor" out of the country.[14]

A second general fault of the *Quarterly* was an uncritical national pride which is a characteristic of the period, but which is found in no other American review in such quantities as here. "National pride is a commendable and manly feeling; it is the parent of virtue and greatness,"[15] thought Walsh, and this statement may be taken as the *Quarterly* keynote. A reviewer of Cooper perpetrates this piece of "tall talk": "From its childhood, the young Briareus with half his hundred arms embraced the spirit of industry, and with the other aided and upheld the spirit of refinement."[16] No other country, he contends, ever subdued nature and progressed in the arts at the same time. A review of Mrs. Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* gives opportunity for a similar flight.[17] Walsh had published in 1819 *An Appeal from the Judgements of Great Britain Respecting the United States,*[18] and was thus in some sort a specialist upon the important magazine topic of foreign criticism of America.

"The utmost latitude of opinion and discussion will be allowed," said the "Advertisement" to Volume XI; and there was much variety in the *Quarterly*. Geography and travel, astronomy, history, biography, law, education, European literatures (especially that of Germany), the classics, and the fine arts were among the subjects treated. There were some good articles on the West in connection with reviews of Flint and Hall.[19] American drama was occasionally discussed.[20] George Bancroft was

[14] *Knickerbocker,* LIII, 422-24 (April, 1859).
[15] *Quarterly,* IX, 399 (June, 1831).
[16] *Quarterly,* XVII, 410 (June, 1835).
[17] See p. 184, *supra.*
[18] The *Appeal,* according to an article in *Blackwood's* favorable to America, was written largely to controvert the slander that the American Congress had passed a resolution declaring Americans to be "the most intelligent people on earth." *Blackwood's,* XVI, 634 (December, 1824).
[19] See for example, XIII, 94-126 (March, 1833).
[20] See I, 331-57 (June, 1827); VIII, 134-61 (September, 1830); XII, 529 (December, 1832).

a contributor to the first number, and to several thereafter, writing on history and general literature. James Kirk Paulding wrote on varied subjects. Professor James Renwick of Columbia contributed reviews of scientific books, and Judge Joseph Hopkinson of legal works. The philologist Peter S. DuPonceau and the statesman Caleb Cushing were occasional contributors. Mrs. E. F. Ellet, later to become a popular novelist, wrote papers on European *belles-lettres*. John W. Williams, like Walsh a lawyer and an editor of the *National Gazette*, was an associate editor during the latter years of the *Quarterly*, writing many articles for it, and dying shortly before its final issue.[21]

The death of Williams may have had something to do with the death of the *Quarterly* in 1837, though finances were doubtless chiefly responsible. Walsh rounded out his career as a United States consul in Paris.

21 Articles are unsigned in the *Quarterly*, but a file which, at this writing, is on the shelves of the Cadmus Book Shop, New York, has authors' names written in for many articles, in a contemporary hand, and may reasonably be supposed to have belonged to one of the editors or someone in their councils. At any rate the notations have been relied upon here. Poole affords no help in the matter.

25

THE GENERAL REPOSITORY AND REVIEW[1]

ANDREWS NORTON was twenty-five years old and a tutor in Harvard College when he founded the *General Repository* in 1812. He designed this review chiefly to be a mouthpiece for the new liberal theology of Unitarianism. The first number opens with "A Defence of Liberal Christianity," in which a strong position against the Calvinistic system and the literal inspiration of the Bible is taken, and the liberals are defended against charges of infidelity and irreligion. When the Rev. Abiel Holmes attacked this article from the pulpit of First Church, Boston, Norton acknowledged the authorship of the article and published a vigorous rejoinder.[2]

Norton had been a member of the groups which wrote for the *Monthly Anthology* and the *Literary Miscellany*, and he enlisted help from his colleagues on these periodicals for the *General Repository*. He especially acknowledged help from the Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster, then pastor of the Brattle Street Church, at the end of the second volume. Besides members of the groups just referred to, Edward Everett, newly graduated from Harvard, and John Pickering, the philologist, are known to have been contributors.

The *Repository* was very much a Harvard periodical. In its first number it said, "From our vicinity to the university of Cambridge, we shall be able, we presume, to give intelligence particularly relating to this institution."[3] One of those items of

[1] TITLE: *The General Repository and Review.*
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1812. LAST ISSUE: October, 1813.
PERIODICITY: Quarterly. Four semiannual volumes: January-April, and July-October.
PUBLISHER: William Hilliard, Boston.
EDITORS: Andrews Norton, January, 1812 – April, 1813; "A Society of Gentlemen," July, October, 1813.
INDEXED in *Poole.*

[2] *General Repository,* III, 299 (April, 1813).

[3] *Ibid.,* I, 203 (January, 1812).

intelligence states that in the autumn of 1812 the enrollment at Harvard was 280, consisting of 69 Freshmen, 82 Sophomores, 69 Junior Sophisters, and 60 Senior Sophisters.[4]

There were four departments in the magazine: Theology, Literature, Review, and Intelligence (with a list of new publications). Nor was meteorology, omnipresent in the magazines of the time, neglected. Norton admits that theology was too prominent. Many of the reviews dealt with religious books, though the literary department was considerable. The *Repository*, among other judgments, disapproved of Moore[5] and praised Southey.[6] A part of the literature section was eclectic.

In the middle of its second year, the *Repository* was turned over to "A Society of Gentlemen," who issued the July number and, after a long interval, an October number; and with that publication ceased.

James G. Palfrey, writing in the *North American Review* twenty years later, credited the *General Repository* with being the forerunner of the *North American*.[7] It was a kind of connecting link between that review and the earlier *Monthly Anthology*.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, 391 (October, 1812).
[5] *Ibid.*, I, 102 (January, 1812).
[6] *Ibid.*, I, 443 (April, 1812).
[7] *North American Review*, XXXIX, 298 (October, 1834).

26

THE ANALECTIC MAGAZINE, AND *THE LITERARY GAZETTE*[1]

WHEN Moses Thomas, the Philadelphia bookseller and publisher, bought the monthly eclectic known as *Select Reviews*[2] in late 1812, he looked about him for an editor.

Washington Irving had made some literary reputation a few years before by his *Knickerbocker's History of New York,* and had established friendships not only in his home city but in Philadelphia and Washington; and it was Irving whom Thomas induced, by the offer of a salary of a hundred and twenty-five dollars a month (which Irving thought "handsome" pay[3]) to assume the editorship. "It is an amusing occupation," wrote the new editor to his brother, "without any mental responsibility of consequence. I felt very much the want of some such task in my idle hours; there is nothing so irksome as having nothing

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Analectic Magazine, Containing Selections from Foreign Reviews and Magazines of Such Articles as Are Most Valuable, Curious or Entertaining,* 1813-14. (First number has half-title *Select Reviews, New Series.*) (2) *The Analectic Magazine, Containing Selections from Foreign Reviews and Magazines, Together with Original Miscellaneous Compositions,* 1815. (3) *The Analectic Magazine, and Naval Chronicle,* 1816-20. (Title-pages of separate numbers in 1820 have the following subtitle: *Comprising Original Reviews, Biography, Analytical Abstracts of New Publications, Translations from French Journals, and Selections from the Most Esteemed French Publications.*) (4) *The Literary Gazette, or Journal of Criticism, Science, and the Arts. Being a Third Series of the Analectic Magazine,* 1821.

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1813. LAST ISSUE: December 29, 1821.

PERIODICITY: Monthly, 1813-20; weekly, 1821. [First Series] I-XIV, 1813-19 (regular semiannual volumes); New Series [XV-XVI] I-II, 1820 (regular semiannual volumes); Third Series [XVII] I, 1821 (one volume for the year).

PUBLISHERS: Moses Thomas, Philadelphia, 1813-19; James Maxwell, Philadelphia, 1820-21.

EDITORS: Washington Irving, 1813-15; Thomas Isaac Wharton, 1815-?

[2] *Select Reviews and Spirit of Foreign Magazines* was published in eight semiannual volumes, 1809-12. It was conducted until July, 1811, by "E. Bronson and Others," and was then purchased by J. F. Watson, who changed the title slightly to *Select Reviews of Literature, and Spirit of Foreign Magazines.* A. H. Smyth says in his *Philadelphia Magazines* (p. 179) that Samuel Ewing was the editor.

[3] Pierre Irving, *Life and Letters of Washington Irving* (New York, 1863), I, 291, 294.

to do."[4] *Select Reviews* was a monthly octavo of only seventy-two pages filled with matter which was chiefly British in origin.

In January, 1813, a new series was begun, and in the following month the name was changed to "The Analectic Magazine." In the *Analectic* there was slightly more original material. Irving's brother-in-law, J. K. Paulding, who had contributed some things to *Select Reviews,* continued to write for the *Analectic;* and Gulian C. Verplanck, though his pride in his ancestors had received some damaging blows in Irving's Knickerbocker history, was still a friend of the *Analectic's* editor, and made some contributions to the magazine. Irving himself furnished reviews of the works of Robert Treat Paine, the poems of Edward C. Holland of Charleston, Paulding's *Lay of the Scotch Fiddle,* and Byron's poems. His "Traits of Indian Character" and "Philip of Pokanoket," later included in the *Sketch Book,* also appeared here. There were some other original reviews, some "literary and scientific intelligence," and some biographies of naval heroes; the remainder of the magazine was occupied by the selections from the British periodicals.

These were the years of the second war with England, and Americans all thrilled to the achievements of the country's navy. Irving's greatest success during his two years with the *Analectic* was made in a series of naval biographies in which he celebrated the heroism of his friend Captain David Porter, and that of Commodore Perry, Captain Lawrence, and Lieutenant Burrows. Doubtless it was largely because of these evidences of interest in naval affairs that Irving was later offered the navy portfolio in the cabinet of President Van Buren.

By the end of 1814 Irving was sick of the *Analectic.* No literary man was ever worse suited to editorship than Washington Irving. The steady grind of work on a periodical was almost impossible for him. He learned his lesson on the *Analectic,* and when, a few years later, Walter Scott wrote him asking him to take the editorship of a magazine about to be published at Edinburgh and offering at least five hundred pounds a year to begin with, Irving was not tempted. "I am peculiarly unfitted for the post proposed," he wrote to Scott. "My whole course of life has

[4] *Ibid.,* 291.

WASHINGTON IRVING

Editor of the *Analectic Magazine* and co-editor of *Salmagundi*. From an engraving by Smillie after a sketch by Darley. The attitude of happy indolence is particularly characteristic.

been desultory, and I am unfitted for any periodically recurring task, or any stipulated labor of body and mind." [5]

Thomas Isaac Wharton, a Philadelphia lawyer, succeeded Irving in the editorship of the *Analectic*. Unlike his predecessor, Wharton was exceedingly industrious, being the author of numerous law digests. Paulding, whether associated in the editorship or not, continued to be one of the most important contributors.[6] After Irving's departure, the number of original contributions was increased. A history of the United States navy was begun in September, 1815, and it was followed by a department called "The Naval Chronicle." Indeed the *Analectic Magazine and Naval Chronicle* became virtually a service journal of the navy. Paulding probably owed his appointment as secretary of the navy to his connection with this work. By 1817 the magazine had lost most of its eclectic character.

It kept up its literary reviews [7] however, and the articles on travel and science which had formed some of the best of its subject matter under Irving still found a place. It published a number of valuable survey articles in which a general view was taken of the progress of American civilization: there were surveys of education in the United States, of the development of the fine arts, and so on. A new series in 1820 gave special attention to translations from French books and periodicals.

Illustration in the *Analectic* has been noticed in an earlier chapter.[8] It was one of the magazine's chief distinctions. Not only were there the usual engravings on copper, but some of the earliest magazine experiments in lithography and wood engraving appeared here. The plates were chiefly portraits, though some other subjects were used.

James Maxwell, a Philadelphia printer, bought the *Analectic* in 1819, and began a new series in 1820. The next year he made it a weekly and changed the name to "The Literary Gazette." A. H. Smyth, in his *Philadelphia Magazines*, is unkind enough to repeat the ancient joke on weeklies at the *Analectic's* expense:

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 441.

[6] See Irving's reference to Paulding's connection with the magazine, *ibid.*, I, 349.

[7] One of the most interesting reviews was that of the first number of the *Sketch Book*, by Verplanck in July, 1819 (XIV, 78-79).

[8] See p. 282.

"I observed," said a gentleman at the Athenæum, "that the form of the *Analectic Magazine* was changed on the first of this month." "No," replied his friend, it has been *weakly* for some time past." [9]

The new periodical—for a new venture it was, though it called itself "a third series of the *Analectic Magazine*"—was a sixteen-page quarto filled with book reviews, many of them containing long extracts. It was modeled on the London *Literary Gazette*. In its first number it proposed "to give an account of every new American book to which access can be had." [10] Toward the end of the year the number of "selected" reviews increased, and when the year closed the periodical was abandoned.

[9] Smyth, *op. cit.*, p. 180, footnote.
[10] *Literary Gazette*, I, 1 (Jan. 6, 1821).

27

CHRISTIAN DISCIPLE,[1] AND *CHRISTIAN EXAMINER*[2]

THE *Christian Examiner* is one of the most important of American religious reviews not alone because of its exposition of the Unitarian point of view in theology throughout more than half a century, but because of its distinctive work

[1] TITLES: *The Christian Disciple*, 1813-18; *The Christian Disciple and Theological Review*, 1819-23.

FIRST ISSUE: May, 1813. LAST ISSUE: November-December, 1823. Continued as *The Christian Examiner and Theological Review*.

PERIODICITY: Monthly, 1813-18; bimonthly, 1819-23. Vol. I, May – December, 1813; thereafter regular yearly volumes. Octavo. [First Series] I-VI, (1813-18); New Series [whole number VI-X] I-V. (1819-23.)

PUBLISHERS: Cummings and Hilliard, Boston, 1813-16; Wells and Lilly, Boston, 1816-23.

EDITORS: Noah Worcester, 1813-18; Henry Ware, Jr., 1819-23.

INDEXED in *Poole*.

[2] TITLES: *The Christian Examiner and Theological Review*, 1824-28; *The Christian Examiner and General Review*, 1829 – January, 1844; *The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany*, March, 1844 – May, 1857; *The Christian Examiner*, July, 1857 – November, 1869.

FIRST ISSUE: January-February, 1824. LAST ISSUE: November, 1869. Merged with *Old and New*.

PERIODICITY: Bimonthly. Voluming as follows: 1824-28, one volume yearly (I-V); 1829-43, two volumes yearly (VI-XXXV) (even-numbered volumes contain March, May, July; odd-numbered September, November, January. In IX, December, 1830, is substituted for January, 1831, which is omitted); 1844-69, two volumes yearly (XXXVI-LXXXVII) (even-numbered volumes contain January, March, May; odd-numbered July, September, November. To make the voluming regular, there were two January, 1844, numbers, one belonging to XXXV and one to XXXVI.)

SERIES: [First Series] I-V (1824-28); New [Second] Series (whole number VI-XVIII) I-XIII (1829 – July, 1835); Third Series (whole number XIX-XXXV) I-XVII (September, 1835 – January, 1844); Fourth Series (whole number XXXVI-LXII) I-XXVII (January, 1844 – May, 1857); Fifth Series (whole number LXIII-LXXIX) I-XVII (July, 1857 – 1865); New [Sixth] Series (whole number LXXX-LXXXVII) I-VIII (1866-69).

PUBLISHERS (all of Boston except the last named): Cummings, Hilliard Co., 1824-26; Bowles & Dearborn, 1827; Gray & Bowen, 1830-32; Chas. Bowen, 1833-37; James Munroe & Co., 1837-43; Wm. Crosby, 1844-57 (with H. P. Nichols 1848-57); Thomas B. Fox, 1857-63; Jos. H. Allen, 1863-69 (with Fox, then Alger, then Alger, Miller, and Bellows as partners); W. R. Alger, 1865-69; Jas. Miller and H. W. Bellows, New York, 1866-69.

EDITORS: John G. Palfrey, 1824-25; Francis Jenks, 1826-30; James Walker and F. W. P. Greenwood, 1831 – March, 1839; William Ware, May, 1839 – January, 1844; Alvan Lamson and Ezra S. Gannett, January, 1844 – May, 1849; George Putnam and G. E. Ellis, July, 1849 – May, 1857; F. H. Hedge and E. E. Hale,

in literary criticism, and its comment on social, philosophical, and educational problems. The *Examiner's* scope was broad; its literary and scholarly standards were high.

The *Christian Disciple* is really a part of the file of the *Examiner,* but a change of name and the adoption of a new numbering make them two periodicals bibliographically, with the result that the *Disciple* has been almost forgotten. It was started by a group of Unitarians—Channing, Lowell, Tuckerman, and Thatcher, joined later by the elder Francis Parkman. Its immediate purpose was to furnish a mouthpiece for Noah Worcester,[3] who had, a few years before, lost his pulpit at Thornton, New Hampshire, through advocacy of the Unitarian cause. It was a monthly and was written largely by its editor, expressing his philanthropic, gentle, and sincere personality, chiefly in behalf of two causes—Unitarianism and peace. His attention had been turned to the subject of international peace by the War of 1812; he was prominent in the foundation of the Massachusetts Peace Society in 1815; and by 1818 the advocacy of peace had so usurped his interest that he turned the *Disciple* over to Henry Ware, Jr., while he started the quarterly *Friend of Peace.* After six years of editorship, Ware resigned the *Disciple* to the versatile publicist and historian John Gorham Palfrey, who changed its name to the *Christian Examiner.* "The edition of the *Christian Disciple* being in some numbers nearly exhausted," runs the preface to the new series, "it has become convenient to adopt another title for our work."[4]. The stated purpose of the

July, 1857-61; Thomas B. Fox, 1862-64 (with Allen, 1863-64); Joseph Henry Allen, 1863-65; Henry W. Bellows, 1866-69.

INDEX . . . 1824-1869. By William Cushing, 1879. Also indexed in *Poole* and *Jones.*

REFERENCES: Sidney Willard, *Memories,* II, 281, quoted in Duykinck, *Cyclopedia of American Literature,* II, 538, and apparently used by Cushing in the historical preface to his *Index;* J. H. Allen's article "The Christian Examiner" in the *Unitarian Review,* XXVII, 363 (April, 1887).

[3] For Worcester, see W. E. Channing, *Works,* IV, 387, article, "The Philanthropist."

[4] It was common enough practice to begin a new series when the supply of back numbers was exhausted, but the adoption of a new title for that reason is unusual. One of the chief financial resources of the reviews was the sale of complete files, and when this was no longer possible a new series might be begun, with new numbering, so that at least an appearance of completeness might be given to the bound set of a given series, even though earlier volumes were lacking. Of course changes in policy or editorship afford other reasons for the many "series" of the reviews.

Disciple had been "the promotion of spiritual and moral improvement," and Palfrey does not wish to change either "the purpose or the nature of the subject matter provided." The latter had been various, but generally "upon topics interesting to religious minds," with some book reviews and religious news. Further, the editor hopes "often to be able to add some specimens of devotional poetry," and avows his purpose to defend Unitarian principles to the height of his ability.[5]

"Speaking the truth in love" was a motto carried over from the *Disciple*, and it may be said at the outset that during the half century of the *Disciple* and *Examiner*, under sixteen different editors, rancorous argument and sarcastic retort were little practised in this unorthodox journal: it was an editor of the *Examiner*, William R. Alger, who once sagely observed that men often "make up in wrath what they want in reason." Severity of stricture there was frequently enough, but dignity and courtesy were the rule. Joseph Henry Allen, another editor, has pointed out that the *Examiner* was not even very controversial during its earlier life. In eight years, he says, there were only "six articles that throw light on the theological issues of the times."[6] "In the years from 1828 to 1831 it was somewhat more vigorous for two reasons: the *Spirit of the Pilgrims* was founded in the first of those years to attack Unitarianism; and Lyman Beecher had come to town in 1826 and was occupied in giving the name to the Park Street Church that long stuck to it, that of "Brimstone Corner." These revivals of orthodoxy had to be met. In the same year in which Beecher began his Boston labors, Francis Jenks succeeded Palfrey in the management of the *Examiner*, bringing to the editorial chair some tendency to polemics.[7]

After five years' service,[8] Jenks was succeeded by James Walker and F. W. P. Greenwood. Walker was later president of

[5] *Examiner*, I. Preface.

[6] Allen, *An Historical Sketch of the Unitarian Movement* (American Church History Series; New York, 1894), p. 192.

[7] See his introductory "editorial address," which is chiefly theological, III, 1 (January, 1826).

[8] By a typographical error Jenks's farewell is dated Dec. 31, 1831, instead of 1830, but it was published in the December number, which is "the last," he says, "for which I shall be in any way responsible."

Harvard, and is only one of the many notables connected at the same time with the *Examiner* as editors and contributors and with Harvard as professors and officers. The *Examiner* had practically the same relation with Harvard that the *New Englander* had with Yale. Greenwood,[9] Walker's co-editor, was ill throughout much of his connection with the *Examiner*. In July, 1835, he withdrew "for the present," but he signed the joint farewell with Walker in 1839. This editorship was not a very prosperous one. In 1835 a new series was announced in these terms: "As the subscription list of the *Examiner* has, owing to several causes, considerably diminished during the last two or three years, the society of gentlemen under whose auspices it has been conducted . . . have determined that the next volume shall commence a new series in which they will study to introduce a greater variety of topics than hitherto, and to give in the same space a greater amount of religious and literary information."[10] This is a note one often finds in American reviews of these years; they continually resolve to be lighter and more varied, but they seldom quite succeed. The "several causes" of the decline are easy to guess. The financial stringency following the curtailment of loans by the National Bank in 1833 must have been one; the monotony of the *Examiner* itself, which is hinted at, was, of course, another; and doubtless the Boston revival of orthodoxy in the late twenties and early thirties had been disadvantageous to the Unitarian mouthpiece. As to "the society of gentlemen," its anonymity was sacred, but it must subsequently have been related to the Examiner Club, which was formed in 1839 to improve the level of book-reviewing in the magazine. Edward Everett Hale in 1870 wrote that Greenwood, Channing, Orville Dewey, Eliot, Phillips, Andrews Norton, and W. B. O. Peabody contributed the first of the reviews under this arrangement.[11] The club remained in existence long after the *Examiner* had perished.

William Ware was the next editor; he began his work with

[9] Greenwood had recently come to Boston from Baltimore, where he had been editor of the *Unitarian Miscellany* (1821-26), which Jared Sparks had founded and edited through its first three years.

[10] *Examiner*, XVIII, 404 (July, 1835).

[11] *Old and New*, I, 83 (January, 1870).

the number for June, 1839. Ware is the name most largely connected with the magazine. Henry Ware, whose appointment to the Hollis professorship at Harvard was the first great Unitarian victory, was himself a contributor to the *Examiner's* first volume; his son Henry had been editor of the *Disciple;* his son William now succeeds to the editorial chair of the *Examiner;* and we shall soon have to mention a grandson, Joseph Henry Allen, as an editor and proprietor in the magazine's later years. Dr. John Ware, another son, contributed several articles in the early thirties, and Edward Brooks Hall, a brother-in-law of Henry Ware, Jr., was one of the largest *Examiner* contributors. William Ware, the new editor, was a novelist, author of *Zenobia* (published serially in the *Knickerbocker*) and other works depicting scenes in the later Roman Empire, and he had been editor of the quarterly *Unitarian* (November, 1827 – February, 1828); but his five years' career as editor of the *Examiner* was not a particularly brilliant one.

When Alvan Lamson and Ezra S. Gannett came into the management, they expressed their purpose to introduce the greater variety which "seems to be demanded by present taste,"[12] but they were half-hearted in their effort to realize the promise thus renewed. They incorporated the *Monthly Miscellany*[13] with the *Examiner* when they took charge in January, 1844. They kept to their task for five years and a half—the average length of an *Examiner* editorship. We must remember that all these editors were men busied with other work—the pulpit, teaching, the writing of books—and editorial responsibility represented a sacrifice of their leisure, and probably of money also, since the editors appear to have been the owners until 1857. Lamson and Gannett, however, did much to raise the reputation of the *Examiner* for learning and ability.[14]

[12] *Examiner,* XXXVI, 3 (January, 1844).

[13] Gannett had founded the *Scriptural Interpreter* (1831-36), a monthly of which he had been editor except in the last year, when William Silsbee, G. E. Ellis, and Theodore Parker shared the editorship. It was "a little in advance of the Unitarianism of the time." (Weiss, *Parker,* I, 75). Gannett later (1839) started the *Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Literature.*

[14] See the *Harbinger,* III, 236 (Sept. 19, 1846), which adds to its other compliments the remark, "Although it is understood to be the organ of the more conservative portion of the Unitarian body, it betrays no tincture of the bitterness of partizan theology."

The next administration was that of George Putnam and G. E. Ellis. Theodore Parker, who had "a genius for depreciation," said Putnam was "an eloquent preacher but nothing more"; [15] certainly Ellis did most of the work on the *Examiner*.[16]

In 1857 Thomas B. Fox bought the journal, started a fifth series, and placed Frederick H. Hedge and Edward Everett Hale in charge. This marked a turning-point in the history of the magazine. Parker soon "recognized the more liberal character of the *Christian Examiner* under its new management . . . and was accustomed to say that it was the best religious periodical in America." [17] Joseph Henry Allen became an assistant editor. A few years later Hale wrote in a letter to his brother, "I enjoyed very much what I did in editing the *Examiner*," [18] but as a matter of fact the responsibility was chiefly Hedge's. Hedge "sought to make of it an independent journal of religion and letters—less than ever the organ of any one school of theological opinion," wrote a successor,[19] and in this purpose he seems to have been successful. The fact is that the coming of Hedge represented a triumph of more liberal ideas in New England Unitarianism, and the complete surrender of the *Examiner* to transcendentalism. There had been papers in the *Examiner* from time to time representing the transcendental point of view; President Walker had printed his address "The Philosophy of Man's Spiritual Nature in Regard to the Foundations of Faith" in 1834, and both this and Ripley's review of Martineau's *Rationale of Religious Enquiry*, in 1836, were strong presentations of transcendental theory. But the reviewer of Emerson's Divinity School address began by saying, "We must speak of it with reprobation," and then proceeded to do so; [20] and Professor Felton was no kinder to Emerson's first *Essays:* "He is an extravagant, erratic genius, setting all authority at

[15] John Weiss, *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker* (New York, 1864), I, 271; but see also *Unitarian Review*, IX, 562 (May, 1878); X, 204 (August, 1878); XI, 1 (January, 1879).

[16] *Ibid.*, IX, 562 (May, 1878).

[17] Weiss, *op. cit.*, footnote, I, 267.

[18] E. E. Hale, Jr., *Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale* (Boston, 1917), II, 108. Letter dated Dec. 4, 1869.

[19] Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

[20] *Examiner*, XXIV, 267 (November, 1838).

defiance, sometimes writing with the pen of an angel—if angels can write [one must be careful in a theological journal]—and sometimes propounding the most amazing nonsense." [21] Under later editors the *Examiner* was distinctly less friendly to transcendentalism than under Walker; but with Hedge, who belonged definitely to the group of New England transcendentalists, this was changed. Parker, whose theology had been criticised in 1845,[22] became a contributor, as Ripley was already, and even Emerson made a few contributions.

As the war came on, the *Examiner* felt a duty "to interpret or to influence the steps of that moral and political revolution going on under the surface of the struggle." [23] "The Sword in Ethics" (1861) was by a brilliant Unitarian clergyman and one of the best essayists of his time, who has shared the fate of other forgotten magazinists—D. A. Wasson. But the chief writer of war articles was Joseph Henry Allen, whose statement of the *Examiner's* war aims we have just quoted. His articles such as "Peace Policy" (1863) and "The Eighth of November" (1865) were constructive and strong.

At the beginning of the war Hedge resigned, and for a time Thomas B. Fox, the owner, edited the review himself. He was a trained journalist, having edited the *Christian Register* for three years, and later the Boston *Transcript*. In purchasing the *Examiner* he had put a $4,000 mortgage on it, and thereafter the mortgage stuck to it through thick and thin, as mortgages will, and was finally the chief cause of the journal's disappearance. Allen, who had been in charge of the literary department for some years, in 1863 bought a share of the property and became joint editor with Fox, who soon sold his share to the well known publicist and preacher, William R. Alger. Alger, however, took little if any part in the editorial work. Allen, as has been suggested, was an able writer, and an editor of distinction. He was "always on the lookout for men with novel points of view and fresh ways of putting things." [24] He was a classical scholar,

[21] *Examiner*, XXX, 254 (May, 1841).
[22] *Examiner*, XXXVIII, 251 (March, 1845).
[23] *Unitarian Review*, XXVII, 363 (April, 1887).
[24] *New World*, VII, 300 (June, 1898). Article, "Joseph Henry Allen" by John W. Chadwick.

and he is known to thousands of schoolboys through Allen and Greenough's Latin textbooks. He was later editor of the *Unitarian Review* during its last few years. His frank editorial pages were admirable; he was one of the best of the long line of *Examiner* editors.

Let us quote Allen's account of the removal of the *Examiner* to New York:

> In the general expansion of mind that followed the war, when the field of action so suddenly widened out before the Unitarian body, the *Examiner* was transferred from Boston to New York, and here, under Dr. Bellows' guidance, it aimed to do the work at once of a denominational organ and of an independent journal absolutely open and free to the independent criticism of the day. In this effort it lost the cordial support of one part without securing the full confidence of the other; and though sustained with fair success as a private enterprise, it was absorbed into the fresh and more popular magazine *Old and New* at the end of 1869.[25]

Henry W. Bellows came to the *Examiner* fresh from triumphs as head of the National Sanitary Commission during the war; he was a brilliant and versatile man; but his plan, as Allen later pointed out, was at fault. Besides, he spent much of the time of his incumbency in travel. When Hale was planning *Old and New,* Unitarian leaders who were furnishing the funds realized that the *Christian Examiner* must be taken care of, as the new periodical, if it was the success they hoped to make it, would crush the older one; so they arranged to take up its mortgage, and give its name to a department in the new magazine, letting the *Examiner,* as it were, play the part of *Old* in the new title. *Sic transit gloria.*

The *Christian Examiner* was never, unless at the last, under very able or very careful editorship. It was a neglected child of Unitarianism, given attention now and then between intervals of the more absorbing occupations of its managers. That it did in a measure succeed, that its files are full of value and its history long and honorable, is due to the fact that leading Unitarian clergymen of the day were men of ability and had many im-

[25] *Unitarian Review,* XXVII, 363 (April, 1887).

portant things to say. The *Examiner's* glory is in its roll of contributors rather than in its list of harried though able editors. In 1849 Orestes A. Brownson, who was willing to boast that he had been an *Examiner* contributor, wrote in his review: "The *Christian Examiner* is second to no periodical in the country; and it was in its pages that Channing, Norton, Ware, the Peabodys, Lamson, Walker, Frothingham, Dewey, Ripley and others first became generally known to the reading public and acquired their literary reputations." [26] Especially in book-reviewing the *Examiner* is notable. The *Nation* called its "Review of Current Literature" "good and honest and attractive." [27] To take but one illustration, it was in the *Examiner* that the best American review of *Sartor Resartus* appeared.[28] It was written by N. L. Frothingham: "It pleased me very much," wrote Carlyle to his brother.[29] But while the *Examiner* was distinctly literary in tone, *belles-lettres* and the criticism of them occupied a comparatively small proportion of its pages. Philosophy, history, biography, education, social and even political discussions, as well as theology, found place in it. Anything indeed that could be conceived as coming within the scope of a sober and scholarly review might occasionally be treated.

The intellectual currents of the times may be traced through the file of the *Examiner* with profit; it contains a record of high value. A contemporary critic claimed that the *Examiner* had by 1854 printed "a body of literature which in general excellence and variety has hardly been surpassed by any American periodical of the age." [30] If the comprehensive word literature be qualified by an explanation of the *Examiner's* special field, the statement may pass unchallenged, for an examination of the file today leaves an impression of ability and excellence.

[26] *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, N.S. III, 264 (April, 1849). Other extensive contributors were Charles Henry Brigham and C. C. Smith, who, with the editors, wrote many critical notices; James Freeman Clarke, one of the leading names associated with the *Examiner;* Thomas Hill, G. R. Noyes, Samuel Osgood, Francis Parkman, the historian, H. T. Tuckerman, H. J. Warner, and John Weiss.

[27] *Nation*, Dec. 7, 1865.

[28] *Examiner*, XXI, 74 (September, 1836).

[29] *New Letters of Thomas Carlyle* (London, 1904; edited by Alexander Carlyle), I, 65. Letter dated March 21, 1837.

[30] *Norton's Literary Gazette*, N.S. I, 628 (Dec. 15, 1854). Correspondence from Boston by N. M. See also the high commendation in the *New York Mirror*, VI, 383 (June 6, 1829).

28

THE PORTICO[1]

ONE of Baltimore's most interesting contributions to periodical literature is the *Portico,* a well conducted monthly in five semiannual volumes, 1816-18. It was founded in January, 1816, by Dr. Tobias Watkins, of Baltimore, and his Philadelphia brother-in-law, Stephen Simpson—called in the half-title "Two Men of Padua." Watkins and Simpson had both been soldiers in the recent war; the former had already been editor of one periodical—the short-lived Baltimore *Medical and Physical Recorder* of 1809,—and the latter was subsequently a newspaper editor in Philadelphia. Watkins was the head and front of the magazine; he was genial and expansive, generous to a fault, and talented.

The proprietors confessed at the end of the first volume that "it is wholly the production of the Editors, with the exception of a few pieces."[2] It is evident from an examination of the volume in question that Simpson wrote much of it, including a somewhat pessimistic serial "View of the Present State of Polite Learning," a serial life of Cowper (chiefly from Hayley), and many other articles in diverse fields; but there were also contributions of poetry, criticism, science, and miscellany signed by single initials which identify them more or less surely as coming from the pens of John Neal, John Pierpont, Paul Allen, and others. The newly organized Delphian Club, of which Watkins

[1] TITLE: *The Portico.* (Engraved title-page for 1816 volumes has subtitle: *A Repository of Science and Literature.*)
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1816. LAST ISSUE: April, May, and June, 1818.
PERIODICITY: Monthly, but July – December, 1817, is divided into three double issues, and January – June, 1818, into two triple or quarterly issues. Regular semiannual volumes, I-V.
PUBLISHERS (all Baltimore): Neale Wills and Company, 1816; E. J. Coale and Cushing and Jewett, 1817-18.
EDITORS: Tobias Watkins and Stephen Simpson, January, 1816 – June, 1817; Tobias Watkins, July, 1817 – June, 1818.

[2] *Portico,* Advertisement to Vol. I, pp. ii-iii.

was president, doubtless furnished "The Club Room," an early burlesque of women's clubs, as well as other pieces. In the apologia for the second volume the editors again complain of lack of help, but have taken heart from the accession of new correspondents.[3] Simpson appears to have retired from the editorship at the end of the third volume, but he continued to be a contributor.

The Delphian Club was organized in 1816 by William Sinclair, vice president of Baltimore College; two physicians, John D. Readel and James H. McCulloch; Horace H. Hayden, a dentist and a lecturer at the University of Maryland; and Watkins, Neal, and Pierpont.[4] The last named had come to Baltimore to engage in business a few years before, after abandoning the law in New England; in the year of the founding of the *Portico* and the Delphian Club, he left business for theology, going a year or two later to Cambridge to study, and soon becoming a leading Unitarian minister in Boston. He had won some recognition as a poet before he came to Baltimore; and he appears to have contributed both poetry and criticism to the *Portico,* though not a copious writer for its pages. With him as a business partner upon his advent in Baltimore came John Neal, the fiery man of letters from Maine. Neal appears to have been second only to Simpson in the amount of his contributions to the *Portico;* for it he wrote criticism, poetry, characters, and essays. Among later members of the Delphian Club were H. M. Brackenridge, a lawyer and author, son of that Hugh Henry Brackenridge who wrote *Modern Chivalry* and edited the *United States Magazine* in 1779; William Gwynn, editor of the Baltimore *Federal Gazette;* E. Denison, the poet; John H. B. Latrobe, famous lawyer, author, and reformer; and Paul Allen, poet, historian, and editor of a number of publications. Of these Allen contributed most extensively to the *Portico,* and Denison wrote a number of pieces under the names of "Pasquin" and "St. Denis le Cadet."

[3] *Portico,* Advertisement to Vol. II, p. iii.

[4] John Earle Uhler, *Literary Taste and Culture in Baltimore* (Johns Hopkins University dissertation, 1927), p. 151. Dr. Uhler has made use of the minutes of the Club in the files of the Maryland Historical Society.

AN EARLY AQUATINT

This picture is interesting not only as one of William Strickland's aquatints, but also because of the crudity of a drawing which ranges the soldiers in such regular rows and shows us officers exercising their mounts so gallantly. See page 209.

At the thirty-second weekly meeting of the Club, the following by-law was adopted:

> A sheet of paper shall be furnished by the member providing refreshments for the Club, on which each Delphian shall be bound in honor to write such of his own thoughts as he may consider fit to appear in the scientific, witty, historical, poetical, erudite, widely circulated, and no doubt still-more-widely-to-be-circulated *Portico* of the learned President, and that such thoughts shall be entitled: "Wise Sayings of a Knot of Queer Fellows." [5]

No such department, article, or serial appears in the magazine, but the spirit which prompted this resolution was doubtless responsible not only for the "Club Room" papers, but for "Delphian Amusements" and many another of the more entertaining features of a rather grave magazine.

Other contributors are more difficult to identify. Probably John P. Kennedy, of *Horseshoe Robinson* fame, is responsible for some articles signed "K." A number of poems by Mrs. Rebecca Smith, who had died in Philadelphia in 1802 and whose verse, chiefly elegiac, was much admired, were printed in the *Portico*. L. B. Alberti and Rembrandt Peale signed a few scientific articles.

Literary criticism has the primacy in the *Portico* file. Simpson, Neal, and others discussed Byron, Scott, Southey, Moore, Fielding, Cowper, and Cumberland at length. Poetry, fiction, and drama divide honors. American books are sometimes noticed, and there are articles on Russian and modern Greek literature, with some attention to French letters. Criticism, on the whole, is rather stern. Travel and biography occupy a considerable space, some of the travel serials being original. The poetry department is, after the first volume, wholly original, if that word may be used of verse so imitative in spirit and intention as most of that published in the *Portico*. There was also something of science, and in the last volume or two a good deal of mathematics. Politics were rigidly excluded, but some religious discussion came in now and then. Most of the wit and humor were supplied in the essay series, and the rather heavy

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

"Delphian Evenings." It had to be chaste humor, as witness the following rebuke to a correspondent:

> We have laughed till our sides ached at the epigrams of *ΔΡΙΜΓΥΣ* and we have no doubt that many of our readers would laugh at them, too; but licentiousness is still the same, however concealed from common eyes under the classick elegance of a dead language. We can never consent to admit into the pages of the *Portico* in any other language what may not be interpreted in our own, without raising a blush on the cheek of modesty.[6]

As to illustrations, the *Portico* made few attempts in that direction. It had two engraved title-pages in symbolic designs, and in October and December, 1816, it published aquatints of foreign scenes by Strickland and Kneass respectively. An original song, with words by Neal and music by C. Meineke, was issued with the number for June, 1817.

Neal, writing about himself some years later in *Blackwood's*, said that he killed the *Portico*[7]—"knocked it in the head" are his words—by an article on free agency. Unintentionally, be it understood. A note to the article in question, which is the last one in the last number, explains that the regular editor is away and a substitute is doing the best he can with the materials at hand: let readers place no blame on the editor if the article should offend. Neal was both substitute editor and author of the article in question; indeed, he was the author of most of the last number.[8] But it was a *coup de grâce* anyway. Watkins had been appointed assistant surgeon-general of the United States, and probably had little wish to continue the magazine.

[6] *Portico*, I, 351 (April, 1816).
[7] *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, XVII, 190 (February, 1825).
[8] John Neal, *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life* (Boston, 1869), p. 101.

29

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE AND CRITICAL REVIEW[1]

ALL the information that seems to be available about the founder of the *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review* is found in the dig which John Neal gives him in *Blackwood's:* H. Biglow, says the fire-eating Neal, is "one of those rolling stones that gather no moss, which are so common in America."[2]

The partner whom Biglow took in at the end of his first half-yearly volume is slightly better known. Orville Luther Holley was a Harvard graduate and a New York lawyer with a taste for periodical literature. After his experience with the *Critical Review* he edited the *Anti-Masonic Magazine,* and then, successively, several New York State newspapers.

Biglow started his magazine in May, 1817, in New York. Most of it was occupied with articles in the regular review style, though less heavy, on the whole, than most of their kind. There were also literary, philosophical and religious "intelligence," a summary of current events, a list of "proposed publications," reports of medical cases, and, during the first year, a theatrical review. Besides these, one finds some poetry and miscellany, the latter placed in a "Cabinet of Varieties." An especially notable department was the "Museum of Natural Sciences," edited by Professor C. S. Rafinesque, one of the *Review's* most valuable contributors. A survey of the progress of the natural sciences in the United States since the beginning of the century by Rafinesque began in the number for December, 1817. Other

[1] TITLE: *The American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review.*
FIRST ISSUE: May, 1817. LAST ISSUE: April, 1819.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. Four semiannual volumes; odd-numbered May – October, even-numbered November – April.
EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS (all of New York): H. Biglow, 1817; H. Biglow and Orville Luther Holley, 1817-18; Orville Luther Holley, 1818-19.

[2] *Blackwood's,* XVI, 42 (October, 1824).

prominent contributors were Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, James K. Paulding, and DeWitt Clinton.

This magazine was one of several in its period which promised well for a time, but which did not live to make a very decided impress upon the thinking of the people.

30

THE METHODIST REVIEW[1]

THE oldest of the existing religious reviews is that of the Methodist Episcopal church. It was started under the name of the *Methodist Magazine* with the year 1818, by order of the General Conference of the church, and was edited and published by the agents of the Book Concern in New York.

"The great design of this publication is to circulate religious knowledge," according to the initial "Address." To that end a considerable amount of such material was ranged under the several heads of Divinity, Biography, Scripture Illustrated, Attributes of God Manifested, Miscellany, Religious and Missionary Intelligence, Obituaries, and Poetry. It was not unsuitable for the poetry to follow the obituaries, for much of it was elegiac

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Methodist Magazine*, 1818-28; (2) *The Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review*, 1830-40; (3) *The Methodist Quarterly Review*, 1841-84; (4) *The Methodist Review*, 1885-current. (Subtitle 1825-28: *Designed as a Compend of Useful Knowledge and Religious and Missionary Intelligence.*)

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1818. Current.

PERIODICITY: Monthly, 1818-28; quarterly, 1830-84; bimonthly, 1885-current. Regular annual volumes. [First Series] 1818-28, I-XI (November and December, 1827 omitted); suspended through 1829; New [Second] Series: 1830-40, I-XI (XII-XXII); Third Series: 1841-48, I-VIII (XXIII-XXX); Fourth Series: 1849-84, I-XXXVI (XXXI-LXVI); Fifth Series: 1885-current, XXXVII-current (LXVII-current); 1836 title-page has misprint XVII for XVIII.

PUBLISHERS: The agents of the Methodist Book Concern, New York.

EDITORS: Joshua Soule and Thomas Mason, 1818-20; Nathan Bangs and Thomas Mason, 1821-24; Nathan Bangs and John Emory, 1825-28; John Emory and Beverly Waugh, 1830-31; Nathan Bangs, 1832-36; Samuel Luckey and G. Coles, 1837 – July, 1840; George Peck, October, 1840 – July, 1848; John McClintock, October, 1848 – July, 1856; D. D. Whedon, October, 1856 – April, 1884; Daniel Curry, July, 1884 – September, 1887; Daniel Wise, November, 1887 – July, 1888; James W. Mendenhall, September, 1888 – May, 1892; Arthur B. Sanford, July, 1892 – March, 1893; William V. Kelley, May, 1893 – June, 1920; George Elliott, August, 1920 – current.

PARTIALLY indexed in *Poole. Index 1818-81*, by Elijah H. Pilcher, New York, 1884. Not a part of file.

REFERENCES: (1) "Seventy-five Years of the Methodist Review" in *Methodist Review*, LXXVI, 513 (July, 1894), by James Mudge. (2) "The Methodist Review: The First Century" in *Methodist Review*, C, 850 (November, 1917), by John A. Faulkner. (3) "The Last Twenty-five Years of the Methodist Review" in *Methodist Review*, C, 884 (November, 1917), by James Mudge.

in character. Two promises were made: the magazine would shun "curious tales" and avoid heat of controversy. One of the purposes for which it was begun, however, was the defence of Arminianism against what the magazine characterized a few years later as "a virulence of invective . . . truly amazing."[2] One looks in vain for virulence of invective in the *Methodist Magazine,* however, though it could be severe enough at times. In general, it was modeled upon the *Arminian Magazine* of the English Methodists. Many extracts were made from that magazine and from others, but perhaps the outstanding element in the contents of the First Series was the succession of accounts of religious revivals in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Very handsome engravings were a feature of the first three series.

The First Series, wholly miscellaneous and largely "selected" as it was, did not satisfy the General Conference, and it was resolved to make the magazine more of a quarterly review beginning with 1830. The result was a Second Series, 1830-40, which was a compromise between the review and the magazine miscellany types of publication. Agents of the Book Concern rather than competent editors were in charge. Though Nathan Bangs and Samuel Luckey among the agents had been successful editors of the *Christian Advocate,* the review called for different qualities from those demanded by a religious newspaper; and the fact is that the first two series of the *Methodist Magazine* were ill edited. It was not until the General Conference provided a special editor for the *Magazine* in 1841, starting a new series under the name of the *Methodist Quarterly Review,* that it took its place among the best church publications. Under the editorship of John McClintock it won respect, and became self-supporting for the first time; but it was under Daniel D. Whedon, its editor from 1856 to 1884, that it achieved the highest point of general influence, perhaps, that it has ever reached. Whedon had a mind which was at the same time powerful and pliant. He wrote vigorously, and his interests were various. Public affairs, education, science, and general literature shared attention with theology and church polity. His articles against slavery from the first of his editorship were greatly

[2] *Methodist Magazine,* XII, 3 (January, 1830).

effective. He declared the *Review* to be the "anti-slavery organ of an anti-slavery church based upon an anti-slavery discipline," [3] and he proceeded to make it justify the designation he thus gave it. That his editorials against slavery and the articles of Abel Stevens in the same vein met with favor, the circulation records testified.[4] Throughout the war the *Methodist Review* was loyal to the Lincoln policies—something that was by no means true of all the reviews. Whedon's article on "The State of the Country" in 1861, like Hodge's with the same title published a few weeks earlier in the *Princeton Review,* was a strong utterance. The war over, Whedon immediately began work that looked toward reunion with the Methodist Church South—work that has not yet come to fruition.

Whedon's successor, Daniel Curry, was called by the *Independent* "the best review editor in the country." [5] His service, however, was brief, as was that of J. W. Mendenhall, who followed him, and who made the *Review* more aggressively controversial than it had been for many years. Mendenhall sharpened his pencil against the "higher critics"—term almost forgotten—but death stayed its point in 1892.

The long editorship of William Valentine Kelley was marked by especial emphasis upon the literary tone of the *Review.* Himself an accomplished essayist, he was appreciative of the literary talents of others. As in other religious reviews, there was sometimes an amateurish, slightly naïve quality in the literary criticism, but on the whole it was refreshing and enlightening. George Elliott is the present editor.

[3] *Methodist Quarterly Review,* XXXIX, 344 (April, 1857).
[4] *Ibid.,* XXXIX, 508 (July, 1857).
[5] Quoted in *Methodist Review,* LXXVI, 526 (July, 1894).

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SCIENCE[1]

COLONEL GEORGE GIBBS, an enthusiastic devotee of science and a collector of mineralogical specimens, first suggested to Professor Benjamin Silliman the project of establishing a general magazine of science at New Haven.[2] This was

[1] TITLES: (1) *The American Journal of Science and Arts, More Especially of Mineralogy, Geology and the Other Branches of Natural History, Including Also Agriculture and the Ornamental as Well as Useful Arts,* 1818-19; (2) *The American Journal of Science and Arts,* 1820-79; (3) *The American Journal of Science,* 1880-current.

FIRST ISSUE: July, 1818. Current.

PERIODICITY: Irregular 1818-20, three times a year 1821-27, quarterly 1828-45, bimonthly 1846-70, monthly 1871-current. [First Series]: I-L, 1818-45, as follows: I, four undated numbers issued July, 1818 – May, 1819; II, April, November, 1820; III-XIII, No. 1 for 1821 – No. 1 for 1828 (Three numbers a year were issued, months not given, but only two were bound in a volume. The year-date of the second number was placed on the title-page, so that every other year was credited with two volumes.); XIV-XXXVI, No. 2 for 1828 – No. 3 for 1839 (The magazine became a quarterly in 1828, with two volumes yearly. Even-numbered volumes have Nos. 2 and 3, odd-numbered have No. 4 of one year and No. 1 of the next.); XXXVII, Nos. 3 and 4 for 1839 (In order to make the volumes even with the years, two No. 3's were issued in 1839, one in XXXVI and one in XXXVII.); XXXVIII-XLIX, January, 1840 – October, 1845 (Two volumes yearly.); L, Index to First Series. Second Series [LI-C]: I-L, 1846-70. (Three bimonthly numbers in a volume; two volumes a year.) Third Series (CI-CL): I-L, 1871-95. (Six monthly numbers in a volume; two volumes a year.) Fourth Series (CLI-CC): I-L, 1896-1920. (Voluming same as Third Series.) Fifth Series (CCI-current): I-current, 1821-current. (Voluming same as Third Series.)

PUBLISHERS: J. Eastburn, New York, and Howe and Spalding, New Haven, I; A. H. Maltby and various associates, New Haven, XI-XXVIII; [The Editors], New Haven, II-X, XXIX-current.

EDITORS: Benjamin Silliman, July, 1818 – April, 1838; Benjamin Silliman and Benjamin Silliman, Jr., July, 1838 – December, 1845; Benjamin Silliman, Benjamin Silliman, Jr., and James Dwight Dana, January, 1846 – December, 1864; Benjamin Silliman, Jr., and James Dwight Dana, January, 1865 – December, 1874; Benjamin Silliman, Jr., James Dwight Dana, and Edward S. Dana, January, 1875 – February, 1885; James Dwight Dana and Edward S. Dana, March, 1885 – April, 1895; Edward S. Dana, May, 1895 – December, 1925; Edward S. Dana and Alan M. Bateman, 1926 – current.

INDEXES: Vols. I-XLIX in Vol. I; ten-year periods thereafter in each tenth subsequent volume. Also in *Poole, Jones' Index to Legal Periodicals II, Cumulative I-III, Engineering Index,* and *Contents-Subject Index.*

REFERENCES: *A Century of Science in America, with Special Reference to the American Journal of Science, 1818-1918,* by Edward S. Dana and others (New Haven, 1918). (See Chap. I, pp. 13-59.) Also George P. Fisher, *Life of Benjamin Silliman* (2 vols., New York, 1866).

[2] *American Journal of Science,* XXV, 215 (No. 1, 1834).

in 1817. Silliman was professor of chemistry and mineralogy at Yale and already one of the best known scientists in America.

The first number of the *American Journal of Science* appeared in July, 1818. The "Plan of the Work," as set forth in the first number, shows an extremely liberal conception of the field. "Natural History, in its three great departments of Mineralogy, Botany, and Zoölogy; Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, in their various branches: and Mathematics, pure and mixed" afford a broad basis. Then there are the applications of science to the arts in agriculture, manufacture, and domestic economy. "It is also within the design of this Journal to receive communications on Music, Sculpture, Engraving, Painting, and generally on the fine and liberal, as well as useful arts." Military and civil engineering, navigation, and meteorology are also named, with anatomy and physiology and—notice this—"such other branches of medicine as depend on scientific principles." [3] This promise of variety was fully carried out. Merely to list the chief articles would be to trace the progress of scientific research and invention throughout the many years of the *Journal's* history. True, there was comparatively little of the fine arts, but there was much of applied science in industry and transportation. This policy of variety has ever since been maintained by the *Journal,* though after the periodicals devoted to special fields became more numerous in the eighties there was a noticeable restriction.

At first Silliman enlisted the aid of publishers in New Haven and New York; but this arrangement did not last long, and the editor soon became the owner. Though he later had publishing partners for a few years, he and his descendants have borne the financial burden ever since. Three and a half years after the beginning, Silliman stated that the *Journal* had not paid for paper, printing, and engraving; [4] a few months later he was much encouraged, and declared that "A trial of four years has now demonstrated the point, that the American People will support this Journal." [5] From that time on, the *Journal* was so firmly

[3] *Ibid.*, I, v-vi.
[4] *Ibid.*, Preface to Vol. IV, dated Feb. 15, 1822.
[5] *Ibid.*, Preface to Vol. V, dated Sept. 25, 1822.

established that there was little thought at any time of abandoning it, though as a matter of fact its circulation was usually not much over five hundred, and it has never attained the thousand mark.[6] In its later years, when expansion might have been expected in an era more favorable to periodical literature, the multiplication of special scientific journals afforded a competition which held the circulation of this veteran magazine to its habitual low figure. It has never been subsidized by Yale College or by any society.

Most of the leading American scientists have contributed to the pages of the *Journal*. The first three associate editors were Wolcott Gibbs, Asa Gray, and Louis Agassiz. Addison E. Verrill contributed many papers on zoölogy over a long term of years. Two French savants, Griscom of Paris and Nickles of Nancy, contributed notes regularly to the first series. Eli Whitney's description of his cotton gin was a notable paper. From 1851 on names of several associate editors were printed in the *Journal*.[7]

One of the remarkable features of this periodical is the maintenance of its editorial tradition by one family of scientists. Before his death the founder had taken in as co-editors his son Benjamin, who was attaining distinction in chemistry, and his son-in-law, James Dwight Dana, a famous geologist. After the death of the elder Silliman in 1864, these two men continued the editorial task, taking Dana's son Edward S. into the partnership in 1875. When Benjamin Silliman, Jr., died in 1885, the two Danas continued the work until the death of the father in 1895; and since that time the son has occupied the editorial chair, assisted recently by Alan M. Bateman. "The Editor in entering upon the duty" of conducting the new journal, "regarded it as an affair for life," he told his readers in a later volume; [8] but even this far-sighted founder did not know that he was laying out work for his descendants in successive generations.

The *American Journal of Science* has not been a magazine of "popular science," and yet not a few of its papers have had more

[6] *Ibid.*, Preface to Vol. L, p. iii-iv (1847). See also *A Century of Science*, p. 57.
[7] A list of associate editors 1851-1918 is given in *A Century of Science*, pp. 53-54.
[8] *American Journal of Science*, Preface to Vol. L, p. iii (1847).

than a technical appeal. Sometimes they have been definitely literary. "It was objected sometimes," wrote the author of a sketch of the founder in 1867,

> that in his anxiety that everyone who had anything to add to the common stock of useful knowledge should be fairly heard he sometimes admitted accounts of supposed discoveries or facts which were hardly entitled to so honorable a place.[9]

Phrenology was an example of pseudo-science exploited in the *Journal*. But these are objections rather of the scientific purist. Of the high worth of the *Journal's* contributions to the development of scientific studies in America there can be no question.

This is not the place for an estimate of the scientific work of Benjamin Silliman; but it is appropriate to point out that he was a clear and effective writer of exposition, and that his natural enthusiasm for science did much to popularize geology and chemistry in America in the first half of the nineteenth century. There was a time when it was enough to prove a point in any popular American forum to quote Silliman, the lecturer, editor, and professor—or, what was much the same thing, to quote what was commonly called "Silliman's Journal." In the history of the development of American science "Silliman's Journal" has no small place.

[9] *Hours at Home,* V, 80 (May, 1867), article "Professor Benjamin Silliman" by Ray Palmer.

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THE ECLECTIC MAGAZINE[1]

And Its Progenitors

THE history of the *Eclectic Magazine* goes back to 1819, when Eliakim Littell and R. Norris Henry established the *Philadelphia Register*,[2] a weekly paper. The paper's name was changed to the *National Recorder* in July of that year, when it became a literary eclectic. In July, 1821, it suffered still another change of title, becoming the *Saturday Magazine*. In this phase of its history it was the medium for the introduction to the

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science and Art*, 1844-1898; (2) *The Eclectic Magazine and Monthly Edition of The Living Age*, 1899-1900; (3) *The Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature*, 1901 – June, 1907.

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1844. LAST ISSUE: June, 1907.

PERIODICITY: Monthly: three volumes yearly, 1844-64; two volumes yearly, 1865 – June, 1907. [First Series] [I]-LXIII, 1844-1864. New Series, I-LXVIII, 1865-1898 (whole number Vols. LXIV-CXXXI). Third Series, I-XIII, 1899-1905 (whole number Vols. CXXXII-CXLV). [Fourth Series] whole number CXLVI-CXLVIII, 1906 – June, 1907. The Third Series is called "New Series" on title-pages of its Vols. I and II, and "Fourth Series" on the title-pages of its Vols. XI and XII.

PUBLISHERS: Leavitt, Trow & Company, New York and Philadelphia, January, 1844 – August, 1846; W. H. Bidwell, New York, September, 1846 – December, 1868; E. R. Pelton, New York, January, 1869 – December, 1898; The Living Age Company, Boston, January, 1899 – February, 1905; Henry D. Noyes & Company, Boston, March, 1905 – August, 1905; Eclectic Magazine Printing and Publishing Company, New York, September, 1905 – June, 1907.

EDITORS: John Holmes Agnew, 1844-1846; Walter Hilliard Bidwell, 1846-1881; Editors unknown, 1881-1907.

INDEXES: *General Index to Vols. I-L* (1860), by W. H. Bidwell. *Q. P. Index to Vols. I-XCVI*, 1881. *Index to the Engravings in the Eclectic Magazine 1844-1884* (1884), by Henry T. Steele. Also indexed in *Poole, Poole Abridged, Annual Library Index* (1907), *A. L. A. Portrait Index, Readers' Guide, Cumulative Index, Jones' Index to Legal Periodicals.*

[2] TITLES: (1) *The Philadelphia Register, and National Recorder*, January – June, 1819; (2) *The National Recorder*, July, 1819 – June, 1821; (3) *The Saturday Magazine: Being in Great Part a Compilation from the British Reviews, Magazines, and Scientific Journals*, July, 1821 – June, 1822.

FIRST ISSUE: January 2, 1819. LAST ISSUE: June 29, 1822.

PERIODICITY: Weekly. Regular semiannual volumes. [First Series] I-V, Jan. 2, 1819 – June 30, 1821. New Series I-II [VI-VII], July 7, 1821 – June 29, 1822.

PUBLISHERS: Eliakim Littell and R. Norris Henry, Philadelphia.

EDITOR: Eliakim Littell.

American public of the *Essays of Elia* and *The Confessions of an English Opium Eater.* But each new year seemed to require a new title for the struggling periodical, and in July, 1822, it became the *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science,*[3] a monthly.

Success came with the *Museum.* After a brief editorship by Robert Walsh, Jr., who had gained some fame as editor of the *American Review,* the first regular quarterly review in the United States, Eliakim Littell and his brother Squier took over the whole management. They were able, by judicious selection from the English magazines and reviews, and by the use of engraved portraits in each number, to achieve popularity for their periodical. The plates, which came to be a prized feature of the magazine, began in 1827, but were not published regularly until 1830; they added much to the attractiveness of the periodical. For some time there was a series of *portraits chargées* in outline by Keenan. Before 1830 the magazine had turned somewhat more toward *belles-lettres,* and by the end of the file it was giving a large proportion of its space to serial fiction by Dickens, Reade, Bulwer, Thackeray, and others among the more popular of the contemporary English novelists.

In January, 1843, Littell purchased the *American Eclectic,*[4] a New York bimonthly, and combined it with the *Museum* under

[3] TITLES: (1) *The Museum of Foreign Literature and Science,* 1822-32; (2) *The Museum of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art,* 1833-42.

FIRST ISSUE: July, 1822. LAST ISSUE: December, 1842.

PERIODICITY: Monthly. [First Series] I-XXVIII, July, 1822 – June, 1836; regular semiannual volumes. New Series, I-XVII (XXIX-XLV), July, 1836 – December, 1842, as follows: XXIX, July, August, September, 1836; XXX, October, November, December, 1836; XXXI, 1837; XXXII-XLIV, 1838 – April, 1842, three volumes yearly; XLV, May, November, December, 1842. (March – September, 1837, in one number; June – November, 1842, ditto. XLIV-XLV paged together.)

PUBLISHERS: E. Littell, Philadelphia, 1822-28, 1830-31, 1835-36; E. Littell and Brother, 1829-30; E. Littell and T. Holden, 1833-34; E. Littell & Company, 1837-42.

EDITORS: Robert Walsh, Jr., July, 1822 – June, 1823; Eliakim Littell, July, 1823 – December, 1834, 1836-42; J. J. Smith, 1835.

INDEXED in *Poole, Jones' Index to Legal Periodicals, A. L. A. Portrait Index.*

[4] TITLE: *The American Eclectic, or Selections from the Periodical Literature of All Foreign Countries.*

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1841. LAST ISSUE: May, 1842.

PERIODICITY: Bimonthly. I, January, March, May, 1841; II, July, September, November, 1841; III, January, March, May, 1842.

PUBLISHERS AND EDITORS: Absalom Peters and Selah B. Treat, 1841; Absalom Peters and John Holmes Agnew, 1842.

INDEXED in *Poole.*

the name of the *Eclectic Museum.*[5] From a Philadelphia magazine with a New York publication office, it changed to a New York magazine with Philadelphia connections. It was distinguished by Sartain's brilliant and sombre mezzotint portraits with rouletting. John Holmes Agnew became editor. He was a Presbyterian clergyman and had been associated with the Rev. Absalom Peters in the editorship of the *American Eclectic* when Littell took it over; he and Peters also owned and edited the *American Biblical Repository,* of Andover, which Agnew continued to conduct.

Littell sold the *Eclectic Museum* in January, 1844, to Leavitt, Trow and Company, and went to Boston to start the weekly *Living Age* a few months later. The new owners changed the name of their periodical to the *Eclectic Magazine,* and so it was to remain for sixty years. After two years and a half Agnew resigned his editorship of the *Eclectic* (as also that of the *Repository*) into the hands of Walter H. Bidwell. Bidwell was another journalistic clergyman, who, at the time he undertook the *Eclectic* and the *Repository,* was already proprietor of the *American National Preacher,* and of the New York *Evangelist,* a religious newspaper. He had left the ministry because of a loss of voice; evidently his energy was unimpaired. He edited the *Eclectic* until his death in 1881, though he had many years before sold the property to E. R. Pelton.

Whom Pelton then employed to do the task of scissoring foreign periodicals was not revealed, but there was no change in policy or tone on Bidwell's death. At the end of the year 1898, Pelton sold the magazine to its weekly rival, the *Living Age,* of Boston; it was not, however, discontinued or absorbed, but was handled as a monthly in conjunction with the weekly *Living Age.* For the first two years of this association it bore the sub-

[5] TITLE: *The Eclectic Museum of Foreign Literature, Science and Art. United Series.* (Caption through first volume: *American Eclectic and Museum of Literature, Science and Art.*)

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1843. LAST ISSUE: January, 1844.

PERIODICITY: Monthly. I-III, four numbers to the volume, 1843; IV, No. 1, January, 1844.

PUBLISHER: E. Littell, New York.

EDITORS: John Holmes Agnew, 1843; Eliakim Littell, 1844.

INDEXED in *Poole.*

title *Monthly Edition of the Living Age.* The union of the two periodicals was not a success, however, and in 1905 they parted company, the *Eclectic* returning, later in that year, to New York, where it survived less than two years.

It is a vast amount of periodical literature that is stored in the file of the *Eclectic Magazine.* There are over a hundred thousand closely-printed pages—forty million words, by rough estimate. Reprinting English works chiefly, it covers the whole of the Victorian period: its span almost corresponds with Victoria's reign. Two late departures from its plan of printing "the cream of foreign periodical literature" may be noted. In the years 1899 through 1901 eight-page monthly supplements presented brief extracts from new books; and in the magazine's short last series the policy of printing original articles and fiction was experimented with. Though the sin of "literary toadyism," for which the *Round Table* once reproached the *Eclectic,*[6] is almost inseparable from such enterprises, it may be said that, on the whole, choices were judiciously made.

The one fine original feature of the magazine was the engraving. John Sartain made about 225 portraits for the *Eclectic*—one for each number from 1844 to 1862. They were chiefly mezzotints. George E. Perine and J. J. Cade were later engravers; Perine made an interesting series of French writers in 1870. After 1881 (which was the year of Bidwell's death) the magazine carried only two plates a year, using them for frontispieces.

[6] *Round Table,* II, 51 (July 9, 1864).

33

THE CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR[1]

THE *Christian Spectator,* later called the *Quarterly Christian Spectator,* was "conducted by an Association of Gentlemen" at New Haven through twenty annual volumes, 1819-38. It was an orthodox journal of the New England Theology. It contained theological articles, reviews, "journals," obituaries, and religious news. There were some few literary reviews in the earlier series; when the *Spectator* became a quarterly in 1829 there were slightly more of them. After the change to a quarterly, however, the articles were heavier. The *Spectator* favored colonization as opposed to abolition in the treatment of the slavery question. There is a large amount of material respecting the missionary activity of the Presbyterian and Congregational churches in the West.

The contributors were obtained among the most prominent clerical writers in New England.

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Christian Spectator,* 1819-28; (2) *The Quarterly Christian Spectator,* 1829-38.

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1819. LAST ISSUE: November, 1838.

PERIODICITY: Monthly, in annual volumes, 1819-28; quarterly, in annual volumes, 1829-38. [First Series] I-VIII, 1819-26; New [2d] Series, [IX-X] I-II, 1827-28; [Third, or Quarterly, Series] [XI-XX] I-X, 1829-38. (The numbers are dated March, June, September, and December until the last volume, which runs February, May, August, November.

PUBLISHERS (all New Haven): Howe and Spalding, 1819-20; S. Converse, 1821-25; Hezekiah Howe, 1826-27, 1838; Durrie, Peck, and Company, 1828; A. H. Maltby, 1829-31; Stephen Cooke, 1832-37.

EDITORS: "An Association of Gentlemen."

INDEXED in *Poole.* (Poole calls the third series "The Christian Quarterly Spectator.")

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THE WESTERN REVIEW[1]

WILLIAM GIBBES HUNT, a journalist of scholarly attainments who had been educated in New England and had then emigrated to Kentucky and become editor of a Federal weekly called the *Western Monitor* at Lexington,[2] founded in August, 1819, a monthly whose mixed character was well described by its title, the *Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine.* Horace Holley had come to the presidency of Transylvania University at Lexington only the year before, and had begun that very respectable era of pioneer culture which was to center about the institution over which he presided. Holley himself and some of the leading scholars whom he brought to Transylvania became contributors to Hunt's *Review;* and these men, with some more popular and humble writers, chiefly anonymous, made that publication, short though its career was, one of the most interesting of the group of early western periodicals.

President Holley, whose articles were signed "T" and "U," and Constantine S. Rafinesque, professor of botany and natural history, were the two most important contributors from the university. Holley furnished articles of many kinds, including verse. Rafinesque wrote series on the botany of Kentucky, the fishes of the Ohio River, and so on; and he too contributed some verse, including a poem in French to which (owing to the inadequate printers' equipment in Lexington) the reader was told that he "must supply the accents." Poems in Latin and

[1] TITLE: *The Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine, A Monthly Publication, Devoted to Literature and Science.*
FIRST ISSUE: August, 1819. LAST ISSUE: July, 1821.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. Four semiannual octavo volumes, August – January and February – July.
PUBLISHER AND EDITOR: William Gibbes Hunt, Lexington, Kentucky.
INDEXED in *Poole.*
REFERENCES: W. H. Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley* (Cincinnati, 1891), pp. 62-66; R. L. Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (New York, 1925), I, 165-68, etc.

[2] Venable, *op. cit.,* pp. 39-40.

Italian were also published, as well as translations from the German. Rafinesque was not the only contributor on scientific subjects; John D. Clifford supplied an interesting series on Indian antiquities which was highly regarded by contemporaries.

Politics received some attention. Slavery was regretted, but slave owners were defended. The *Review's* initial article was a long disquisition on the life of General Jackson. Literary criticism was more prominent than politics, Scott's novels being reviewed enthusiastically, promptly, and at length, and reviews of Byron adding to the evidence of interest in contemporary British letters. Among American writers, Irving was praised for his *Sketch Book,* which had just appeared; Halleck was rebuked for the levity of *Fanny;* and Trumbull was reviewed at length on the occasion of the publication of his *Works.* The criticism was often pedantic, and sometimes heavy; but it was not all bad.

Besides the poetry in foreign languages, there was also a regular supply of it in English; some was "selected," but most was contributed by the *Review's* writers—George Beck, President Holley, and many poetasters who patterned after classic forms.

Perhaps the most interesting of the *Review's* offerings, however, was a series of stories of Indian fighting, often contributed by actual participants, and drawn from many sources by the enterprising editor. These "Heroic and Sanguinary Conflicts with the Indians" are sometimes racy and autochthonous even when couched in stilted phraseology.

In 1820 the *Review* suffered several misfortunes. Clifford, Beck, and the Rev. Benjamin Birge, all faithful contributors, died. Rafinesque became ambitious to have a magazine of his own, and actually published one number of the *Western Minerva* in January, 1821.[3] Hunt, disheartened by the lack of "patronage at home,"[4] gave up the magazine with the number for July, 1821. Apparently he began immediately thereafter the publication of a venture with a different appeal—the *Masonic Miscellany and Ladies' Literary Magazine* (1821-23).

[3] Most of the edition is said to have been destroyed by the printer because payment had not been forthcoming. Rafinesque later published in Philadelphia eight numbers of a quarterly called the *Atlantic Journal* (1832-33, dated spring, summer, autumn, and winter for each year, with two "extras"). It was devoted to scientific information. See T. J. Fitzpatrick, *Rafinesque* (Des Moines, 1911), pp. 160-77.

[4] *Western Review,* IV, 383 (July, 1821).

35

THE LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC REPOSITORY[1]

THE *Literary Gazette,* reviewing the third number of the *Literary and Scientific Repository,* remarks that "it bids fair to rival the *North American.*"[2] It never made more than a "fair bid" for such a position, however; and after eight quarterly numbers publishers and editor gave it up as unprofitable.

The editor was Charles K. Gardner, at that time adjutant general of the northern division of the army; he had distinguished himself in the War of 1812-14, and was later to occupy government office under Jackson and other presidents. His journal began by using much material from the English reviews. Seven-eighths of the first number was eclectic, but by the time the third volume was reached a corps of contributors had been organized, and half the material was original.

The brief life of the *Repository* fell within the period of the greatest virulence in the paper war with England, and General Gardner lent his pages freely to that controversy. In his second number the *Edinburgh's* review of Walsh's *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain Respecting the United States* was reprinted, occupying thirty-four pages; it was followed by an original rejoinder to the extent of forty-six pages. Biography, science, economics, comments on books old and new, and some little poetry found place in the successive numbers. The most distinguished literary contribution published in the *Repository* was Fitz-Greene Halleck's little elegy, matchless for its simple expression of manly grief, on the death of Joseph Rodman

[1] TITLE: *The Literary and Scientific Repository, and Critical Review.*
FIRST ISSUE: June, 1820. LAST ISSUE: May, 1822.
PERIODICITY: Quarterly. I, June, October, 1820; II, January, April, 1821; III, July, October, 1821; IV, January, May, 1821. (The first number, though dated June, 1820, in the number itself, is called July on the title-page for Vol. I.)
PUBLISHER: Wiley and Halsted, New York.
EDITOR: Charles K. Gardner.

[2] *Literary Gazette,* I, 113 (Feb. 24, 1821).

Drake; this was printed in the number for January, 1821, without the author's name. No *Repository* articles were signed.

A steel engraving with each issue added attractiveness to a quarterly which seems to have deserved a longer life.

36

THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE[1]

THE *Presbyterian Magazine* was founded January, 1821, by William Neill, a leading Presbyterian clergyman of Philadelphia. Twenty-four numbers were published in two volumes, 1821-22. Several of the Philadelphia clergy then took over the work, renaming it the *Christian Advocate,* and beginning a new serial numbering for it. The biographer of the Rev. Ashbel Green continues the story: "After the experiment of a year, in which the responsibility of the work was divided among a number of his clerical brethren, Dr. Green became sole proprietor as well as editor, and continued so."[2]

Green had been president of Princeton, and had just resigned that office, at sixty-one years of age, when the *Christian Advocate* was begun. He made his magazine a power in his church, though it never exceeded twelve hundred in circulation.[3] With the founding of the *Presbyterian* by Neill in 1831, and Green's growing opposition to certain church policies, the *Christian Advocate* lost some of its subscribers; and it continued to decline until its suspension in 1834.

"It is believed to be questionable," wrote the editor in his last number, "whether any monthly miscellany of forty-eight octavo pages has been continued for twelve successive years, in this or any other country, with so little assistance to the editor, as that which has been received by the present writer."[4] Biography, essays, some literary reviews, and intelligence secular and otherwise are prominent in the file. A considerable amount, espe-

[1] TITLE: *The Christian Advocate.*
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1823. LAST ISSUE: December, 1834.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. Twelve regular yearly volumes, 1823-34.
PUBLISHERS: E. Littell, Philadelphia, 1823; A. Finley, Philadelphia, 1823-34.
EDITOR: Ashbel Green.
[2] Joseph H. Jones, *The Life of Ashbel Green* (New York, 1849), p. 482.
[3] *Christian Advocate,* Preface to Vol. VII.
[4] *Ibid.,* XII, 522 (December, 1834).

cially in early volumes, is taken from other publications. In the introduction to the first volume it was said that the *Presbyterian Magazine* and Volume I of the *Advocate* were nine-tenths nonsectarian. That statement was somewhat exaggerated; certainly the file as a whole is very definitely Presbyterian. Green was strongly opposed to the union with the Congregational churches in the West, as well as to certain abuses in revivalism; and one of the reasons for the suspension of his magazine was his lack of sympathy with the church in its attitude toward the first of these matters.[5] He had been old and ill when he began his work with the *Advocate*, he tells us in his valedictory, and he had not expected to continue it as long as he did.[6]

In 1830-31 the *Advocate* carried departments devoted to missions and education, the former called "The Missionary Reporter" and edited by J. T. Russell, corresponding secretary of the missionary society; and the latter headed "The Education Register," and edited by William Neill, then corresponding secretary of the education board.

[5] *Ibid.*, XII, 521 (December, 1834).
[6] *Ibid.*

37

THE NEW ENGLAND FARMER[1]

(Fessenden's)

THE *New England Farmer* is notable first because it was one of the earliest and most influential agricultural journals, and second because its editor for fifteen years was that eccentric and interesting man of letters, Thomas Green Fessenden.

Fessenden was fifty-one years old when the *New England Farmer* was founded by Thomas W. Shepard, of Boston; and he edited it, under Shepard and the four succeeding publishers, until his death in 1837. He had been reared on a farm, and though he had lived in towns since childhood, he had been close to rural problems, was a zealous student of scientific literature, and took pride in certain rural accomplishments, such as mowing with a scythe.[2] He made a good editor, attracting the contributions of leading farmers and using the shears to good advantage. He printed some of his own "Moral Lessons in Rhyme" and other pieces; he kept a poetry corner, and spiced his columns with jokes and anecdotes.

[1] TITLES: (1) *The New England Farmer, Containing Essays, Original and Selected, Relating to Agriculture and Domestic Economy, with Engravings and the Prices of Country Produce,* 1822-28; (2) *The New England Farmer and Horticultural Journal, Containing . . .* [as above], 1828-35; (3) *The New England Farmer and Gardener's Journal, Containing Essays, Original and Selected, Relating to Agriculture and Domestic Economy, with the Prices of Country Produce,* 1835-39; (4) *The New England Farmer and Horticultural Register, Containing . . .* [as above], 1839-46.

FIRST ISSUE: August 3, 1822. LAST ISSUE: June 24, 1846.

PERIODICITY: Weekly; annual volumes beginning in August and ending in July. [First Series] I-IX, 1822-31; New Series I-XIV (X-XXIV), 1831-46.

PUBLISHERS (all Boston): Thomas W. Shepard, 1822 – October, 1823; William Nichols, November, 1823 – August, 1824; John B. Russell, September, 1824 – November, 1832; George C. Barrett, December, 1832 – August, 1836; Joseph Breck, August, 1836 – June, 1846.

EDITORS: Thomas Green Fessenden, August, 1822 – November, 1837; Henry Colman, November, 1837 – December, 1840; Allen Putnam, January, 1841 – September, 1843; Joseph Breck, October, 1843 – June, 1846.

REFERENCE: Porter Gale Perrin, *Thomas Green Fessenden* (University of Maine Studies, Second Series, No. 4), pp. 156-61.

[2] Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

Among the more famous contributors to the *New England Farmer* were Daniel Webster ("Marshfield Farmer"), Timothy Pickering, and John Lowell. There was a regular summary of news. The produce market was diligently recorded, whereby we know that in 1822 butter varied from nine to fourteen cents a pound, corn from fifty-eight to sixty cents a bushel, and beef from eight to ten cents a pound; while flour sold at $7.75 and cider at $1.50 to $2.25 by the barrel.

Agricultural societies furnished their reports and proceedings to the *New England Farmer.* Chief among these organizations were the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, and the Horticultural Society of Massachusetts. In the history of the latter institution we read that

> The close combination of the *Farmer* office and seed-store with the agriculture warehouse of Breck attracted agriculturists and horticulturists from all parts of the country; so that the office of the *Farmer* became an exchange of all matters of interest to cultivators. It was here that the subject of forming an agricultural society was discussed; and, when such a society was formed, the *Farmer* naturally became its organ, and continued to be as long as it existed.[3]

The two societies named led in the project to erect a monument to Fessenden at Mount Auburn after the editor's death.

When John B. Russell gained control of the paper in 1824, he made it a part of his organization for the sale of agricultural implements and seeds; and Russell's successors, George C. Barrett and Joseph Breck, followed the same plan. The paper consisted of eight pages quarto, and sold at the beginning at two dollars and a half a year; but the price was raised shortly to three dollars and remained at that figure until it was reduced to two dollars toward the end of the *Farmer's* career.

After Fessenden's death in 1837, Henry Colman edited the paper for three years. A former Unitarian clergyman, Colman was state agricultural commissioner at this time, and maintained the *Farmer's* prestige. He was succeeded in 1841 by Allen Put-

[3] *History of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society* (Boston, 1880), p. 47. Quoted in Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

nam, who turned the editorship over to the publisher, Joseph Breck, in 1843.

The *Farmer* list was made over to Luther Tucker's Albany *Horticulturist* in 1846. Two years later another *New England Farmer* bearing no relation to the Fessenden periodical was begun in Boston, to continue for twenty-two years.

38

THE NEW YORK MIRROR[1]

THE first number of the *New-York Mirror, and Ladies' Literary Gazette, Being a Repository of Miscellaneous Productions in Prose and Verse,* appeared on August 2, 1823, George Pope Morris publisher, and Samuel Woodworth editor.

Morris was only twenty-two, but he had already contributed to two or three periodicals, and he was energetic and quick to make friends. Woodworth, his editor, had at different times been in charge of two or three periodicals in New Haven and New York, with little success; but he had many admirers of his poetical works. His poem "The Bucket," which has since been more fittingly called "The Old Oaken Bucket," had been published in the New York *Republican-Chronicle* in 1817. "There was a time," wrote Morris in an obituary of his friend printed in the *Mirror* in 1842, "when Samuel Woodworth was *the* poet of this country."[2]

[1] TITLES: (1) *The New-York Mirror, and Ladies' Literary Gazette,* 1823-31; (2) *The New York Mirror. A Weekly Journal Devoted to Literature and the Fine Arts,* 1831-42 (slight variations in subtitle); (3) *The New Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction,* 1843-44; (4) *The Weekly Mirror,* 1844-45; (5) *The New York Mirror,* 1845-47; (6) *American Literary Gazette and Weekly Mirror,* 1847-57(?).

FIRST ISSUE: August 2, 1823. LAST ISSUE: 1857 (?).

PERIODICITY: Weekly. [First Series] I-XVII, Aug. 2, 1823 – June 20, 1840, annual volumes; XVIII, June 27, 1840 – December 19, 1840; XIX-XX, 1841-42, regular annual volumes. *New Mirror* Series: I-III, April 8, 1843 – Sept. 28, 1844, semiannual volumes beginning in April and October. *Weekly Mirror* Series: Oct. 12, 1844 – 1857 (?), seminannual volumes beginning in October and April.

PUBLISHERS: George Pope Morris, 1823-40; Daniel Fanshaw, 1840-42; George Pope Morris and Nathaniel Parker Willis, 1843-44; George Pope Morris, Nathaniel Parker Willis, and Hiram Fuller, 1844-45; Hiram Fuller, 1845-57 (?).

EDITORS: Samuel Woodworth, 1823-24; George Pope Morris, 1824-28; G. P. Morris, Theodore S. Fay, and John Inman, 1828-31, 1835-36; G. P. Morris, T. S. Fay, and Nathaniel Parker Willis, 1831-35; Charles Fenno Hoffman, 1837-38 (?); Epes Sargent, 1839-40 (?); G. P. Morris (?), 1840-42; G. P. Morris and N. P. Willis, 1843-44; G. P. Morris, N. P. Willis, and Hiram Fuller, 1844-45; Hiram Fuller, 1845-57 (?).

REFERENCE: Henry A. Beers, *Nathaniel Parker Willis* (Boston, 1885, American Men of Letters series), *passim.*

[2] *Mirror,* XX, 407 (Dec. 17, 1842).

But Woodworth retained his position as editor of the new journal for only one year, and after that Morris himself assumed the editorship. From that time on for twenty-one years, with short interims now and then when he placed most of the burdens of editorship on other shoulders, Morris was the managing editor of the *Mirror*. In these years he came to be very well known to every reader in the country. Though not an officer in the Mexican or any other war, he was commonly spoken of as Colonel Morris, and later as General Morris. His fame came from his independent literary projects quite as much as from his editorial work. "His songs," wrote the critic of the *United States Review* in 1855, "are known and sung in every inglenook and fireside corner of America. Most undoubtedly does he possess the widest and most thorough popularity of any writer for melody now living." [3] He was the author of a play called "Brier Cliff" which had a forty-day run at the Wallack Theater, and was later produced at four New York theaters at once.[4] The one poem by which he is remembered today is that which begins, "O woodman, spare that tree!"

The *Mirror* was a well printed and illustrated eight-page quarto, of a very miscellaneous nature. Literary reviews, with liberal quotations from the most interesting books; original tales, usually of a sentimental cast but not always so; notes on music, with, for a short time at least, original pieces; a weekly record of the New York theater; an editorial column which the historian of the tastes and manners of the age cannot but find fascinating for its comment upon contemporary foibles; biography, much of it "selected"; verse, chiefly original; familiar essays; and "Desultory Selections"—these departments came to make up the *Mirror* bill of fare. In 1830 the *Mirror* quoted the Glasgow *Chronicle* concerning its virtues: "In point of typography it surpasses every journal of this country, and many of its literary articles equal the best of the periodical press of the old world." [5] The praise was not exaggerated.

In illustration, too, the *Mirror* came to hold a high position.

[3] *United States Review*, XXXV, 476 (June, 1855).
[4] *Southern Literary Messenger*, IV, 664 (October, 1838).
[5] *Chronicle*, July 19, 1830. Quoted in *Mirror*, VIII, 79 (Sept. 11, 1830).

The earliest volumes were not illustrated, but in 1827 a few engravings on copper, chiefly of public buildings, by James Eddy, V. Balch, and others, appeared, and thereafter there were about four a year. These plates, large enough to occupy a full page quarto, made a handsome appearance. A woodcut furnished by A. I. Mason, an English artist who had been lecturing on wood engraving in New York, appeared July 10, 1830, and served for a frontispiece for Volume VIII; after that there were some small woodcuts by Anderson and others. Adams's famous woodcut "The Last Arrow" appeared in the number for July 1, 1837, overprinted in gilt by means of a tint-block, and illustrating a story by Charles Fenno Hoffman. The tint-block was a mistake, but the engraving was much admired and often reprinted. The cuts in the late thirties were chiefly by Adams, Lanson, Thorn, and Redfield. There were woodcuts of fashions in 1841-42, by W. W. Hooper and others. In the meantime steel plates had continued. An interesting series of portraits of American writers by G. Parker appeared in the later thirties—chiefly in 1837. In 1841 a plate was offered every month; they were engraved by the leading artists in that field—J. N. Gimbrede, A. L. Dick, J. F. E. Prud'homme, J. Halpin, W. G. Jackman, and Albert W. Graham —and frequently used famous American paintings as subjects.

In its opening address, the *Mirror* stated that "the character of this work is intended to be, literally and emphatically, *American.*" [6] This character was successfuly maintained: although there was not a little selected material, it came chiefly from American works; and although the foreign correspondence of Nathaniel Parker Willis, William Cox, and Theodore S. Fay was featured, it was always written from a very American angle.

It was also in the first number that the editor wrote: "To the LADIES, in particular, we look . . ." [7] emphasizing the ladyward look by the periodical's subtitle, "Ladies' Literary Gazette." From one end of the file to the other this attention to women's interests is noticeable. Fashions, toilet hints, "female characters," and articles on the education of girls are frequent. The leading female writers are consistently represented. Politics are

[6] *Mirror*, I, 1 (Aug. 2, 1823).
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

ignored, except to ridicule the excitement of a campaign or to cry down the politicians and their methods.

Sentiment is a prominent characteristic. How could it be otherwise, with the editors the *Mirror* had? Sentimental verse had a considerable part in making the journal's popularity.

> The *Mirror*—oh, the *Mirror!*
> Every number had a page
> Entirely filled with poetry,
> For verse was then the rage,
> With anecdote and repartee
> From wits of every age.[8]

Thus "Matilda" in the *Mirror* at the end of 1829, looking back over the long vista of six years and noting how funny people used to be. But Matilda herself looked funny eleven years later, when another *Mirror* writer observed in an 1840 issue that the early volumes of the magazine had been "filled with the sentimental outpourings of Laura Matildas and Della Cruscan ditties."[9] Perhaps it had improved in this respect by 1840, but it may be noted that it was in 1843 that Thomas Dunn English wrote the sentimental lines of "Ben Bolt" for the *Mirror*. Not all the *Mirror* poetry was sentimental, however; occasionally as vigorous a thing as Bryant's "Song of Marion's Men" (Nov. 19, 1831) appeared.

Some of the fiction was sentimental, too. A contemporary pointed out that the literary miscellany of the last page of the first issue repeated the words "dear," "kiss," and "love" many times, and therefore concluded that the *Mirror* was "a dear, kissing, lovely publication." But there were many more manly tales, and some serials. Of these some were American in authorship and scene, by Mellen, Leggett, Willis, Hoffman, and Inman. The editors also borrowed, in the cavalier manner of that day, many columns of fiction from such popular writers as Professor Ingraham, and the English Theodore Hook, Captain Marryat, and Miss Mitford. But the great idol of the *Mirror* critics was Sir Walter. In the first volume it was almost impossible to

[8] *Mirror*, VII, 175 (Dec. 5, 1829).
[9] *Mirror*, XVIII, 15 (July 11, 1840).

review a novel without mentioning "the Great Unknown," the author of *Waverley;* and this feeling, common to most critics of the day, continued to pervade the reviews. In the number for April 27, 1833, we come upon the account of New York's public memorial meeting upon Scott's death. But even though the magic pen was laid down, its influence was still potent—an influence partially described in this sentence from the *Mirror* of 1828:

> The sickly pictures of famishing heroines, of cottagers who, in the midst of every ill that can be accumulated by poverty and disease, are yet neat in apparel and lovely in person are found in those circulating library novels, the taste for perusing which is fast declining, a more healthful state of the mental appetite having been produced by the energetic and manly fictions of Sir Walter Scott.[10]

Dramatic and art criticism were important elements in the *Mirror's* contents. The week-by-week story of New York productions was supplemented by editorial comment and theatrical articles from time to time. A series of racy original sketches of actors and actresses on the New York stage, by William Cox, appeared in 1829. Art comment was almost as frequent. The exhibitions of the American Academy of Fine Arts and the National Academy of Design were reviewed with care, and the engravings were sometimes a valuable adjunct to the articles.

But the great forte of the *Mirror* was its comment on the passing interests of the day—the fads and foibles, the enthusiasms of the people, the great popular interests. For the social historian the file of this journal is an inexhaustible mine and an invaluable record.

A variety of editors assisted Colonel Morris in the preparation of the *Mirror*. Theodore Sedgwick Fay was an associate editor for at least eight years, beginning in 1828, and perhaps for several years longer than that: he is spoken of as a "valued associate" as late as Dec. 3, 1842. The most active years of his editorship, however, were those of 1828-33, during which he wrote the "Little Genius" papers for the *Mirror*. Two volumes

[10] *Mirror*, V, 255 (Feb. 16, 1828).

of these were collected and published in 1832 under the title *Dreams and Reveries of a Quiet Man.* In 1833 he sailed for Europe, where he remained for over twenty years, first as a traveler, then as secretary of legation at Berlin, and finally as minister to Switzerland. He contributed much to the *Mirror* from abroad, his travel letters being published under the title, "The Minute Book."

The editorial connection of Nathaniel Parker Willis with the *Mirror* began in 1831, though he had contributed to it before that date. In September of that year Willis discontinued his *American Monthly Magazine* in Boston, and made over the list to the *Mirror,* becoming associate editor with Morris and Fay. He immediately began contributing his *vers de société* and some of his "Pencillings by the Way" (descriptive chatter about American scenes) to the *Mirror,* and within a month was off for Europe to "do" the society of the old world for his new journal. "The first thought of sending Willis abroad," says his biographer,

> occurred while the three editors were supping together at Sandy Welsh's oyster saloon. Long and earnestly they revolved the question of ways and means. At length five hundred dollars were scraped together as *viaticum,* and it was agreed that Willis was to write weekly letters at ten dollars the letter. The investment proved a good one for both the *Mirror* and its traveling editor.[11]

For four years of European travel Willis sent his "Pencillings" home to the *Mirror*—one hundred and thirty-nine letters published every week or two throughout the years 1833-35. They were readable and amusing, often very well written, and sometimes instructive. They were copied very widely into American newspapers and much discussed and praised. When some of the copies of the *Mirror* found their way to England, however, the feelings of some English notables with whom Willis had enjoyed social relations were ruffled by references to them. Published in book form, the letters provoked some abusive reviews, and out of one such grew a quarrel with Captain Marryat which was patched up with difficulty after a duel seemed imminent.[12]

[11] Beers, *op. cit.,* 103-04.
[12] *Ibid.,* pp. 197-206.

After Willis's retirement as associate editor (or, more properly, contributing editor) at the beginning of 1836, John Inman, Charles Fenno Hoffman, and Epes Sargent served successively as Morris's associate.[13] The first named was a brother of Henry Inman, the celebrated portrait painter, and was a New York newspaper man and author. Hoffman had already had some magazine experience when he came to the *Mirror,* having been the first editor of the *Knickerbocker,* and also of the New York *American Monthly.* He left the latter for the *Mirror* in 1837. Epes Sargent was a journalist and playwright from Boston.

Contributors to the early volumes of the *Mirror* seldom signed their names; they used initials—which were sometimes assumed, —or they took pen-names. By 1837, however, signatures were not uncommon. William Cullen Bryant, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Charles Sprague, Willis G. Clark, Robert C. Sands, and James G. Brooks are known as contributing poets in the first eight years; while William Leggett, William Cox, Mrs. Sarah J. Hale, Mrs. Emma Embury, Gulian C. Verplanck, and Mrs. Harriet Muzzey were among the prose writers. Of course the editors contributed largely. In later years, but before the days of the *New Mirror,* Grenville Mellen, James T. Fields, Rufus Dawes, and M. M. Noah were added to the list. "I hope you will write for the *New York Mirror,*" wrote Horatio Bridge to his friend Hawthorne in 1836. "It has a great circulation, and its editor is a man of influence and standing in the literary world, although in my opinion he is not very deep."[14] But Hawthorne apparently never followed the advice.

The size of this "great circulation" is impossible to determine. The *Mirror* boasted in 1835 that "no literary periodical published in this country has ever attained such an extended circulation."[15] But subscribers are frequently urged to pay their arrearages, especially in the earlier years; and the proprietors confess that "the clear profits yield us only a humble compensation, far less than would be sufficient to satisfy many men who

[13] *Southern Literary Messenger,* IV, 664 (October, 1838).

[14] Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1885), I, 134. Letter dated Feb. 20, 1836. The advice is repeated Oct. 16, 1836 (I, 140).

[15] *Mirror,* XIII, 7 (July 4, 1835).

are engaged in ordinary business."[16] In 1836 it is stated that "Our annual disbursements for literary contributions alone exceed five thousand dollars." This would appear to be at the average rate of five to eight dollars a thousand words for original material. "Not one communication in fifty" submitted is accepted, and not all accepted are given other reward than the honor of being printed in the *Mirror*.[17] Morris claimed to have invented the literary prize offer;[18] as early as 1824 he was dangling small cash prizes before the eyes of ambitious poets, essayists, and fictioneers. Willis competed for one of these prizes when he was still in college,[19] little knowing that he was in a few years to be reflected so brightly as one of the *Mirror's* chief lights.

The hard times of the late thirties caused a transfer of the journal to Daniel Fanshaw, though Morris appears to have remained with it in an editorial connection. There came to be more of the cheaper eclectic material; though more plates were furnished. In spite of an improvement just before the suspension, as a kind of expiring gasp, the *Mirror* was abandoned at the end of 1842.

But after three months in the tomb, the *Mirror* came to life again April 8, 1843. "General Morris," wrote Clark in the *Knickerbocker,*

> has revived the New York *Mirror,* which from the moment it was removed from his personal supervision began to "fail and fade" until it finally dwindled down to the little end of nothing and went out like the wick of a candle sinking into a bath of hot tallow. The veteran editor now publishes the work on his own account.[20]

Morris was not alone, however, in the editorship of the *New Mirror.* His former associate Willis was now a full partner, Morris having charge of the business end, while Willis did most of the editorial work. The subheading of the paper expressed its variety:

[16] *Mirror,* V, 303 (March 29, 1828).
[17] *Mirror,* XIV, 7 (July 2, 1836).
[18] *Mirror,* XVII, 271 (Feb. 28, 1830). But see p. 15, *supra.*
[19] Beers, *op. cit.,* p. 102.
[20] *Knickerbocker,* XXI, 388 (April, 1843).

Containing Original Papers, Tales of Romance, Sketches of Society, Manners, and Everyday Life; Domestic and Foreign Correspondence; Wit and Humor; Fashion and Gossip; the Fine Arts, and Literary, Musical, and Dramatic Criticism; Extracts from New Works; Poetry, Original and Selected; the Spirit of the Public Journals, etc., etc.

Willis, indeed, rather than Morris, set the tone of the periodical. His biographer describes the type of his writing for it:

His contributions to the *Mirror,* while editor, included tales, poems, sketches, reminiscences, book notices, besides editorial papers of a miscellaneous sort, such as "Jottings," "Slipshoddities," "Diary of Town Trifles," "More Particularly," "Just You and I," "While We Hold You by the Button," and what not, in which he set himself to catch and reflect the passing humors and picturesque surfaces of town life. He might have said of his muse at this time, as the psalmist of his soul, *Adhaesit pavimento.* He wrote a number of "City Lyrics," signed "Down Town Bard," celebrating beauties in white chip hats, whom he had helped into omnibuses; Broadway odes, inviting his sweetheart up to Thompson's for an ice; or mock heroic lamentations in blank verse, that the lady in the chemisette with the black buttons, whose sixpence he had passed up to the driver, might be doomed to pass him forever without meeting,—

Thou in a Knickerbocker Line, and I
Lone in the Waverley.[21]

In connection with the *New Mirror* "extras" were sometimes issued at a shilling each, including Willis's *Sacred Poems, Poems of Passion,* and *The Lady Jane, and Other Humorous Poems,* and Morris's *Songs and Ballads.*

At the beginning of the new series, the publishers experimented with woodcuts, but soon abandoned them for the steel engravings, issued weekly, of A. L. Dick, W. H. Dougal, Wellstood & Whiting, William McCluskey, and others.

The *New Mirror* was published for only a year and a half. It was discontinued, according to a statement in the last issue (September 28, 1844) because the postoffice department insisted

[21] Beers, *op. cit.,* 267.

on charging it magazine postage, which was much higher than that which was required of newspapers. It was now decided to institute a daily paper, with a weekly edition to go to the *New Mirror* patrons. The daily was called the *Evening Mirror,* and its adjunct the *Weekly Mirror.* Weekly editions of daily newspapers had been common ever since Noah Webster had indicated the way with his semiweekly *Herald,* issued in connection with the New York *Minerva* in 1793, the type set for the *Minerva* being used to fill a paper designed for country subscribers at a lower price and less frequent issue.

A third partner was admitted when the daily was begun. This was Hiram Fuller, who had borne some part in the *New Mirror,* and had been a school teacher and bookseller in New England cities. He was an energetic young man, a relative of Margaret Fuller, and the possessor of strong opinions. *John-Donkey* used to call him "that universal genius Fuller, of *Our Granny's Mirror.*" [22]

The *Weekly Mirror* retained for a few years some of the magazine characteristics of its forerunners, though it soon dropped the special appeal to women readers. It ran a serial story, printed reviews of books, art exhibitions, and theatrical productions, and furnished short tales and poems. There was a good deal of whig politics, and much correspondence from various points in the United States and abroad. It had a quarrel with H. J. Raymond, the young editor of the New York *Courier and Enquirer,* over the Bishop Onderdonk trial, in which the *Mirror* called Raymond "this little viper," and Raymond called Willis "the coward leader of all profligacy that seeks a higher resting place than the gutter." [23] But such edifying free-for-alls were far from rare in early journalism.

Edgar Allan Poe was engaged as a critical writer for the *Mirror* about the time it began its daily edition, serving it from September, 1844, to February, 1845, when he went to the *Broadway Journal.* Professor Killis Campbell has pointed out that although Willis referred to Poe as a "mechanical paragraphist"

[22] *John-Donkey,* I, 71 (Jan. 29, 1848).
[23] *Weekly Mirror,* Feb. 15, 1845. Quoted in *Correspondence of R. W. Griswold,* p. 165.

for the *Mirror,* some of the Poe contributions were rather important.[24] Poe's own attitude toward the *Mirror* is indicated by the fact that in an early number of the *Journal, portraits chargées* of Morris and Willis preening themselves before a mirror were printed. (See page 497.)[25] In other numbers the *Journal* praised Willis,[26] but called Morris an "operatic puffer."[27] It was after Morris and Willis had severed all connection with the *Mirror* that Poe sued the paper for publishing the Thomas Dunn English article reflecting on his character, and recovered two hundred and twenty-five dollars damages from Fuller.

Willis withdrew from the *Mirror* early in 1845, and Morris somewhat later; the latter began his *National Press* (later the *Home Journal*) in 1846. Fuller continued a weekly edition of the *Mirror* in connection with the daily for some years thereafter, making it more a newspaper and less a magazine. James Gordon Bennett's *bon mot* about Fuller's *Evening Mirror* is still remembered: he recorded an excursion treat given by Fuller to his subscribers, in which he took them all for a ride to the Battery in an omnibus. Later Fuller edited the *Cosmopolitan* in London, giving aid and sympathy therein to the Confederate States.

Despite its inglorious end, let it be admitted that the *Mirror* did, in its best days, reflect entertainingly and as truly as could be expected the life of New York and the nation.

[24] *Nation,* LXXXIX, 623 (Dec. 23, 1909).
[25] *Broadway Journal,* I, 57 (Jan. 25, 1845).
[26] *Ibid.,* I, 38 (Jan. 18, 1845).
[27] *Ibid.,* I, 124 (Feb. 22, 1845).

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THE UNITED STATES LITERARY GAZETTE,[1] AND *THE UNITED STATES REVIEW AND LITERARY GAZETTE*

THE *United States Literary Gazette,* founded in Boston April 1, 1824, was a semimonthly of sixteen pages quarto, chiefly devoted to literary news. It contained reviews of books, publishers' announcements, some excellent poetry, a certain amount of current news, and miscellany. Its editor was a brilliant young educator named James G. Carter, a graduate of Harvard, who had attracted attention by a series of "Popular Essays on Education" in the Boston *Patriot.*

The *Gazette* is interesting now chiefly because of its poetry. The youthful Longfellow, then a student at Bowdoin, sent some of his earliest verses to the new Boston paper, and such older writers as Bryant, J. G. Percival, R. H. Dana, Rufus Dawes, Grenville Mellen, and John A. Jones were leading contributors. "There will always be a charm," says Longfellow's biographer,

> in turning over the pages where one sees, again and again, the youthful poems of Bryant and of Longfellow placed side by side and often put together on the same page, the young undergraduate's effusions being always designated by his initials and Bryant's with a perhaps more dignified "B.," denoting one whose reputation was to a certain extent already established, so that a hint was sufficient. Bryant's poems, it must be owned, are in this case very much better or at least maturer than those of his youthful rival, and are preserved in his published works, while Longfellow's are mainly those

[1] TITLE: *The United States Literary Gazette.*
FIRST ISSUE: April, 1824. LAST ISSUE: September, 1826.
PERIODICITY: Semimonthly, April, 1824 – June, 1826; monthly, July – September, 1826. I, April, 1824 – March, 1825; II, April – September, 1825; III, October, 1825 – March, 1826; IV, April – September, 1826. (No number for May 1, 1824, but quota for Vol. I is completed by a second number for March 15, 1825.)
PUBLISHERS: Cummings, Hilliard, and Company, Boston, 1824-25; Harrison Gray, Boston, 1825-26.
EDITORS: James G. Carter, 1824; Theophilus Parsons, 1825-26.
INDEXED in *Poole* and *Jones.*

which he himself dropped, though they are reprinted in the appendix to Mr. Scudder's "Cambridge" edition of his poems. We find thus in the "Literary Gazette," linked together on the same page, Longfellow's "Autumnal Nightfall" and Bryant's "Song of the Grecian Amazon"; Longfellow's "Italian Scenery" and Bryant's "To a Cloud"; Longfellow's "Lunatic Girl" and Bryant's "The Murdered Traveller." [2]

Longfellow also contributed four prose sketches under the general title of "The Lay Monastery," to the *Gazette* in 1825; they were artificial, indeed, but very melodious and pleasant to the ear. Bryant's "Rizpah" appeared in the *Gazette's* first number, and he continued to contribute frequently. "Monument Mountain" was in the issue for September 15, 1824, and the "Hymn" beginning, "The groves were God's first temples," in that for April 1, 1825. Bryant contributed more of his poems to the *United States Literary Gazette* than to any other magazine.

In criticism, which should have been such a periodical's forte, the *Gazette* was not very successful. However, the long quotations which were common were often interesting; and reviewers sometimes made an effort to be entertaining and brilliant. Indeed Timothy Flint, whose *Recollections of the West* had met with a kindly enough reception from the Gazette,[3] accused its editors of "cruel flippancy, and obvious and wanton injustice." [4]

In less than a year after the commencement of the *Gazette,* Carter, its first editor, gave place to Theophilus Parsons, son of that Theophilus Parsons who was chief justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. The younger Parsons was also a lawyer, and later Dane professor of law at Harvard; but in his early years he wrote much for the magazines. The page of the *Gazette* was changed to octavo, the number of pages was increased to forty, and a "Literary Advertiser" of eight pages was added in April, 1825; and a little over a year later the *New-York Review and Atheneum Magazine* [5] was taken over by merger and the periodical made a monthly.

[2] T. W. Higginson, *Longfellow* (Boston, 1902. American Men of Letters series), p. 24. Poems mentioned are in *Gazette,* I, 237, 267, 286.
[3] *Gazette,* IV, 133 (May 15, 1826).
[4] *Western Monthly Review,* I, 13 (May, 1827).
[5] See p. 335, *post.*

In October, 1826, the old title and numbering were dropped, and a new magazine was started on the basis of Boston's *Gazette* and New York's *Review,* to be published simultaneously in the two cities, and called the *United States Review and Literary Gazette.*[6] William Cullen Bryant, the editor at the New York end, and Charles Folsom, the Boston editor, each had a quarter financial interest in the venture. Bryant was the editor of the *New-York Review,* and Folsom was Harvard librarian. This double-barrelled magazine lasted, however, for only thirteen months. It was similar to the *Gazette,* and, like it, was strong in the poetical department. Some of Halleck's and Bryant's best poems appeared in it. The last issue was that for October, 1827.

[6] TITLE: *The United States Review and Literary Gazette.*
FIRST ISSUE: October, 1826. LAST ISSUE: October, 1827.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. I, October, 1826 – March, 1827; II, April – September, 1827; III, October, 1827, only.
PUBLISHERS: Bowles and Dearborn, Boston; G. and C. Carvill, New York.
EDITORS: William Cullen Bryant and Charles Folsom.
INDEXED in *Poole* and *Jones.*

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THE ATLANTIC MAGAZINE,[1] AND *THE NEW-YORK REVIEW AND ATHENEUM MAGAZINE*[2]

ROBERT C. SANDS had already been associated with three or four other short-lived magazines when he founded, in May, 1824, the *Atlantic Magazine* in New York. He was a young lawyer more interested in literature than the law, and had won some distinction as a poet. A lovable character, he had become one of the Knickerbocker group of which Irving, Paulding, Verplanck, Halleck, and later Bryant and Leggett were members.

The introduction, in the first number, promised well, for it was exceptionally clever. The articles which followed were anonymous, but some of them may be identified as the work of Dr. D. L. M. Peixotto, a well known New York physician; Dr. McKay, a brother-in-law of Joseph Rodman Drake, and author of a book of travels; the Rev. Manton Eastburn, a brother of James Wallis Eastburn, who had been a collaborator with Sands; and Thatcher Paine. Sands undoubtedly wrote much of the number himself, as of subsequent numbers also.

The *Atlantic Magazine* printed a few really good stories. An unknown "correspondent in Virginia" contributed "A Story" to the number for October, 1824, which would better have been called "The Man Who Burnt John Rogers": it is a notable tale for the times.

[1] TITLE: *The Atlantic Magazine.*
FIRST ISSUE: May, 1824. LAST ISSUE: April, 1825.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. Two volumes of six numbers each, as follows: I, May – October, 1824; II, November, 1824 – April, 1825.
PUBLISHERS: Elam Bliss and E. White, New York.
EDITORS: Robert C. Sands, 1824-25; Henry J. Anderson, 1825.

[2] TITLE: *The New-York Review, and Atheneum Magazine.*
FIRST ISSUE: June, 1825. LAST ISSUE: May, 1826.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. Two volumes of six numbers each, as follows: I, June – November, 1825; II, December, 1825 – May, 1826.
PUBLISHERS: Elam Bliss and E. White, New York.
EDITORS: William Cullen Bryant, Henry J. Anderson, and Robert C. Sands, 1825; William Cullen Bryant and Henry J. Anderson, 1825-26.

Sometime early in 1825 the magazine passed into the hands of Henry J. Anderson, the versatile professor of mathematics and mechanics at Columbia College. With him William Cullen Bryant, who had just come to New York, made arrangements to form a partnership. They thought best to change the name and begin a new series, however; and so, after an interim of a month between the two magazines, the *New-York Review, and Atheneum Magazine* was begun in June, 1825, with the same publishers employed for the *Atlantic.*

With so many of the cultural movements of New York interested in the venture, its conductors were justified in being hopeful. The association known as the New-York Atheneum had been founded in the preceding year, and the new magazine gave over half its space to a second part which it called "The Atheneum Magazine." Anderson had married a daughter of Lorenzo DaPonte, and was in the midst of the excitement over Italian opera in New York; besides that, he was himself a scientist of parts. Bryant was a recognized poet. For a time in the fall Sands joined Anderson and Bryant in the editorship, making a strong triumvirate of literature, science, and art.

A good group of contributors was accordingly mustered. The three editors of course did their best in writing for the magazine. Bryant's "Death of the Flowers" and "Hymn to Death" appeared in its pages in successive months. Halleck was a contributor, writing what is now his best known piece for it—"Marco Bozzaris." Longfellow, just graduated from Bowdoin, and Willis, still a student at Yale, were valued contributors, the latter writing over the signature "Roy." Bancroft, Cushing, and Dana sent material from Massachusetts.

In his biography of his father-in-law, Parke Godwin wrote of the *New-York Review:* "It wanted, I think, distinctiveness, perhaps aggressiveness of character. Many of the disquisitions were heavy, and the criticisms though sensible were not pungent."[3] This is a good evaluation. It might also be applied to other good magazines of the time.

At the end of a year's effort, the conductors gave up the *Review,* and merged it with the *United States Literary Gazette,* of Boston.

[3] Godwin, *Bryant* (New York, 1883), I, 226.

PART III

THE PERIOD OF EXPANSION

1825–1850

A "Golden Age of Periodicals"

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL PERIODICALS IN THE ERA OF EXPANSION

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN 1825

THE years immediately following 1825 were epochal in practically all fields of endeavor in most of Europe and America. From the accession of Charles X to the French throne in 1824 events ran on rapidly to the revolution of 1830; Belgium achieved her independence in this latter year; Spanish liberalism submitted to defeat when confronted by a French army in 1823, but was again active a few years later; the young Mazzini, graduated from law school in 1826, was having his first experiences with the Carbonari and was soon to forge the thunderbolt of Young Italy; in spite of Metternich and his severe censorship of the press and the universities, the spirit of liberalism was far from dead in the German states; and in Greece, the national flag at last floated triumphant in 1829. In short, the monarchic reaction to the French Revolution had spent its force, and all Europe was yeasty with liberal reform in government. England was no exception; progress there was steady throughout the twenties toward the enactment of the revolutionary Reform Bill of 1832. In literature as well as in politics, change was in the air: Goethe's work, and the period of German Romanticism, were over some years before the master's death in 1832; while in France Hugo published his *Odes et Ballades* in 1826, so that this date may be taken as the beginning of the French romantic poetry. In England romanticism was being modified by the new industrial, social, and economic forces; Carlyle is the voice of the period, and his first book appeared in 1825.[1]

All these foreign tendencies, movements and events were important to the people of the United States; they were all

[1] For an analysis of changing conditions in English literature at this time, see Ashley H. Thorndike, *Literature in a Changing Age* (New York, 1920), *passim*.

mirrored more or less directly and copiously in those records of American thinking and feeling, the magazines. But certain distinctively American conditions and events also serve to fix the years 1825-30 as epochal. The West was just feeling its gianthood; and when, in 1825, the House of Representatives defeated Andrew Jackson for the presidency in spite of the fact that he had polled both a larger popular vote and a larger electoral vote than his rivals, the West formed a coalition with the South and elected "Old Hickory" triumphantly and unmistakably four years later. The accession of Jackson to the presidency represents no ordinary transition from one administration to another; it involved such important changes in policy that it is taken by all historians as marking the beginning of a new political era. Industrially and socially, too, the times were epochal. The Erie Canal was finished in 1825; the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was begun in 1828; the country-to-town movement had already become apparent; the Working-Men's Party of Philadelphia foreshadowed organized labor in 1828; and there was remarkable expansion in manufactures, finance, and investment. All these phenomena were initial events in great movements. In literature, too, some proud beginnings had been made, and 1825 saw Irving with four books to his credit and travelling delightedly in Europe, Cooper engaged in writing his fourth novel, and Bryant newly come to New York to follow up a reputation already considerable. Paulding and Halleck were well known in 1825, but Emerson was still studying divinity, Hawthorne had just immured himself in his Salem monastery, Longfellow was finishing at Bowdoin, Poe was ready to enter the University of Virginia, and Whittier in this year appeared first in print in William Lloyd Garrison's newspaper.

A PERIOD OF EXPANSION IN PERIODICALS

Moreover, 1825, as has been pointed out already, was the year in which the *Port Folio* was suspended, to appear thereafter in an ineffectual postscript; and in the next year Atkinson's *Casket* (forerunner of *Graham's Magazine*, one of the greatest periodicals of the era) first made its appearance. In the years immediately following 1825 there was an extraordinary outburst of magazine

activity which paralleled the expansion in many other lines of development; this was particularly noticeable among the weekly literary papers. "This is the golden age of periodicals!" [2] exclaimed one magazine in 1831; and though some later periods were to be far more golden, these years did bring forth a flowering of periodical publications which seemed stupendous at the time and is still notable. "What! Will the line stretch out to the crack of doom?" quoted the *New-York Mirror*. "Another yet? I'll see no more! And yet—" And then it continued, dropping the quotation, and speaking from an unusually wide observation in the field of periodical publishing:

> These United States are fertile in most things, but in periodicals they are extremely luxuriant. They spring up as fast as mushrooms, in every corner, and like all rapid vegetation, bear the seeds of early decay within them. . . . They put forth their young green leaves in the shape of promises and prospectuses—blossom through a few numbers—and then comes "a frost, a killing frost," in the form of bills due and debts unpaid. This is the fate of hundreds, but hundreds more are found to supply their place, to tread in their steps, and share their destiny. The average age of periodicals in this country is found to be six months.[3]

Thus wrote General Morris in the beginning of our period. As the years went on there was no diminution in this publishing exuberance, and toward the end of the period we find C. F. Briggs saying in his *Broadway Journal* that "the whole tendency of the age is magazineward," [4] and Charles A. Dana observing in the *Harbinger:*

> Among the animal tribes there are instances of remarkable fecundity, but not the most fruitful can boast of offspring more numerous than this family of magazines.[5]

Exact figures are impossible to obtain, but it is fairly safe to say that there were somewhat less than a hundred periodicals

2 *Illinois Monthly Magazine,* I, 302 (April, 1831).
3 *New-York Mirror,* VI, 151 (Nov. 15, 1828). "Six months" is, of course, a mere guess, and is probably too low.
4 *Broadway Journal,* I, 139 (March 1, 1845).
5 *Harbinger,* III, 138 (Aug. 8, 1846).

other than newspapers in 1825, and about six hundred in 1850.[6] If the average age of these periodicals was two years—which is a more probable figure than the *Mirror's* "six months"—then four or five thousand of them were published during our period. Even the names of a large proportion of these ephemerae are sunk in oblivion.

[6] Available figures are fragmentary and unreliable throughout this period. Even the census figures for 1850 are inaccurate (the number of quarterlies being plainly too small) and confused (as in the matter of monthlies in Pennsylvania); confession that the figures given fall short of the actual number is made. (*Compendium*, Seventh Census, p. 154.) But figures may be found here and there, and the hypothetical conclusion noted above is of some value in pointing out the general course of magazine development. Adrian Balbi, the French geographer, published in the *Annals des Travaux* for 1827 some figures purporting to show the distribution of periodicals throughout the world: he gave the number in the United States, including newspapers, as 978. (See *Mirror*, V, 375. May 30, 1828.) Now, in most of the estimates and tables given throughout this period the newspapers form about nine-tenths of the total periodicals, so that we may guess there were in the neighborhood of a hundred magazines and journals other than newspapers in 1827, if Balbi's figures are approximately correct. The Balbi table was reprinted in the *New Monthly Magazine*, of London, in December, 1832 (XXXV, 583), and was thence transferred into the *American Almanac* (II, 96) for 1834, which says it is incomplete and there are (1834) 1,265 newspapers in the United States. At the proportion of nine to one this would call for 140 other periodicals in 1834. Professor George Tucker, in an address to the Charlottesville Lyceum on Dec. 19, 1837, printed in the *Southern Literary Messenger* (IV, 87. February, 1838) gives 1,265 as the number of newspapers in 1834 and 130 as the number of "journals of religion, law, medicine and literature"; this also is the figure given for 1834 in the *American Almanac* (XI, 196) of 1840. The *American Quarterly Observer* placed its estimate lower than the others in 1834 (III, 144. July) when it reckoned "about 1,100" periodicals. The *Western Monthly* (II, 486. October, 1833) about the same time said: "There are published in the United States six quarterly publications, two once in two months, twenty-two monthlies, besides very many semi-monthlies, and more than a thousand newspapers." This is not very helpful. The Sixth Census (1840) makes an unexplained distinction between newspapers and "periodicals," giving the number of the latter as 227. The *American Almanac* in the same year (XI, 196) prints "from returns made to the Post Office Department and copied from the *Globe*" the number of newspapers, magazines and other periodicals published in the United States on July 1, 1839; these figures show 395 monthlies, semimonthlies, and quarterlies, and 991 weeklies. This is a wide divergence. The two tables give totals near enough together: the postal table 1,555, the Census 1,631. But surely none of the 395 monthlies, semimonthlies, and quarterlies counted by the Post Office Department were newspapers, and certainly at least a hundred of the weeklies were not; so we have at least 500 publications other than newspapers in the Post Office figures, as against the 227 (periodicals) of the census. The larger number is undoubtedly nearer correctness. The Seventh Census (1850) admitting failure to enumerate all, gives us 214 monthlies, semimonthlies, and quarterlies, and 1,902 weeklies. It abandons the distinction between newspapers and periodicals, but divides into Literary and Miscellaneous 568; Political, and Neutral and Independent totaling 1,713, Religious 191, and Scientific 53. Very few of the first class can have been newspapers, practically all of the second class must have been, at least two-thirds of the religious publications doubtless were newspapers, and practically none of the last named. This would indicate that there were at least six hundred publications other than newspapers in 1850.

In making a cursory survey of the more important magazines of the time, attention will be directed first to the general literary monthlies of the leading cities, while the quarterlies and weeklies, as well as the class periodicals and the magazines of the more remote sections, will be reserved for special consideration.

GENERAL MONTHLY MAGAZINES

It may be mentioned in the beginning that the only literary monthlies of importance which lived over from the former period into the one now under consideration were the *New-York Review* and the *United States Literary Gazette,* combined in 1826 as the *United States Review* and abandoned the next year; and the 1826-27 postscript of the *Port Folio* just referred to. Two local and short-lived early ventures may be named here also, before proceeding to the more important monthlies of the period: the *Boston Monthly Magazine,*[7] begun June, 1825, and continued thereafter through fourteen months by Samuel L. Knapp, the biographer and journalist; and the *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine,* begun October, 1827, by Dr. Isaac Clarkson Snowden and continued after his death by B. R. Evans until it had completed two years. Both of these were creditable but undistinguished.

In 1826 Samuel C. Atkinson and Charles Alexander, publishers of the Philadelphia *Saturday Evening Post,* founded the *Casket: Flowers of Literature, Wit and Sentiment.*[8] Alexander dropped out after two years, but Atkinson continued for ten years to issue the *Casket* in connection with the *Post,* utilizing frequently the same material for both. In 1839 an ambitious young publicist named George R. Graham bought the *Casket* and soon changed it from a cheaply printed catch-all with borrowed engravings into an attractive magazine. The next year Graham bought the *Gentleman's Magazine,*[9] edited by the famous actor William E. Burton. Burton and Charles Alexander had founded this magazine in 1837, and Burton had been having a good time editing it for three and a half years, but now he

7 This magazine resembled a review in its contents, though the articles were shorter than those of the reviews of the time. There were many memoirs, historical articles, and book reviews, with some poetry. It was illustrated with lithographs by Pendleton.

8 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 544-45.

9 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 673-76.

needed his money for theatrical ventures and was glad to dispose of it to young Graham. It had been a lively and attractive serial, far from Puritanical, and filled with the personality of its actor-editor. With these two magazines the new owner made a combination which he called *Graham's Magazine,*[10] and which not only became one of the three or four most important magazines in the United States but, in the five years 1841-45, displayed a brilliance which has seldom been matched in American magazine history. Edgar Allan Poe was literary and contributing editor during fifteen months in 1841-42, and was succeeded by Rufus W. Griswold. Bryant, Cooper, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Willis, and Paulding were among the more famous of the contributors in those years. The plates by Sartain were often excellent; and one of the most admirable things about the magazine was a certain liveliness in the writing not often achieved in these times. But perhaps George R. Graham's chief contribution to the development of American magazines was his demonstration of the fact that good pay to contributors was a policy which yielded golden returns.

One of Graham's star contributors was Nathaniel Parker Willis, an outstanding magazine figure of the times. In 1829 he had started his own *American Monthly Magazine* [11] in Boston, but his spicy style and general insouciance were without honor in his own country, and after two years he transferred his magazine to New York, where it was united with the *Mirror,* of which he became a contributing editor residing abroad.

A more notable Boston venture was the *New-England Magazine,*[12] founded in 1831 by Joseph T. Buckingham, formerly of the *Polyanthos* and the *New-England Galaxy,* and his son Edwin. It published some memorable literature, notably fifteen pieces by Hawthorne. The *American Monthly Review,*[13] a Cambridge periodical founded in 1832 chiefly for the criticism of American books, and edited by Professor Sidney Willard of Harvard, was absorbed by the *New-England Magazine* at the end of 1833. In 1835 Park Benjamin got possession of the pub-

[10] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 544-55.
[11] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 577-79.
[12] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 599-603.
[13] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 604-05.

EDITORIAL GENTLEMEN OF THE TWENTIES AND THIRTIES

GEORGE POPE MORRIS — NATHANIEL PARKER WILLIS
LOUIS ANTOINE GODEY — WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

All after steel engravings. Morris (*New-York Mirror*) from *Graham's Magazine*, April, 1845. Willis, a beautifully characteristic portrait, from *Graham's*,. April, 1844. Godey from his *Lady's Book*, February, 1850. Bryant (*United States Review and Literary Gazette*), an early portrait, from *Graham's*, August, 1843.

lication and the next year combined it with another *American Monthly Magazine,*[14] which had been begun in New York in 1833. An attempt was made to publish this periodical in New York and Boston simultaneously, but Boston did not rise to the bait and the *American Monthly* returned to its Knickerbocker fleshpots. For a time Charles Fenno Hoffman and Benjamin were associated in the editorship, but eventually the undertaking was given over, and the subscription list transferred to Horace Greeley's weekly *New-Yorker,* upon which Benjamin found employment.

Down in Philadelphia the poet Sumner Lincoln Fairfield began the *North American Magazine* in November, 1832. His wife, Jane Fairfield, tells in her *Life* of her husband[15] the story of how she and the poet's mother canvassed for the subscriptions which made the magazine possible; something of their trials in this work is shown in the acrimonious controversy which the magazine carried on with John T. Adams, of the *Massachusetts Centinel,* who traduced and insulted these women when they were working in Boston.[16] Fairfield's magazine, which was called the *North American Quarterly* after April, 1835, was well printed, and contained some good criticism. There was much of John Howard Payne, a friend of the editor. Suspended in 1837, the magazine issued two quarterly numbers in 1838 under the management of Nathan C. Brooks, a young school teacher of Baltimore, and was then converted by Brooks into the monthly *American Museum of Science, Literature and the Arts.* The *Museum* had Edgar Allan Poe for a contributor, but it survived only ten months—September, 1838, to June, 1839—under the new title.

Probably a chief reason for the failure of the *American Monthly* was the success of a rival in the New York literary group—the *Knickerbocker Magazine.*[17] The *Knickerbocker* got off to bad start in 1833, but in the next year Lewis Gaylord Clark became editor; and thereafter for more than a quarter of a century "Old Knick" was in the forefront of American maga-

[14] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 618-21.
[15] New York, 1847. See also *The Autobiography of Jane Fairfield* (Boston, 1860).
[16] *North American Magazine,* II, 98-107 (June, 1833).
[17] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 606-14.

zines. Irving, Cooper, Bryant, Halleck, Paulding, and Willis represented New York among the contributors; Longfellow, Hawthorne, Whittier, and Holmes spoke for New England; and Philadelphia and other cities were represented only less conspicuously. Yet, as its name certified, the *Knickerbocker* was definitely a New York magazine. The feature which chiefly characterized it throughout Clark's editorship was the "Editor's Table," which abounded with light, good-humored talk, and eventually came to occupy a large proportion of the magazine's space.

There was one magazine of the period which made a success of the admixture of politics and literature: the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*,[18] founded in 1837 by an exuberant Irishman named John L. O'Sullivan and his partner S. D. Langtree. Politics furnished a large part of the *Democratic's* contents; but Hawthorne, Bryant, and Whittier were frequent contributors, as well as many others of somewhat less note. Beginning at Washington, it moved after three years to the publisher's magnet, New York, and continued there up to the eve of the war. A short-lived rival was the *American Whig Review*[19] of 1845-47.

Another monthly which did much reviewing was *Arcturus*,[20] which, according to its own statement, sustained the "mixed character of a review and a magazine."[21] It was founded in December, 1840, by Cornelius Mathews, who later won a fame of some small magnitude by his satire, *The Career of Puffer Hopkins*. Evert A. Duyckinck was brought in as associate editor, and there was a really good list of contributors; but the journal lasted through only eighteen numbers.

Of yet briefer life were two promising Boston youngsters whose motto here may well be "The good die young." The *Boston Miscellany*,[22] edited by a younger brother of Edward Everett Hale, in 1842-43, reached but little over a year's age; it numbered Lowell, Hawthorne, Poe, Longfellow, and Thoreau among

[18] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 677-84.
[19] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 750-54.
[20] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 711-12.
[21] *Arcturus*, I, 2 (December, 1840).
[22] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 718-20.

its contributors. Lowell's own *Pioneer*[23] (1843) published only three numbers, but they were admirable: Poe, Hawthorne, and Whittier helped to make them so. Dr. Thomas Dunn English's *Aristidean, A Magazine of Reviews, Politics and Light Literature,* New York, lived but little longer, publishing a single volume in 1845.[24] English gained some fame by his sentimental ballad "Ben Bolt," and by his controversy with Poe. That merciless critic remarked that the editor of the *Aristidean* "had, for the motto on his magazine cover, the words of Richelieu,—*Men call me cruel; I am not: I am just.* Here the monosyllables 'an ass' should have been appended."[25] English later claimed that an article by Cornelius Mathews killed the *Aristidean.*[26]

More popular was *Sartain's Union Magazine.*[27] It was founded in New York by Mrs. Caroline M. Kirkland, the writer of western sketches, in 1847 under the title of the *Union Magazine of Literature and Art;* but John Sartain, the engraver, moved it to Philadelphia two years later. It bore a strong resemblance to *Graham's.* Though its tables of contents were not as distinguished as those made up for that magazine, they carried the names of Longfellow, Lowell, Poe, Bryant, and Willis; and in illustration the *Union* was especially brilliant.

Only two other monthlies need to be mentioned in this roll-call:[28] Timothy Dwight Sprague's *American Literary Magazine*[29] (1847-49), published first at Albany and then at Hartford, and *Holden's Dollar Magazine,* of New York. The former printed contributions by such popular writers as Mrs. Sigourney, Alfred B. Street, and C. A. Goodrich, with a portrait on steel embellish-

23 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 735-38.

24 March, April, September, October, November, and December. Whitman, Poe, Mrs. Ellet, Mayne Reid, H. S. Saroni, and others were contributors. It was a five-dollar democratic magazine. See Thomas Ollive Mabbott's introduction to *The Half-Breed and Other Stories* by Walt Whitman (New York, 1927).

25 This is from the "Thomas Dunn Brown" article in *Godey's* for July, 1846. See Poe's *Works* (Stedman and Woodberry ed., Chicago, 1896), VIII, 68.

26 *John-Donkey,* I, 152 (March 4, 1848).

27 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 769-71.

28 Those founded in 1849 which lived into the next period are reserved for treatment in the second volume of this work.

29 Vols. I (July – December, 1847) and II (January – June, 1848) published at Albany; III (July – December, 1848), IV (January – June, 1849) and V (incomplete, July, August, 1849), published at Hartford. "All our papers will be original."—I, 61. Much biography; comment on art; brief book reviews.

ing each number. There was much about manners, including a serial "Short Talks About Good Manners," written "By an Ex-Member of Society." After the change to Hartford, Yale professors were frequent contributors. The *Dollar Magazine* was founded in 1848 by Charles W. Holden, a journalist who died the following year while on a visit to the California gold fields. Charles F. Briggs ("Harry Franco") was editor for a time. The magazine was a part of the movement for cheap literature which was most noticeable in the weekly field, in the magazines of knowledge, and in the output of pirated English novels. Of all of which more anon. The *Dollar Magazine* was merged with the weekly *North American Miscellany* (New York, 1851-54) in August, 1851.

WOMEN'S MAGAZINES

The monthly magazines of general literature were closely related to the magazines designed chiefly for women, and sometimes found in them very difficult competition. Indeed certain of the women's magazines led all their competitors a merry chase, forcing some of the merely masculine periodicals to print fashion plates and household hints. There were those, however, which stood apart and scoffed: among them was the *Democratic Review*. "The mass of the matter is inanity itself,"[30] wrote the literary critic W. A. Jones in discussing in that magazine the contents of the women's periodicals; and later another writer in the same review returned to the charge:

> Our sister city of Philadelphia has long been famous for the number of family newspapers and picture magazines which she annually pours forth. . . . Stories of fashionable life, the most insipid of themes, . . . stories in which the women are always angels, the men either Adonises or Calibans, life always a ball-room, and in which flirtations and marriages are represented as the great ends of existence . . . Their fashion plates are the chief glory of the Philadelphia magazines.

But, adds our critic, these plates are "intensely vulgar and often . . . indecently and shamefully loose"—which was putting it

[30] *Democratic Review*, XV, 247 (September, 1844).

rather strongly.[31] Charles A. Dana is disgusted by the assumption which these magazines "constantly put forth of being designed for *ladies,* and of representing in some way the women of the country. . . . Heaven protect us from such literature!" [32] The *Christian Examiner* was also "grieved and disgusted at the amount of idle, ephemeral, useless fiction which they pour out." [33] While these criticisms were just enough as applied to much of what was published for women, they disregarded the fact that no small amount of the contents of some of the women's periodicals was of as high a standard as any of the literature printed in the general magazines.

The first women's magazine to reach an age of more than five years was the *Ladies' Magazine,*[34] founded in Boston in 1828 by Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale, of whom Elizabeth Oakes Smith once wrote: "Her whole life was a tribute to the respectabilities, decorums, and moralities of life." [35] She meant more than that to her times, however. She was a leader in many public activities, but her greatest work was in the cause of "female education." She advocated the preparation of women for the teaching profession and the establishment of female seminaries; the *Ladies' Magazine* shows this purpose on nearly every other page. Not that it was altogether didactic; it was not. But in the midst of the sentimentality with which the magazine reeks, or in the midst of a business announcement, the educational note may be heard. Witness this passage from the Prospectus:

> The lover will no longer, when bidding adieu to the "lady of his love," request her to gaze on that inconstant thing, the moon, so often obscured by clouds, and then remember her vows. He will present her his subscription for the *Ladies' Magazine;* and the

[31] "Parlor Periodicals," by "H," in *Democratic Review,* XXX, 76-87 (January, 1852).

[32] *Harbinger,* III, 138 (Aug. 8, 1846).

[33] *Christian Examiner,* XXXVI, 141 (January, 1844).

[34] Titles: *The Ladies' Magazine,* 1828-29, 1833; *The Ladies' Magazine and Literary Gazette,* 1830-32; *American Ladies' Magazine,* 1834-36. Publishers: Putnam & Hunt, 1828-29; John Putnam, 1830; Marsh, Capen & Lyon, 1831-33; James B. Dow, 1834-36—all of Boston. See Lawrence Martin, "The Genesis of *Godey's Lady's Book,*" in the *New England Quarterly,* I, 62 (January, 1928).

[35] Mary Alice Wyman, *Selections from the Autobiography of Elizabeth Oakes Smith,* p. 98.

sweet smile with which the gift is received will recur, like a dream of light to his memory, while reflecting that the soft eyes of his charmer are, for *his sake,* often employed on its pure pages, while her fancy, and taste, and mind, are improving by its scenes, characters and sentiments.[36]

The above is submitted as something unique in the way of a sales talk, while the subscription premium suggested is, to say the least, attractive. The fact is that, in spite of sentimental trumpery, Mrs. Hale was a practical woman, and her educational activities were extremely valuable. The pages of her magazine were sober and moral, though often mildly entertaining. Mrs. Sigourney, Mrs. Child, Miss Gould, and Miss Sedgwick were among the contributors. There was an engraving, a colored fashion plate, and a piece of music in each of the numbers throughout much of the magazine's file.[37] It is doubtful if it was ever very prosperous. Masonic brethren of Mrs. Hale's husband, who had died leaving her with five children and no financial resources, are said to have had a hand in starting the magazine and putting her in charge. After the publication of nine annual volumes, the *Ladies' Magazine* was combined with a much more successful Philadelphia rival; the fact was thus noted in the *American Annals of Education:*

> The *Ladies' Magazine,* which has been for nine years devoted, in part, to female education, has recently lost its identity, and, like many a "better half," assumed the name of a worse one. It is united with the *Lady's Book,* a periodical of much interest; but far less important, in its tendencies on sound literature, morals, and education.[38]

But Mrs. Hale was herself transferred to *Godey's* along with her magazine, and continued in its pages her educational campaigning.

Most prominent of all the women's magazines of the period

[36] *Ladies' Magazine,* I, 3 (January, 1828).

[37] It was with some reluctance that Mrs. Hale began publishing fashion plates and thus encouraging frivolity. See *New England Quarterly,* I, 41-70 (January, 1928).

[38] *American Annals of Education,* VII, 142 (March, 1837).

was *Godey's Lady's Book*.[39] Its story, like those of the other more important magazines of the period, shall have a chapter of its own later in this volume, so there is no need here to do more than suggest its position with respect to the general magazine history of the period. That position was important for several reasons: because of the prominence of *Godey's* contributors, for to name them over would be to call the roll of the principal writers of America; because of its encouragement to writers, for it was not behind *Graham's* in liberal payments to contributors; because of its popular success, for by the end of our period its list had reached forty thousand—"an edition unprecedented in this or any other country";[40]—and because of its influence on its competitors, for it was the model for many similar attempts, as well as a molding force upon more sober magazines. Under its influence *Graham's* became at least half a women's magazine. "Look at the attempts that have been made in every quarter copying the form of our *Book* and our name!" exclaimed Mr. Godey in the publisher's department of his magazine in 1842. "In January," he continues, "we altered our page, put figured rules around it expressly for our work, and now every magazine has pages of the same kind."[41] Even London magazines imitated *Godey's*. But not all of the *Lady's Book* was written by Emerson and Poe and their like; a very large proportion of it was thick with sentimentality, pathos, and banality. It was chiefly against *Godey's* that the criticism of the *Democratic Review* quoted on a preceding page was directed. There were many such criticisms printed, and whether or not there was some jealousy at the bottom of them, candor compels the admission that they were in the main just. Yet *Godey's* continued successfully upon its rather pleasant if bourgeois way, adding more of its boasted "embellishments" and more subscribers. It lived for half a century after the end of our period.

The most successful of the magazines modeled directly upon *Godey's* was *Peterson's Ladies' National Magazine*.[42] It was

[39] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 580-94.
[40] *Godey's Lady's Book*, XXXVIII, 439 (June, 1849).
[41] *Ibid.*, XXV, 252 (November, 1842).
[42] To be treated more fully in the second volume of this work.

founded in Philadelphia by Charles J. Peterson of the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1842, and its editor in our period was Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, a prolific writer of serial fiction who had been editor a few years before of the *Portland Magazine* [43] up in Maine. Mrs. Stephens, assisted somewhat by John Neal, wrote most of the *Portland Magazine;* and she contributed largely to *Peterson's.* The time was to come when *Peterson's* would forge ahead of the *Lady's Book,* but not until after the Civil War. It died at last in the same year as its rival and model, 1898, both of them having been purchased by Frank A. Munsey and merged into his periodicals. A somewhat similar but shorter-lived magazine was the *Columbian Lady's and Gentleman's,* founded by Israel Post in New York in 1844. Post later withdrew, leaving the magazine in the hands of John Inman, brother of the painter and a journalist of experience. Stephen M. Chester was editor for a few months before the *Columbian's* demise in 1849. Edgar Allan Poe once remarked in his *Broadway Journal* that *Godey's, Graham's,* and the *Columbian* (and he might have added *Peterson's*) "are so nearly alike that if the covers were changed it would not be easy to distinguish one from the other. They nearly all have the same contributors and the same embellishers." [44] With these we should consider also William W. Snowden's *Ladies' Companion,*[45] to which Poe and Longfellow, and a host of minor writers nourished by this group of magazines, contributed. Snowden was combative and quite unliterary, but he made rather a splurge during the life of the *Companion* (1834-44). Finally, two others scarcely less prominent, but of shorter life, may be named: Epes Sargent's magazine, published through the first six months of 1843 in New York and called *Sargent's New Monthly Magazine of Literature, Fashion and the Fine Arts;* and *Miss Leslie's Magazine; Home Book of Fashion, Literature and Domestic*

[43] Her husband, Edward Stephens, was publisher. It is complete in twenty-one numbers, October, 1834 – June, 1836. It was then merged with the *Eastern Magazine* (July, 1835 – June, 1836), of Bangor, Maine, to form the *Maine Monthly Magazine* (July, 1836 – June, 1837), Bangor. Matilda P. Carter had been editor of the *Eastern Magazine* for its first five months, and was then succeeded by Charles Gilman, who became editor of the *Maine Monthly* after the merger.

[44] *Broadway Journal,* I, 60 (Jan. 25, 1845).

[45] To be treated in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

Economy. Of this latter, T. S. Arthur, who had lately come to Philadelphia from Baltimore, where he had been in journalism, but who had not yet written his classic of a kind, *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room*, was publisher; and Eliza Leslie, author of a cook-book and of magazine tales which had achieved the distinction of a collected edition in three volumes, was editor. Their magazine lasted only through the year 1843 under the name first chosen; thereafter Arthur continued it under the name of the *Ladies' Magazine* until it was merged with *Godey's*, in May, 1846.

Somewhat different and inferior were those magazines which were issued monthly but designed, when bound into yearly volumes, to be used as gift books like the annuals. This was the purpose, in some years at least, of the *Ladies' Wreath*,[46] of New York (there were *Ladies' Wreaths* and *Lady's Wreaths* in other cities, too), which was begun in 1846 and continued to 1855 under the successive editorships of Mrs. S. T. Martyn and Helen Irving, the latter the wife of the nephew-biographer of Washington Irving. It published only about thirty-six pages in an issue, and numbered such people as Mrs. Stephens, Mrs. Sigourney, Mrs. Eames, T. S. Arthur, and J. S. C. Abbott among its contributors. Its two distinctive features were its hand-colored flower plate and steel engraving with each issue, and its price of a dollar a year. It claimed 25,000 circulation in 1853. Very similar was the *Ladies' Garland*[47] (1837-49), of Philadelphia, another dollar magazine, which was described in its subtitle as "devoted to literature, amusement and instruction, containing original essays, female biography, historical narratives, sketches of society, topographical descriptions, moral tales, anecdotes, etc., poetry, original and selected, etc., etc." There

[46] Publishers: Martyn & Ely, 1846-51; J. C. Burdick, 1852-53; Burdick and Scoville, 1854-55. Annual volumes (I-VII) May, 1846–April, 1853, semiannual volumes (VIII-XII) May, 1853–August, 1855 (end?).

[47] Vol. I, consisting of semimonthly numbers April 15–June 15, 1837, and monthly numbers July, 1837–June, 1838; and Vol. II, consisting of twelve undated numbers with a title-page dated 1839, were published by John Libby. Vols. III-IX (annual volumes July, 1839–June, 1846) and X-XII (semiannual volumes July, 1846–December, 1847) were published by J. Van Court. Vols. XIII-XV (January, 1849–June, 1849) were published by Samuel D. Patterson. New series I-VI were equivalent to VII-IX in old series, two volumes of the new equalling one of the old numbering.

was more than a little of "lifted" material in the periodicals of this class. The Rev. Daniel Wise's *Ladies' Pearl* (1840-43) of Lowell, Massachusetts, may be mentioned further, and there an end made.

There were also a number of weeklies designed for women. Most of these are either totally forgotten, or have their memorials not in regularly preserved files but in random and occasional references. The Philadelphia *Album* appears to have been started in 1826 by Thomas Cottrell Clarke after his retirement from the editorship of the *Saturday Evening Post,* to have absorbed the *Ladies' Literary Port Folio* (begun 1828), combining the titles, to have been edited thereafter by Robert Morris, and finally to have merged into the Philadelphia *Inquirer.* Godey had a *Lady's Dollar Newspaper* which he offered as a premium with his magazine; it was edited by Grace Greenwood during at least a part of its life.

LITERARY WEEKLIES

The literary weeklies, indeed, furnished one of the most interesting phases of this period of American magazine history. There were a great many of them. The reader of the *New York Mirror* will find new ones noticed in its columns week after week through the twenties—sometimes two or three in a single number. In March, 1830, the *Mirror* says, "We have of late received several dozen first numbers of new publications"; but it resolves to give no more notices to the new, cheap, and ephemeral literary weeklies. In those days one could start a paper on faith and a hundred-dollar bill, but to keep it going the editor had need to add not only works to faith, but thousands to the original hundred; consequently many weeklies were launched, made a fine showing for a little while, and then sank beneath the waters of oblivion very silently, leaving scarce a ripple for the historian.

The *Mirror,*[48] begun in the closing years of the preceding period, ran almost to the end of the one now under consideration, or to 1846. Always lively and interesting, it is a matchless history of the manners, fads, foibles, bickerings, and interests of

[48] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 320-30.

its times. The *Saturday Evening Post* [49] continued steadily to furnish light Sunday reading to Philadelphians, and the *New-England Galaxy* to provide material for Boston libel suits. Godey puffs his weekly contemporaries in 1841, mentioning the *Post,* "one of the oldest, and under its present able management one of the best conducted journals in the country"; the *Saturday Courier* and the *Saturday Chronicle;* and, with especial praise, Charles Alexander's *Weekly Messenger.* Philadelphia, Godey says, "is particularly rich in papers issued weekly." [50] The *Philadelphia Home Weekly,* founded in 1842, lasted for thirty years or more, and built up a fine list of contributors. But to go back to the early years of our period, the volatile John Neal sought an outlet in his *Yankee* (1828-29), published briefly at Portland. This periodical experienced several mergers and finally, under the title of the *Yankee and Boston Literary Gazette,* was published at the capital of New England; but, as Neal tells it, Boston air agreed with it no better than the ozone of Portland,[51] and it was merged with the *New-England Galaxy* at the end of a year's life there. Poe, Whittier, and Mellen were contributors, and the poet John W. Miller was a joint editor in the Boston period. In November, 1828, William Leggett began in New York his *Critic,* which unfortunately met with so little encouragement that after six months' trial its editor combined it with the *Mirror,* himself enlisting in an editorial capacity under the *Mirror* banner. Leggett had had wide experience on the sea and on the western frontier, and these settings were reflected in the stilted but sometimes racy tales which he printed, one each week, in the *Critic.* His longer story, "The Squatters," ran as a serial; and his friend P. W. Wetmore contributed much verse. Twenty years later the *Literary World* summed up the *Critic* thus:

> Leggett wrote feeling Tales and Essays (the latter somewhat after the manner of Johnson), forcible dramatic criticism and reviews,

[49] To be treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

[50] *Mirror,* VII, 279 (March 6, 1830).

[51] See sketch of Neal (undoubtedly written by himself) in Duyckinck's *Cyclopaedia of American Literature,* I, 875; and his *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life* (Boston, 1869), pp. 336-37. There was a New York *Yankee,* 1847-49.

and graceful verses. He did all this for the *Critic* and repeated the task weekly, and what is more, published the whole himself,—and was rewarded by the discontinuance of his work.[52]

Thus the *Critic* was mostly Leggett; but it was creditable, for Leggett was an able man. He was later associated with Bryant on the *Post,* and became famous as a fiery abolitionist. It was "In Memory of William Leggett" that Bryant wrote in the *Democratic Review:*

> His love of Truth—too warm, too strong,
> For hope or fear to chain or chill—
> His hate of tyranny and wrong
> Burn in the breasts he kindled still! [53]

A unique periodical of the times was the *Paul Pry,* of Washington, which published five annual volumes beginning December 3, 1831. It contained highly personal observations of Washington politics and society by the eccentric Mrs. Anne Royal. In 1836, when she was seventy-one years of age, Mrs. Royal dropped *Paul Pry* and began a new weekly of personalities called the *Huntress* (1836-54), which she continued until her eighty-ninth year. Isaac C. Pray's *Boston Pearl* (1831-34?), a literary miscellany of piratical tendencies, may be mentioned in passing. But the weekly which flew the black flag most frankly (though no more truly or consistently than many others) was the *Corsair,*[54] published by Nathaniel Parker Willis and his friend Dr. T. O. Porter, brother of the editor of the great sporting weekly, the *Spirit of the Times.* Willis at first proposed to name the paper "The Pirate," and wrote a prospectus in which he set forth the editorial purpose

to take advantage, in short, of the privilege assured to us by our piratical law of copyright; and, in the name of American authors (for our own benefit) "convey" to our columns, for the amusement

[52] *Literary World.* I, 61 (Feb. 20, 1847).
[53] *Democratic Review,* VI, 430 (November, 1839).
[54] See Henry A. Beers, *Nathaniel Parker Willis* (American Men of Letters series), pp. 239-43.

of our readers, the cream and spirit of everything that ventures to light in England, France, and Germany.[55]

Willis contributed some original and characteristic chat on art and drama and this and that to the early numbers, and then went off to Europe. Shortly after the *Corsair* first hove in sight, the *New-Yorker* called it

dashing and clever and Frenchified—and if Mr. Willis but goes to Europe next month, as it is said he will, he will dash it and clever it and Frenchify it still more. It will be popular with the *élite*, but caviare to the general. We once heard a little anecdote that will illustrate our meaning. A city beau went upon a visit to his relations in the little village of Greenwich in Connecticut. To astonish the natives he *Adonized* extremely, and among other remarkable adornments, wore very copious ruffled wrist bands to what, Mrs. Trollope would not hesitate to call, his shirt. As our beau walked up and down the single street of the village, a young urchin on his way to school stopped, and, after having regarded him for some time, exclaimed, "'Twon't do—that's too much shirt for Greenwich." Let the *Corsair* beware, or it may find, by and by, that it has on "too much shirt for Greenwich."[56]

The time was to come when Willis's cleverness should be very popular, but for 1839 it was doubtless "too much shirt" for chaste New York. From England Willis sent back Thackeray's travel letters, for which he had paid real money—a guinea a column[57]—as well as letters of his own, to stimulate the *Corsair's* failing fortunes. Dr. Porter, left in charge while Willis was abroad, was a remarkable man. "Your talent is to be the main-stay of the paper," wrote Willis to him, "and you are the best off-hand writer I know. You are world-wise, which no other literary man I know is except Halleck." In the same letter Willis says: "If I had not heard you . . . talk like a Professor in a hailstorm, I should never have started on a cruise like ours with you."[58] But despite good off-hand writing and talk like professors in hailstorms, the piratical craft foundered

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 240. Dillon & Co. issued a *Bucaneer* in New York in 1842.
[56] *New-Yorker*, VII, 13 (March 23, 1839).
[57] Beers, *Willis*, p. 254.
[58] Francis Brinley, *William T. Porter* (New York, 1860), p. 75.

in open sea, just a year after it had set sail in March, 1839, and the crew was taken off by the *Albion*, a companion vessel which had been long afloat.

THE "MAMMOTH" PAPERS

These were great times for pirates. In the year in which the *Corsair* began its cruise, Park Benjamin, with the Rev. Rufus Wilmot Griswold as first mate, launched the *Brother Jonathan;* and in the following year Jonas Winchester joined the fleet with the *New World.* But it is necessary here to abandon our metaphor, and to go back a few years to the establishment of the *New-Yorker*[59] by Horace Greeley in 1834. This weekly described itself as

> A Weekly Journal of Literature, Politics, Statistics and General Intelligence; containing original and selected tales, essays, reviews, poems, anecdotes, &c., &c. With notices of and extracts from new books of interest; full accounts of all elections, foreign and domestic news, important political developments, general educational comments, &c., with twenty-two pieces of music [in each volume] arranged for the piano, flute, &c.[60]

This varied offering was provided largely by editorial shears, though there were original contributions. Greeley's editorial assistants were Park Benjamin, a young man who had recently come down from Boston, as we have seen, and who, though so badly crippled that he got about with difficulty, was full of ambition along editorial lines; R. W. Griswold, who had just come up from Philadelphia, and who, though young, had a varied experience of editorship and travel behind him; and Henry J. Raymond, who was only twenty, and had also just come to the city, but who already showed qualities that were to make him a great force in American journalism.[61] Greeley told his readers

[59] Folio began March 22, 1834. Quarto edition ran March 26, 1836 – Sept. 11, 1841, in eleven semiannual volumes, the odd-numbered beginning in March and even-numbered in September. Vols. III and IV are paged consecutively. For comment on this periodical see Don Seitz, *Horace Greeley* (Indianapolis, 1927), Chaps. III and IV.

[60] Title-page of Vol. VII, the first title-page furnished.

[61] In spite of statements to the contrary, it should be said, however, that Greeley was always editor-in-chief of the paper. See *New-Yorker,* XI, 409. Sept. 11, 1841, and Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1873), p. 94.

he aimed "to blend the lessons of Science, History, Morality and sound Criticism." [62] He published his paper in two editions —one a folio selling for two dollars a year, and the other a quarto edition for binding, which sold at three dollars: "The cheapest literary paper printed weekly in the Northern states." His circulation reached nine thousand, but a large part of the subscribers never paid.[63] When Greeley started the *Tribune* in 1841, the *New-Yorker* lost its identity as the weekly edition of that newspaper.

Though a free borrower, Greeley's paper had printed very few serial stories, and had not been sensational; but in July, 1839, two of the young men trained in its school—Benjamin and Griswold—started the *Brother Jonathan,*[64] and the *Brother Jonathan* was both sensational and very much given to serial fiction. There was some original material, including serials by H. Hastings Weld, John Neal, and John M. Moore; brief critical notes on books and the drama; and poems by one Walter Whitman and others; but foreign writers were chiefly laid under tribute—Dickens and Bulwer, Captain Marryat, Mrs. Gore, Mrs. Moberly, Miss Pardoe, Paul de Kock, and so on. The serials by these writers were illustrated more or less by woodcuts, which had also —to use the publishers' euphemism of the times—been "conveyed" from other periodicals.

After six months with *Brother Jonathan,* Benjamin and Griswold resigned it to its publishers, Wilson and Company, and allied themselves with Jonas Winchester, Greeley's partner in the printing end of his ventures, to start another fiction weekly on the same plan. This was called the *New World,*[65] and its first number was issued June 6, 1840. Its pages were sometimes more than four feet long and eleven columns wide: Gris-

62 *Ibid.*, III, 409 (Sept. 16, 1837).

63 Greeley, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

64 Subtitle: *A Weekly Compend of Belles Lettres and the Fine Arts, Standard Literature, and General Intelligence.* Quarto edition in six volumes, three to the year: Jan. 1, 1842, through Dec. 23, 1843.

65 Subtitle: *A Weekly Journal of Popular Literature, Science, Music and the Arts. Containing the latest Works by Distinguished Authors, Sermons by Eminent Divines, Original and Selected Tales and Poetry, &c., &c.* "No pent-up Utica contracts our powers, The whole unbounded universe is ours." Quarto edition: Vol. I includes June 6 – Dec. 24, 1840; II-IX (1841-44) semiannual volumes even-numbered beginning in January and odd-numbered in July; X (Jan. 4 – May 10, 1845).

wold was wont to call such issues "Leviathan" sheets, with a capital L. After six months the *New World* began to publish a quarto edition as well as the monster folio, and it was eventually followed in this by the *Brother Jonathan*. But serial publication of popular English writers like Dickens and Bulwer was too slow: the pirating book-publishers would seize upon a volume as soon as it was received from England, and rush it into print before the periodicals had a chance at it. The Harper brothers would have their meals brought to them in their shop, and even sleep on the floor of the composing-room,[66] in order to hasten the issue of such a work and be first in the book-shops with it. So the *New World* and *Brother Jonathan* set out to beat the book publishers at their own game, and to issue complete novels as "extras." They would have their messengers awaiting the steamships to board them before they docked, and receive the earliest copies of the new English novels; they would then rush the books into type by working large forces of type-setters night and day, and within twenty-four hours would have them on the streets, damp from the presses, being cried by the newsboys: "Extry! Dickens' new novel! Only ten cents a copy!" And the purchaser of a G. P. R. James or Dickens novel in eighty closely-printed quarto pages would forget the injury to his eyes in the saving to his pocketbook. Benjamin was in his glory: he taunted the piratical book publishers, and he talked playfully to his readers. "You are not so green as to give a dollar for what you can get for eighteen pence or a shilling—not you!"[67] he wrote in the *New World*. The *Brother Jonathan* soon came to issue its extras at regular fortnightly periods. Its publishers also began a monthly *Dollar Magazine*,[68] to print the same type of material, in January, 1841, and they had a daily, the *Tattler;* while the *New World* had its folio and quarto editions, its *Monthly Serial Supplement*, and its daily *Signal*. In short, these men had set out to exploit the pirating business for all it was worth. Other cities had similar papers:

[66] J. Henry Harper, *The House of Harper* (New York, 1912), pp. 23-24.

[67] *New World*, June 4, 1842. Vol. IV, quarto ed.

[68] January, 1841 – December, 1842, two annual volumes. Edited by N. P. Willis and H. Hastings Weld. Though the title-page does not say so, Willis was only contributing editor. Much of the contents appeared also in the *New World*.

ANOTHER "LEVIATHAN" LITERARY WEEKLY TO ADD TO THE "SATANIC PRESS"

"A fust-rate paper—eight feet square!" boasts its promoter, addressing the newsboys. From an illustration by "Phiz" for *The Career of Puffer Hopkins,* which was appearing serially in *Arcturus,* April, 1842.

George Roberts was publisher of the "mammoth" Boston *Notion* —"104 square feet of reading matter"[69]—and employed Griswold as editor in 1841, and later the brilliant L. F. Tasistro; and Philadelphia had *Waldie's Literary Omnibus.*

In 1841 Mathew Carey complained to William Gilmore Simms that there was little hope for American writers of *belles-lettres* while the market was "glutted with periodical literature, particularly the mammoth weeklies."[70] But worse than the offense against the rights of native authors, was the violation of morality. One of the cheap monthlies remarks, "They have a way in this city [New York] of publishing spicy weekly newspapers at two cents a copy and bestowing upon them a circulation of ten, twenty, and thirty thousand a week."[71] This is what the *Tribune* was wont to call "the Satanic Press." It must be said, however, that criticism of moral turpitude is scarcely to be brought against this whole class. The *New World* boasted with substantial truth that "its ample pages are unsoiled by profane or improper jests, vulgar allusions, or irreligious sentiments."[72]

But the craze soon ran its course; its abuses eventually became too manifest. The cheap reprint "extras" had been going through the mails under newspaper postage, but in April, 1843, a postoffice order subjected them to the much higher pamphlet postage. Two months later they were shut out of Canada by the operation of British copyright regulations.[73] *Brother Jonathan,* which had been edited successively by H. Hastings Weld and John Neal after Benjamin had left it, abandoned its quarto edition at the end of 1843, though it later resumed publication for a time as a monthly at twenty-five cents a year. The *New World* kept on over a year longer. Benjamin and his colleague James Aldrich left it in March, 1844, being succeeded by Henry C. Deming and the Rev. James McKay, and later by Charles Eames. There is no doubt that it was much tamer in its last two years—more like the old *New-Yorker*—and it was merged

[69] *Family Magazine,* II, 40. Section V.
[70] Earl L. Bradsher, *Mathew Carey* (New York, 1912), p. 93. Letter dated Dec. 16, 1841.
[71] *Holden's Dollar Magazine,* VIII, 238 (November, 1851).
[72] *New World,* Jan. 1, 1842. Advertisement.
[73] See Hudson, *op. cit.,* p. 589.

in 1845 into the *Emporium*. Benjamin published the *Western Continent* in Baltimore in 1846, and the *American Mail* in New York in 1847, both of them very short-lived. At the end of 1844 Arthur's *Ladies' Magazine* was saying with a sigh of relief that cheap literature "has had its day. . . . How the reading public has stood the system so long has been a source of wonder,"[74] and E. A. D[uyckinck] three months later in the *American Whig Review* showed himself equally relieved, but still somewhat indignant. The period of the "cheap and nasty," he thinks, is about over.

> Native authors were neglected, despised, insulted; foreign authors were mutilated, pillaged, and insulted besides . . . The good writers were not only taken possession of, their works altered and thrown upon the public without their just honor and responsibility, but they were made the cover for the worst licentiousness. . . . The cupidity of the publishers over-stocked the market, and the traffic fell. . . . Doubtless a taste for reading was diffused . . .[75]

It was probably "Harry Franco" who in 1848 wrote an article for *Holden's* on the cheap literature of the era just passing. He mentions the "Boston mammoth papers" and the *Pictorial Brother Jonathan*,—a later development—adding:

> The editions of some of these trashy works were unprecedentedly immense. Thirty, forty, sixty thousand were the various averages. These were scattered far and wide in pamphlet form and at the lowest prices. . . . Mediocre novel-writers, news-scribblers, petti-foggers—all who could nib a pen—then set to work vigorously, and noms des plumes flourished in every quarter.

This writer is less moved by international piracy than by native grovelling in the periodicals, but he notes the advent of de Kock thus: "Then came the wild, unnatural works of the prurient French school; the native trash-writers were laid upon the shelf, and translators, good, bad, and indifferent, stepped into their

[74] *Arthur's Ladies' Magazine*, II, 242 (November, 1844). Yet four years later, in the Fourth of July *Pictorial Brother Jonathan* for 1848, Wilson and Company advertised the fact that "The country is flooded with advertisements of cheap books and pamphlets."

[75] *American Whig Review*, I, 148 (February, 1845).

shoes." [76] Of trash-writers, however, there was no end, nor will there ever be so long as they have their public.

THE "KNOWLEDGE" MAGAZINES

It will be convenient to mention here a group of cheap periodicals which were very different in purpose from the fiction magazines. Consideration of this group will serve to remind us, moreover, that cheap publication was not limited to fiction, nor was it a distinctively American phenomenon, but it was a notable feature of the times in England and France as well: the world-wide awakening was doubtless at the root of it. Lord Brougham's Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge was founded in 1827, and Charles Knight became the director of its series of informational publications. But two years before Knight's *Penny Magazine* was established and three before the *Magazine Pittoresque,* of Paris, two members of the New York Lyceum of Natural History, N. Sargent and Abraham Halsey, began the *Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge,*[77] which was published monthly for about a year in 1830-31. The New York Lyceum of Natural History had no connection with the lyceum movement which was to play so large a part in popular culture in America. That movement and its periodicals will be discussed later in relation to educational matters; it is sufficient here to note a connection between the activity of the lyceum associations and that of the societies and periodicals for the diffusion of knowledge. To proceed, the *Family Magazine, Weekly Abstract of General Knowledge* [78] was founded in

[76] *Holden's Dollar Monthly,* I, 218 (April, 1848).

[77] J. Leavitt, publisher, New York. Vol. I, June 15, 1830 – December, 1830; II, January – May, 1831. The first two numbers were called *Mechanics' and Farmers' Magazine of Useful Knowledge.* It was originally proposed to issue semi-monthly, but the plan was changed after the first number, and the magazine was never issued more frequently than once a month.

[78] Subtitles change as follows: *Weekly Abstract of General Knowledge,* 1833-34; *Monthly Abstract of General Knowledge,* 1834-41. (See II, 192.) Subtitle in reprints: *General Abstract of Useful Knowledge.* Vol. I consists of fifty-two "sections" dated April 20, 1833 – April 12, 1834; Vol. II consists of twenty-four weekly sections (Preface says "up to 12," but see II, 192) and seven monthly sections; Vol. III consists of monthly numbers June, 1835 – February, 1836, and three undated numbers; Vol. [IV], 1837, consists of twelve undated and unnumbered parts, apparently published monthly from June, 1836, through May, 1837; Vols. V-VIII follow the same method as [IV] for 1838-41. Publishers: Origen Bacheler 1833-34, Redfield & Lindsay 1834-37, J. S. Redfield, 1837-41. (See II, 352.) Editors: Origen

New York by Origen Bacheler in 1833 in direct imitation of Knight's magazine; it was made a monthly in June, 1834, and continued to be published in monthly parts until it was suspended in May, 1841. It was filled with "systematic courses of General Knowledge" in many branches, and was rather copiously illustrated with woodcuts. It sold for a dollar and a half a year, and one reprint was made of it in Cincinnati and another partial one in Philadelphia. In the meantime two editions of the London *Penny Magazine* were being reprinted in this country—one in Boston and one in New York. In Boston also the *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*[79] began in September, 1834, to continue three years and a month. It was published by a company of wood-engravers, but was badly printed; it is interesting, however, as containing examples of the early hack work of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Sears' *New Monthly Family Magazine*[80] (1843-49), of New York, was established by Robert Sears "for the diffusion of useful knowledge": "from the mines of history, biography, natural history, moral and physical sciences, fine arts, and general literature," the industrious Mr. Sears had dug out "the choicest gems, such as emit the purest moral lustre." Later his magazine was called the *New Pictorial Family Magazine*. Benson J. Lossing was the chief wood-engraver. One of Sears's rivals was Theodore Dwight's *American Penny Magazine*[81] (1845-51), which sold at three cents a num-

Bacheler, 1833 – August, 1834; Thomas Allen, September, 1834 – May, 1836; "Association of Gentlemen" (including Dr. A. Sidney Doane), June, 1836 – May, 1839; Benson J. Lossing, June, 1839 – May, 1841.

[79] Vol. I, September, 1834 – August, 1835; II, September, 1835 – August, 1836; III, October, 1836 – September, 1837. No issue for September, 1836, on account of fire. Publishers: Beston Bewick Company, 1834-35; J. L. Sibley, 1835-37. Probably publishers were editors also. Abel Bowen, Alonzo Hartwell, John C. Crossman, William Croome, and other engravers on wood formed the Bewick Company, which went bankrupt after its fire in 1836. Freeman Hunt, later founder of the *Merchant's Magazine*, was an editor. Hawthorne and his sister wrote or revised anonymously "almost the entire contents" of the March-August numbers of 1836. (See Nina E. Browne, *A Bibliography of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Boston, 1905), p. 150.)

[80] Title: Vols. I-II (1844-45), *The New Monthly Family Magazine;* III (1846), *The New Pictorial, and Illustrated Family Magazine;* IV-V (1847-9), *The New Pictorial Family Magazine.* Half-titles: I-II, *Sears' New Monthly Family Magazine;* III-V, *Sears' Pictorial Magazine.*

[81] Weekly 1845-47, monthly 1848-51. Vol. I comprises Feb. 8, 1845 – Jan. 31, 1846; II, the remainder of 1846; III, 1847; IV, 1848; V, January, February, March, 1849. A continuation was attempted July, 1851, but only one number of the

ber, in spite of its name. There were many other publications of this kind—"Family" and "Penny" magazines, "Cabinets of Instruction," and so on. In looking back over the early thirties, the *Family Magazine,* though writing from a prejudiced point of view, expressed substantial truth when it said in 1835 that the presses of the large cities had been

> teeming with cheap publications under the names of "Libraries," "Galleries," and many other equally comprehensive titles. . . . In the zeal of competition, however, many stale and useless works were imprudently admitted into some of the publications, and the smallness of the type and bad quality of the paper rendered many of them unsatisfactory and almost worthless. Many of the cheap magazines, also, became satisfied with making up their pages with fragments of ephemeral news, rather than with substantial Knowledge, alleviating their dullness by introducing here and there a worthless tale, and only taking care to impose the trash upon the world with the catch-penny glare of engravings.[82]

LATER WEEKLIES

Four other weeklies remain to be mentioned before we turn to the quarterlies. One of them is the *Dollar Magazine* of Philadelphia, which, though it really belongs to the cheap literature class, published Poe's "Gold Bug" as a prize tale in June, 1843, and Hawthorne's "Ethan Brand," under the name of "The Unpardonable Sin," in May, 1851.[83] It was badly printed, and mainly eclectic. George W. Childs bought it in 1864 and changed the name to the *Home Weekly and Household Newspaper,* an adjunct of the *Public Ledger.*[84] Seba Smith and Lawrence Labree edited the *Rover, a Weekly Magazine of Tales,*

new series was issued. Title of I-II, *American Penny Magazine and Family Newspaper;* afterward, *Dwight's American Magazine and Family Newspaper, with Numerous Illustrative and Ornamental Wood Engravings, for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and Moral and Religious Principles.*

[82] *Family Magazine,* Preface to Vol. II (April, 1835).

[83] This story was accepted by C. W. Webber for his ambitious but abortive monthly. (See Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature,* II, 630.) Webber's proposed magazine was undoubtedly the "enterprise" which was referred to in the letter of Hawthorne to Webber quoted in Moncure D. Conway's *Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Great Writers Series, London, n.d.), p. 122, but of which Conway could "find nothing further."

[84] Smyth's *Philadelphia Magazines,* p. 230.

Poetry and Engravings (March 24, 1843 – September 13, 1845) in New York. Mr. and Mrs. Seba Smith, Thomas Buchanan Read, and Walter Whitman were among the contributors, but the paper was mainly eclectic.[85] The *Harbinger*[86] was of a very different type. It was an organ of American Fourierism, but gave attention to literary and musical criticism as well as to social reform. It was published first at Brook Farm, and, upon the disintegration of that community, at New York. As a vehicle for the writings of transcendentalists, it was a successor of the *Dial;* it was also the heritor of the Brook Farm *Phalanx* and of Albert Brisbane's brief *Future* (1842). George Ripley edited it throughout its life of nearly four years in 1845-49. The *Broadway Journal*,[87] which ran throughout the year 1845, is notable chiefly for Poe's connection with it; it was the only magazine in which Poe ever had a financial interest. He joined "Harry Franco" Briggs and Henry C. Watson in the editorship in March, and was sole owner and editor for the last two months of the year. And lastly, the *Home Journal*[88] was started in 1846. George Pope Morris, whose *Mirror* had perished in that year, joined forces with Nathaniel Parker Willis in this happy venture, which survived for over half a century as a lively journal of society, manners, and literature.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEWS

It will have been noted that a few of the weeklies and more of the monthly periodicals paid some attention to reviewing in this period; but the chief reviews were, after all, the quarterlies. Of these, in the secular division, at least, there were not very many. "The quarterly reviews have never been popular," observed Briggs in the *Broadway Journal*. He continued:

Not only are they too stilted . . . but they make a point of discussing only topics which are caviare to the many. . . . Their

[85] The *Rover* is complete in five semiannual volumes. It was then continued through three more volumes as the *New York Illustrated Magazine*, in much the same character. Smith retired from the editorship in January, 1845. See Mary A. Wyman, *Two American Pioneers* (New York, 1927), pp. 132-39.

[86] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 763-65.

[87] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 757-62.

[88] To be treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

subjects get cold before being served up . . . out of keeping with the rush of the age. . . . On the other hand, the lightness of the artillery must not degenerate into popgunnery.[89]

The *North American Review*[90] in this period was edited successively by Jared Sparks, Alexander H. Everett, J. G. Palfrey, and Francis Bowen—all of them men of large abilities, but none of them great editors. Sparks undoubtedly did much to extend the *Review's* sphere of influence, but in the latter part of our period, there was a perceptible decline. The *American Quarterly Review*,[91] Robert Walsh's second venture in publishing a review, was fairly successful as such things went. It ran through eleven years (1827-37). Perhaps it was dull; but dullness was undoubtedly considered something of a virtue in the reviews of those days. Walsh had a good corps of contributors, and published some valuable articles. In 1833-34 Bela B. Edwards, the Andover scholar, issued at Boston three volumes of his *American Quarterly Observer*,[92] which was then combined with his *Biblical Repository*. It considered literary, political, social, theological, philosophical, and scientific subjects, and was heavy enough. C. C. Felton, Jacob Abbott, and R. H. Dana were among the contributors. In 1837 the able and versatile Rev. Francis L. Hawks began his *New York Review*,[93] in the editorship of which he was followed by Caleb S. Henry, professor of philosophy at New York University, and J. G. Cogswell, Astor librarian. In scholarly quality the *New York Review* was not far inferior to the *North American*, while in variety and interest it outranked all the other reviews of the period. "It stands confessedly first among American periodicals,"[94] insisted the *Mirror*. It published ten semiannual volumes in 1837-42. Almost paralleling the life-term of the *New York Review* was Orestes A. Brownson's *Boston Quarterly Review*[95] (1838-42). Brownson is one

89 *Broadway Journal*, I, 139 (March 1, 1845).

90 To be treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

91 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 271-76.

92 Vol. I, July – October, 1833; II, January – April, 1834; III, July – October, 1834. Perkins & Marvin, publishers.

93 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 669-71.

94 Mirror, XIX, 143 (May 1, 1841).

95 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 685-91.

of the most attractive and commanding figures in the periodical history of the times, and his writing—for he wrote most of his reviews himself—is easy, forceful, and effective. Philosophy, literature, and sociology were fields of almost equal interest for him. There is no little theology here also, and two years after he had merged his *Boston Quarterly* with the *Democratic Review*, he began another review which was more distinctly a religious periodical and will therefore call for later mention in this chapter. In the meantime a quarterly of a different type had been started, under the name of the *Dial;*[96] though published at Boston, it did not compete with the *North American.* It was rather a quarterly journal of opinion and *belles-lettres* designed to furnish a medium for the flourishing school of New England transcendentalism. Margaret Fuller edited it for the first half of its four years, and Ralph Waldo Emerson for the second half. The *Dial* was a mystification to the uninitiated, caviare to the general, and a butt of ridicule for the irreverent. Its circulation was small; and though it is full of interest to the student of literature, the direct influence of its articles and poems was far less when published in the magazine than when issued in book form. To a certain extent its successor in the review field was the *Massachusetts Quarterly Review*,[97] edited chiefly by that enthusiastic transcendentalist and fiery preacher, Theodore Parker, from December, 1847, through September, 1850. Thus it was somewhat shorter-lived than the *Dial:* it was more practical, more reformatory, more political, harder hitting. Finally, the *American Quarterly Register and Magazine*,[98] published by James Stryker, may be mentioned. It is commonly called "Stryker's American Register," and was published first in Philadelphia, 1848-49, and then in New York, 1850-51. Its contents are valuable to the historian; they combine, according to announcement, "a grave, severe, matter-of-fact journal with an instructive and

[96] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 702-10.

[97] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 775-79.

[98] The word "Quarterly" was dropped from the title in 1850, and the review became semiannual. Volumes as follows: I, May and September, 1848, and Appendix; II, March and June, 1849; III, September and December, 1849; IV, July, 1850; V, January, 1851; VI, 1851. E. C. and J. Biddle published Vol. I, and James Stryker the remaining volumes.

entertaining miscellany." The miscellany is rather naïvely selected, with an emphasis upon elegiac verses; but the historical review, chronology, statistics, and documents have real worth for the investigator.

RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS

But there were more quarterly reviews of the sectarian than of the secular kind. The church reviews gave much attention, of course, to theology. They were born to controversy as surely as man is born to trouble; but most of them recognized other interests, and some, like the *New Englander,* gave so much space to literature, politics, science, philosophy, and social problems, that one almost forgets their religious origin and purpose.

It was a period of controversies in and between the churches. "Nine pulpits in ten in our country are occupied chiefly in the denunciation of other sects," charged the Rev. Timothy Flint in his *Western Review* [99] in 1830. The rise of Unitarianism and of Universalism, the religious aspects of transcendentalism, the growth of the Campbellite sect of Disciples, the Presbyterian disruption of 1837, the Methodist and Baptist schisms over the slavery question in 1844—these all furnished material for controversy and copy for the church press. Other subjects were the expansion in the West and South of the Methodists and Baptists and the western activities of Presbyterianism, the continuing missionary activity, the remarkable growth, by immigration and accretion, of the Catholic church, and the increase of religious education. The religious press continued to grow in size, activity, and power; a large share of the talent and effort of most of the leading churches went into publishing channels. "Probably the energies of Unitarianism found a larger expression in the publication of periodicals than in any other direction from 1825 to 1850," [100] says the historian of that denomination. There were some twenty-five periodicals of the Congregational connection in our period [101] and forty or fifty published under

[99] *Western Review,* III, 579 (May, 1830).
[100] George Willis Cooke, *Unitarianism in America* (Boston, 1902), p. 447.
[101] H. M. Dexter, *Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years* (New York, 1880), *passim.*

Catholic auspices.[102] In 1828, at the beginning of our period, the *Hopkinsian* printed a list of twenty-eight religious monthlies and seventy-three weekly religious newspapers, omitting some of the most important. In these lists the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Universalist denominations were most prominent. In 1840 Leonard Bacon expressed his opinion in the *Biblical Repository* that "of all the reading of the people three-fourths is purely religious . . . of all the issues of the press three-fourths are theological, ethical and devotional.[103] In 1848 the *Independent* printed figures showing that there were fifty-two religious periodicals published in New York City alone, and the census of 1850 counted 191 in the United States, perhaps half of them newspapers.

Several religious bimonthly and quarterly periodicals which were begun in the preceding period continued throughout all or part of the years 1825-50; if they did not flourish like the biblical green bay tree, they at least ran with patience the race which was set before them. The *Christian Examiner*[104] continued, an important bimonthly under the care of a series of Harvard professors. The *Biblical Repertory*, later to be the *Princeton Review*, was edited by Charles Hodge, one of the foremost of American theologians; in 1830 it abandoned the eclectic policy with which it started and received contributions—many of them polemical—from Princeton professors and others. The *Methodist Magazine* became a quarterly in 1830, and ten years later changed its name to the *Methodist Quarterly Review*; the latter date marked a new era for the periodical, for the editorship was no longer a perquisite of the church's publishing agents. The Presbyterian *Christian Advocate* was published quarterly in the first ten years of our period. The New Haven *Christian Spectator* became a quarterly in 1829 for its final decade.

The journal which received the *Spectator* into its bosom upon

[102] *Metropolitan*, August-September, 1854. See also the Rev. Thomas C. Middleton's lists in the *American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia Records*, IV, 213-42 (September, 1893). Also XIX, 18 (March, 1908). See also article "Periodicals—United States," in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, 692-96.

[103] *Biblical Repository*, N.S. III, 22 (January, 1840).

[104] The periodicals mentioned in this paragraph are treated in separate sketches in the Supplement to Part II, except *Princeton Review*, for which see pp. 529-35.

that review's decease was the learned and weighty *Biblical Repository*,[105] of Congregational Andover, which was begun in 1831 and was merged after twenty years in the Andover *Bibliotheca Sacra*. The *Repository's* pages are far from inviting now, with their Hebrew and Greek, as well as English, indexes. Much less forbidding was the Calvinistic *Literary and Theological Review*[106] (1834-39), of New York. The adjectives in its title should have been transposed, for orthodox theology was this review's chief material. A longer life, though a somewhat peripatetic one, was the lot of the Baptist *Christian Review*,[107] published from 1836 to the end of our period in Boston and later in various other cities.

In 1842 the *Catholic Religious Cabinet* appeared in Baltimore under the editorship of the Rev. Charles I. White. Twelve monthly numbers of it appeared in that year, and it was then continued under the name of the *United States Catholic Magazine*[108] for seven years, with the same editorship. The last of these years, 1849, found it a weekly. The Philadelphia anti-Catholic riots occupied much space in 1844-45, as well as similar movements in New York. The *Magazine* regarded the burning of the Philadelphia convents as "no index to American character; it is rather a foul stain on its noble escutcheon."[109]

The *New Englander*[110] was established in 1843 by a group of New Haven ministers and educators to uphold what they found best in the New England tradition. It was the inheritor in some degree of the older *Christian Spectator*,[111] but rather more liberal in both intention and practice; it deserves a place among the more general reviews as well as among those actuated by religious motives and ideals. Edward Royall Tyler was its ruling spirit and director during most of the years before 1850. Another important review established in 1843 was the *Bibliotheca*

105 Called "American Biblical Repository" 1837-44. There were three series: 1, 1831-38 (I-XII); 2, 1839-44 (I-XII); 3, 1845-50 (I-VI).

106 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 634-35.

107 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 666-68.

108 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 716-17.

109 *United States Catholic Magazine*, IV, 2 (January, 1845).

110 To be treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

111 See *New Princeton Review*, I, 416 (May, 1886).

Sacra,[112] of Andover. It was the mouthpiece of the Andover theologians for many years; and its editors, Bela B. Edwards and Edwards A. Park, carried on controversy learnedly with Charles Hodge of the *Biblical Repertory*, as students of American theology may see *in extenso* by consulting the dusty files.

In 1844 there were four religious periodicals begun which require mention here. One of them was *Brownson's Quarterly Review*.[113] It was, of course, a successor to Brownson's *Boston Quarterly Review*, which has been named among the secular reviews; but this second periodical earns its place in the religious section because its editor, after a greatly varied experience with several Protestant denominations, found asylum at last in the Catholic communion and made his review a strong Catholic voice. Another new publication was the *Universalist Quarterly*,[114] founded in Boston by Hosea Ballou II, to run for nearly half a century; its predecessor had been the *Expositor and Universalist Review* of 1831-40, conducted by the founder of the new review and his great-uncle, who was the first Hosea Ballou. The other two periodicals to be mentioned are monthlies designed less for theologians than for reading in pious homes: the *Christian Parlor Magazine*[115] (1844-54), of New York, and the *Monthly Religious Magazine*[116] (1844-74), of Boston. Both were substantially undenominational, though the latter began with Unitarian affiliations and its contributors were drawn chiefly from among the great Unitarian writers.

In the following year, 1845, the *Cumberland Presbyterian Review* began its career at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, to move to Louisville, Kentucky, a few years later, and thence to other cities before it found a permanent home, many years later, at St. Louis. In 1848 N. S. Richardson founded the *Church Review*[117] (1848-91), the greatest of the Protestant Episcopal periodicals, at New York. And finally, in the same year, David N.

[112] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 739-42.
[113] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 685-91.
[114] To be treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.
[115] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 745-46.
[116] Treated in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.
[117] Treated in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

Lord's *Theological and Literary Journal*[118] (1848-61) first saw the light of New York.

Practically all the religious newspapers discussed in Part II continued through this period; it will be unnecessary to enumerate them here. A few which were of somewhat shorter life, but which were of the first importance in the Period of Expansion, may be mentioned, however. The New York *Observer* was begun by Sidney E. Morse, one of the founders of the Boston *Recorder,* and his brother Richard, in 1823. The Morses were sons of that Jedediah who compiled the geography, and who had himself founded the *Panoplist* nearly twenty years before, and brothers of the inventor Samuel F. B. Morse. The *Observer* was orthodox Presbyterian, but in 1869 claimed to be "independent . . . devoted to literature, religion, and general intelligence." It was one of the important New York journals in this period, and afterward continued until 1912, having lost its newspaper character. Such was also the fate of the Methodist *Christian Advocate,* begun in 1826 and still prosperous. The New York *Evangelist* was founded in 1832 "expressly to promote revivals and missions, temperance, and other reforms." Among the "other reforms" was abolition, and the editor of the *Evangelist* from 1832 to 1837 was Joshua Leavitt, an anti-slavery advocate who later edited the *Emancipator,* of the Anti-Slavery Society, and after that was office editor of the *Independent.* The *Evangelist* became an independent organ of the Presbyterian Church, absorbing the *American Presbyterian* of Philadelphia in 1870. Its controversies with the *Observer* and *Independent* were more acrimonious than edifying. Bishop B. J. Fenwick established the Catholic *Pilot* in Boston in 1829. It was first called the *Jesuit* and for some years alternated between the two names and that of the *United States Catholic Intelligencer.* The *Pilot* became the best known of Catholic papers. In 1833 no less than three Catholic newspapers were founded in as many large cities: the *Catholic Herald,* of Philadelphia, the *Catholic Press,* of New York, and the *Catholic Journal,* of Washington. The *Liberal Christian* was started in 1845 under Unitarian

[118] To be treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

auspices as "a weekly family journal." It absorbed the *Christian Inquirer,* founded the next year, in 1866, and continued to 1877. Henry W. Bellows, whom the *Unitarian Review* called "the first citizen of New York" at the time of his death in 1882,[119] was editor of the *Inquirer.* James Freeman Clarke, Frederick H. Hedge, and other well known Unitarians were prominent contributors to these periodicals. Finally, in 1848, the *Independent*[120] was established by a group of New York capitalists in conjunction with certain Congregational ministers. The *Independent* was destined to play no small part among American periodicals, but it had scarcely obtained a footing by the end of our period.

[119] *Unitarian Review,* XVII, 266 (March, 1882).

[120] To be treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

CHAPTER VII

MAGAZINE CENTERS AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

THUS far in our discussion of the magazines of the Period of Expansion, we have kept rather closely to those which were published in the larger centers of population—in New England and the eastern states. Before turning to the South and West, it may be interesting to point out the relative importance of the leading cities as magazine centers.

New York continued to gain upon its rivals. In 1830 it was three times as large as Philadelphia and four times as large as Boston; in 1840 it was four times as large as either of them, and in 1850 five times. Figures on the numbers of periodicals in various cities and regions are inadequate as well as inconsistent;[1] but such as they are, they indicate the primacy of New York by the end of the period, when the aggregate annual circulations of New York periodicals were said by census reports to be fifty per cent higher than those of the Philadelphia or Boston publications. In both book selling and book publishing the metropolis was gaining; the Harpers continued to flourish; Daniel Appleton published his first book in 1831; Wiley and Long began in 1832, to become Wiley and Putnam six years later; Robert Carter and Brothers opened their store in 1834, and later did a considerable publishing business; Moses S. Dodd entered the publishing field in 1839; J. C. Derby began his career as a publisher in 1844; Baker and Scribner made their *début* two years

[1] They may be given for what they are worth: In 1828 New York State was said to have 161 "newspapers and periodical journals," Pennsylvania 185, and Massachusetts 78 (*American Almanac*, I, 229, 1830). In April, 1833, New York City was credited with 65 newspapers and monthly magazines, and Boston with 43 newspapers and 38 "other journals" in July of that year (*American Almanac*, II, 96, 1834). The Sixth Census (1840) gives New York 57 periodicals, exclusive of newspapers, Pennsylvania 42, Massachusetts 14, and Ohio 20. The Seventh Census (1850) counts 104 publications in New York City, with a total annual circulation of 78,747,600; Boston, 113, circulation 54,482,644; Philadelphia 51, circulation 48,457,240; Baltimore 31, circulation 20,711,100; New Orleans 18, circulation 11,260,860; Cincinnati 39, circulation 8,753,200.

later.[2] William Gilmore Simms, of Charleston, South Carolina, visited northern publishers in 1845, and upon his return wrote in his magazine: "The publishing cities are three in number. New-York takes the first rank in regard to the frequency of its issues. Philadelphia occupies the next place, and Boston the third."[3] At last New York had a general literary magazine of long life in which it could take pride—the *Knickerbocker*. It also had the weekly *Mirror*, some good religious quarterlies and weeklies and—tell it not in Gath—the cheap weeklies. Irving, Cooper, and Bryant were the great New York triumvirate, with Halleck but little behind them in reputation—"holding, in fact," said Poe, "a rank in the public opinion quite equal to that of Bryant."[4] A large group of other "New York *literati*" were prominent, including N. P. Willis, Charles F. Briggs, George H. Colton, Gulian C. Verplanck, the Duyckinck brothers, the Kirklands, Charles Fenno Hoffman, George P. Morris, Seba and Elizabeth Oakes Smith, Cornelius Mathews, Horace Greeley, Park Benjamin, Epes Sargent, and so on. Many of these writers confessed to a pride in their city; and we have Greeley explaining in the *New-Yorker* in 1839:

> New York has become the metropolis, in our country, not only of commerce, but of literature and the arts. Like Tyre of old, she has covered the sea with ships, and her merchants are princes . . . No man well acquainted with the history of Literature and Art in our country during the last ten years, can refuse to acknowledge that New York has towered above her sister cities.[5]

Briggs explained the name of his new *Broadway Journal* by declaring that "Broadway is confessedly the finest street in the first city of the new World," and adding that the Battery is "unrivalled for its entire beauty by any marine parade in the world. So travelers say. . . . All the dealers in intellectual works are here centered; every exhibition of art is found here. . . . New York is fast becoming, if she be not already, America,

[2] A valuable source for such information in this period is J. C. Derby's *Fifty Years Among Authors, Books and Publishers* (New York, 1884).
[3] *Southern and Western Magazine*, II, 347 (November, 1845).
[4] *Graham's Magazine*, XXIII, 160 (September, 1843).
[5] *New-Yorker*, VII (March 23, 1839).

in spite of South Carolina and Boston."[6] The *Democratic Review* observed in 1847 that the city was "daily becoming more metropolitan in character, and what is more worthy of remark, more generally acknowledged as the metropolis of art in America. It has been the chief laborer in the field of music, though New Orleans, Boston and Philadelphia have themselves done much."[7] The *American Agriculturist* offers testimony as to a different kind of preëminence when it says, in explaining its choice of the metropolis for the home of a farmers' paper, that "more Farmers and Planters resort here than to any other city in the Union."[8] Finally, we may read the *Mirror's* comment: after expressing its opinion that "there is nothing more absurd than a habit which is very prevalent in this country of exalting one city to the disparagement of another," it replies to some Philadelphia boasts which had roused its ire:

> Philadelphia is assuredly a beautiful city and the elegant retreat of opulence and fashion; literature flourishes there. . . . If our citizens had the leisure to indulge in these relaxations and were not strenuously occupied . . . they would be able to pay the same attention to Conveniences for which the Philadelphians are so famed, and the result would be to make this queen of the West the most magnificent and gorgeous metropolis that the sun ever shone upon.[9]

In other words culture in New York was a matter for those leisure hours left over from the really important business of making money.

This was certainly less true in Philadelphia, although, as we have seen, that city ran a losing race with her rivals in the publication of periodicals during the Period of Expansion. It is true that the women's magazines and the weekly miscellanies flourished there: "Philadelphia truly deserves to be called the mother of weekly family papers, and every month seems to add one to their number,"[10] observed the *Family Magazine* in 1836.

6 *Broadway Journal*, I, 1 (Jan. 4, 1845).
7 *Democratic Review*, XX, 373 (April, 1847).
8 *American Agriculturist*, I, 2 (April, 1842).
9 *Mirror*, XIV, 15 (July 9, 1836). See, however, Prof. Tucker in the *Southern Literary Messenger;* he thinks sectional literary rivalry "a good thing."
10 *Family Magazine*, IV, 360 (no month, 1836).

Moreover, some of the largest circulations were there, and the average annual circulation of her periodicals exceeded those of any other city.[11] *Godey's, Graham's,* and *Peterson's* conferred a certain kind of distinction, and Walsh's *Review* another. But before 1850 both New York and Boston had outdistanced Philadelphia in other matters pertaining to the publication of periodicals. In point of literary society, Philadelphia had also declined somewhat. True, she had Poe for a few years, but lost him to New York in 1844. Dr. R. M. Bird, Joseph C. Neal, Richard Penn Smith, Thomas Dunn English, Sarah J. Hale, and T. S. Arthur were the chief literary lights; though it may be said that few indeed were the prominent Philadelphians who did not occasionally turn to and indite an article or set of verses for one of the city's magazines.

But in Boston one could scarcely step into the street without meeting a famous author. "Boston is not quite a mean place," wrote Emerson in his journal in 1842, "since in walking yesterday in the street I met George Bancroft, Horace Greenough, Sampson Reed, Sam Ward, Theodore Parker, George Bradford."[12] The fact is that before the end of the period under consideration American literature was dominated by Bostonians. Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Holmes had all emerged by this time and all lived within a radius of twenty-five miles from the Bunker Hill Monument, and Whittier was only a little further off at Amesbury. Besides these there were a score or two of other well known writers living in the same region.[13] So great was this dominance, and its assertion so coolly snobbish, that champions of other sections frequently complained against it. Poe, for example, writes bitterly to a friend about "the New England assumption of all the decency and all the talent,"[14] and the *Knickerbocker* discusses sectional

[11] Seventh Census, 1850. Philadelphia average annual circulation, 950,142; New York, 757,188; Baltimore, 668,100; New Orleans, 625,603; Boston, 482,147; Charleston, 472,983.

[12] Emerson's *Journals* (Boston, 1909), VI, 290 (Oct. 26, 1842).

[13] See Edwin L. Clarke, *American Men of Letters: Their Nature and Nurture* (New York, 1916), p. 80. He shows that of 460 American writers born before 1851, 218 were born in New England, 140 in the Middle States, 48 in the South Atlantic states, 44 in the remainder of the United States, and 8 in Canada.

[14] Letter to Daniel Bryan in the Aldrich autograph collection, State Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa.

rivalry at length in an article on "New-York and New-England" in October, 1836. There were replies to this article, in one of which the writer asserts that "there are more quarterlies, monthlies, and newspapers—more literary, religious and political publications taken in Massachusetts than in the great populous and wealthy state of New York. . . . The same reverence that in New York is paid to wealth is in New England paid to intellect."[15] Whether or not this defender of the emporium of culture was right in his boast about Massachusetts readers in 1836, certainly the census of 1850 paid high tribute to Boston patrons of periodicals. It showed the average annual circulation of Boston publications per inhabitant to be 404, or more than one number of a periodical per day for each and every Bostonian; next came Charleston in South Carolina with 284; then New York with 157, or only three parcels of literary refreshment a week; after these Baltimore with 147 and Philadelphia with 125.[16] Perhaps it was enough glory for any city to be the home of the *North American Review,* the *Dial,* the *Christian Examiner,* and the *New-England Magazine*—not forgetting, though some might like to, the *Notion.* Finally, note the words of one of the best eulogists of the Boston of those times, Orestes A. Brownson, who was later forced, in order to obtain a better distribution for his review, to remove it from the city of his affection to the publishing capital, New York:

> In the progress of liberal ideas in this country, Boston has and ever will take the lead. Elsewhere may be more bustle, more pretense, more profession of liberty, of reform, of progress, of democracy, but when it comes to the reality Boston need not blush in the presence of her sisters.[17]

[15] *Knickerbocker,* VIII, 750 (December, 1836).

[16] These figures assume that the entire circulation of a city's periodicals was confined to that city—an assumption false, of course, as to any publishing center, but much more misleading as to New York and Philadelphia than as to Boston. In Boston, although the number of periodicals was comparatively large, the circulations were small and more local. There is an interesting list in the *American Journal of Education* (V, 222) for May, 1830, of the periodicals taken in Medbury, Massachusetts, a village of 892 souls, twenty miles from Boston. Forty-seven different periodicals are taken, totalling 168 copies. Not more than one copy of any periodical further away than Boston is taken in the village, and only eight altogether from the greater distance.

[17] *Boston Quarterly Review,* I, 7 (January, 1838).

And later he says that in Boston "we find the freest, the most liberal and earnest-minded community on earth." [18]

SOUTHERN PERIODICALS

In the South there was also a spirited sectional pride, but one reads no boasting of large circulations; on the other hand the southern periodicals commonly tried to shame their constituencies into support by adducing northern periodical successes. "Hundreds of similar publications thrive and prosper north of the Potomac," says the *Southern Literary Messenger* in its first number. *"Shall not one be supported in the whole South?* . . . Are we to be doomed forever to a kind of vassalage to our northern neighbors? . . . We ought forthwith to buckle on our armor and assert our mental independence." [19]

Four southern cities are especially important in our period as magazine centers: Baltimore, Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans. Baltimore is included because it was south of the Mason and Dixon line, though it had many characteristics of a northern city; Louisville and St. Louis are left for consideration with the western cities. Literary weeklies were established in other southern cities from time to time, as they were all over the United States, but the places named are clearly those of the chief significance in periodical history.

Niles' Weekly Register [20] was publishing its useful numbers in Baltimore throughout practically all this period. The *Emerald, and Baltimore Literary Gazette,* edited by the poet Rufus Dawes, was one of the omnipresent weekly miscellanies; begun in 1828, it merged the next year with the new *Baltimore Minerva,* of which Dawes was editor, with William Pechin and Benjamin Edes.[21] The *Saturday Visiter,*[22] another periodical of the same class, was established in 1832 by Charles F. Cloud as publisher and Lambert A. Wilmer as editor. It fixed its name in literary

[18] *Ibid.,* IV, 524 (October, 1841).
[19] *Southern Literary Messenger,* I, 1-2 (August, 1834).
[20] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 268-70.
[21] The merger was called the *Baltimore Minerva and Emerald* until 1830, when it became the *Minerva and Saturday Post.* John H. Hewitt succeeded Dawes as editor in 1830. The last phase was brief.
[22] Originally the *Saturday Morning Visiter.*

history in the following year by awarding a hundred-dollar prize in a short story contest to an unknown by the name of Edgar A. Poe, for a tale called "A Manuscript Found in a Bottle." It is a matter of curious interest only that the *Visiter* later turned antislavery, much to the disgust of many of its friends, and was finally merged into Dr. Bailey's abolition paper, the *National Era,* of Washington.[23] The *Baltimore Monument* [24] (1836-39) was, next to the *Emerald,* the best literary periodical of the "Monumental City" in the Period of Expansion. It was founded by T. S. Arthur as a weekly, and conducted by him as a monthly during its last year; then Arthur moved to Philadelphia and became one of the literary lights of that place. The *Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine* (1835-41, 7 vols.) with its successor, the *Spirit of the XIX Century* (1842-43, 2 vols.) may be mentioned, as also Mrs. Mary Chase Burney's *National Magazine, or Lady's Emporium* (1830-31). Park Benjamin's brief Baltimore sequels to the *New World* have already been mentioned, as have the *United States Catholic Magazine* and its predecessor, the *Religious Cabinet.* In the earlier part of this period Baltimore was the great Catholic center of America, though New York surpassed it two to one in the number of Catholic journals published in our period, and Boston, which was experiencing its great Irish influx, also outranked it in that respect. The medical and legal periodicals of the Baltimore of these times will be mentioned later. Third in size in America, Baltimore was prosperous commercially; but her "literary characters" seem less numerous than those of several smaller cities.

[23] Cloud took William P. Ponder, his brother-in-law, into partnership a few months after the *Visiter* began, and the two ousted Wilmer, who had no money investment in the enterprise. Suing on his contract, Wilmer recovered $500. He was succeeded as editor by John H. Hewitt, formerly of the *Emerald.* T. S. Arthur and Dr. J. E. Snodgrass were successively owners at a later time. See Lambert A. Wilmer, *Our Press Gang* (Philadelphia, 1859), pp. 22-29.

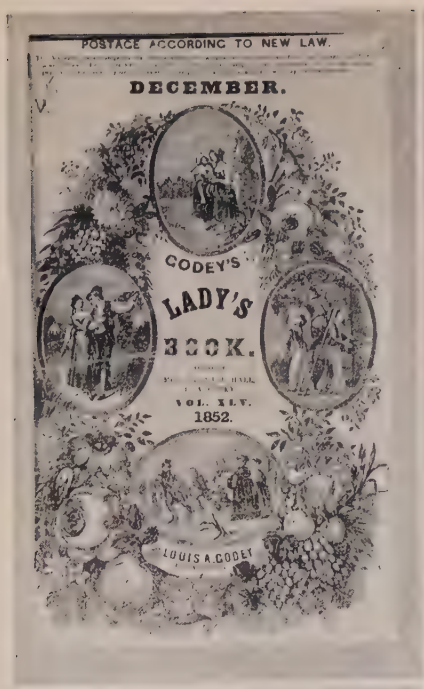
[24] *The Baltimore Monument. A Weekly Journal Devoted to Literature, Science and the Fine Arts* had serial numbering distinct from its monthly successor; its dates are Oct. 8, 1836 – Sept. 29, 1838, and it is divided into two annual volumes. *The Baltimore Literary Monument,* October, 1838 – October, 1839, is divided into two volumes of six numbers each, January, 1839, being omitted. Its subtitle was the same as that of its predecessor. John N. McJilton and T. S. Arthur were editors; Arthur was publisher. Arthur, William H. Carpenter, Park Benjamin, Anna H. Dorsey, and Mrs. Lydia Jane Pierson were leading contributors, though there was much selected material. There were steel or wood engravings, and music, with each issue of the monthly.

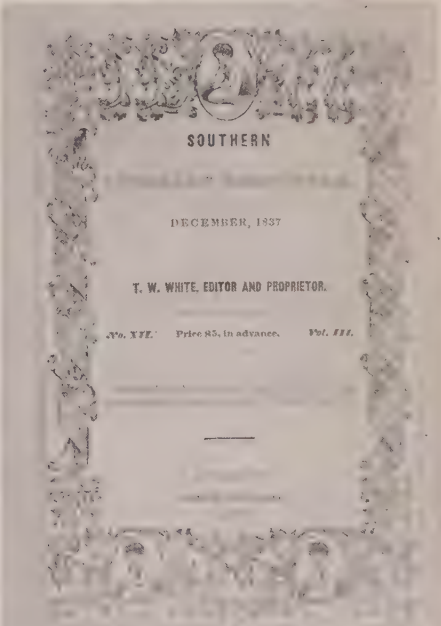
In his *Literary Taste and Culture in Baltimore,*[25] Dr. Uhler is able to name thirty projected or published periodicals in Baltimore in 1825-33, mostly brief.

The bright star in Richmond's crown was the *Southern Literary Messenger*[26] (1834-64). It was founded by T. W. White, who employed Poe as editor in 1835-36. Poe's work gave the magazine a distinction which was of great help in establishing the good reputation it continued to bear. The *Virginia Historical Register and Literary Companion* (1848-53) was edited by William Maxwell and published in Richmond by the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society in six volumes. The *Richmond Christian Advocate* began in 1832, later to become the *Baltimore and Richmond Christian Advocate.* And there were others of shorter life.

But it was Charleston that mothered the largest brood of southern magazine fledglings,—of important ones, at least. It will perhaps not be carrying the figure too far to say, moreover, that William Gilmore Simms was a kind of stepfather to most of them, since he commonly took over the care of them after their original progenitors had almost let them die. The *Southern Literary Gazette,*[27] for example, had had some existence as the weekly *Tablet* under James Wright Simmons before Simms came into the arrangement and, first joining Simmons in the issuing of the *Gazette* as a monthly from September, 1828, through March, 1829, conducted it later himself as a semimonthly from May to October, 1829. This was Simms's first magazine venture, and it showed something of his fire and energy; but his biographer tells us that when it stubbornly continued to be financially unfruitful, "it was considered enough had been done for the glory of southern literature, and the publication was discontinued."[28] Launched a few months earlier, the *Southern Review*[29] (1828-32) continued through four years to put forth its undeniably heavy numbers at quarterly intervals; the two Stephen Elliots, father

[25] Johns Hopkins dissertation (1927) by John Earle Uhler. See pp. 9-10.
[26] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 629-57.
[27] Vol. I, monthly numbers as indicated above; New Series, Vol. I, Weekly Nos. 1-11 (May 15 – Oct. 15, 1829). Suspended in April.
[28] W. P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms* (American Men of Letters series), p. 54.
[29] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 573-76.





FOUR LEADING ANTE-BELLUM MAGAZINES

The *Gentleman's* is an engraved title page; the others are notable pictured covers.

and son, and Hugh Swinton Legaré were editors. The year the *Review* failed the jejune *Southern Rosebud* appeared, unfolding into the *Southern Rose* the second year, and blooming until its petals fell in 1839. In 1835 Daniel K. Whitaker, a young lawyer of literary tastes who, though born in Connecticut and educated at Harvard, had cast in his lot with the South, undertook the *Southern Literary Journal,*[30] which was published for over three years from September, 1835. The *Magnolia,*[31] which had been begun in Savannah as the *Southern Ladies' Book,* was moved to Charleston in 1841, and the next year placed under the editorial charge of Simms; in spite of what appears at this distance to be a real attractiveness, the *Magnolia* joined the great majority in 1843. The *Orion,*[32] started at Penfield, Georgia, was brought to Charleston to die in 1844. The year before that, another periodical had been translated to the literary capital of the South from the inhospitable city of its birth. Whitaker had moved to New Orleans and had established there the *Southern Quarterly Review,*[33] but had brought it back to Charleston in the same year.[34] In 1849 Simms took charge of it and, continuing as its editor until shortly before its end in 1856, made of it the best southern review before the war, and one of the great American quarterlies. The roll of the more important Charleston magazines of the period is completed by the mention of the *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review,*[35] called more conveniently "Simms's Monthly" after the name of its editor. Simms edited this magazine of his own through the year 1845, before he was brought into the *Quarterly's* affairs. Charleston had other journals besides those that have been named—class and religious publications, like Bishop England's *Catholic Miscellany,* which continued through this period.

In New Orleans, which in these days had a cultivated society interested in art, music, and literature, there was some activity

30 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 664-65.

31 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 699-701.

32 March, 1842 – June, 1844. Omits October, 1842, and May – August, 1843.

33 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 721-27.

34 Whitaker later attempted two other periodicals: *Whitaker's Magazine,* Charleston, in 1850, and *Whitaker's Southern Magazine,* Columbia, Georgia. The latter was merged with the *Southern Eclectic* in August, 1853, after a year's life.

35 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 785-86.

in the publishing of magazines. There was the *Quarterly* misadventure; the removal of that review left some ill-feeling behind. There was J. D. B. DeBow's *Commercial Review of the South and West* [36] (1846-80), which was for many years much more than a purely "commercial review." There were the inevitable weeklies, as D. Macaulay's *New Orleans Miscellany* in 1848, and medical and other class journals.

MAGAZINES IN THE WEST

But the West as well as the South was making itself heard, and was being listened to, on the whole, more respectfully than the South. "We turn with sincerest pleasure to every indication of a growing literary spirit in the rich and extensive regions of our Western States," says a writer in the *Democratic Review*, "for it is thence that genuine and unalloyed literature must rise." [37] And in the same magazine we read two years later:

> That glorious West of ours . . . is destined ere long to become the seat of a population and wealth, with their natural accompaniments of literature, art and science, before which the pride of our past and present superiority must soon be forced to bow, we know full well.[38]

The *New York Review* spoke in the same tone in 1839:

> The thinking men, both of Europe and America, have been long looking toward the great central valley of the United States, as the region where those principles which have always marked the Anglo-Saxon race, should be most perfectly developed in action.[39]

But not all Easterners were so indulgent. When Miss Martineau visited America she was amazed at the sectional prejudice she found everywhere—for which "hatred is not too strong a term." She recalls the "contemptuous amazement of a Boston lady at my declaration that I liked Cincinnati—that wild western

[36] To be treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

[37] *Democratic Review*, V, 612 (June, 1839).

[38] *Ibid.*, IX, 25 (July, 1841). Note also William Kirkland, "The West the Paradise of the Poor," *ibid.*, August, 1844.

[39] *New York Review*, V, 384 (October, 1839).

place, where she believed people did not sit down to dinner like Christians."[40] Not a little of this feeling got into the public prints, and even some of the sense of literary rivalry. Judge Hall in his *Western Monthly* had fun with the *Portland Advertiser's* assertion that the western *literati* are making a concerted effort "to beat their Eastern rivals." Hall agrees that "this is undoubtedly the case. A caucus of writers took place recently at Columbus to arrange the plan of the first campaign."[41]

There were many reasons for a general interest in the West. There was the political power which had just been asserted in the election of Jackson. This was one reason for the *Democratic's* attitude; but there was also, in this periodical, something of that realization of western possibilities which had already caught the popular imagination. One effect of that widespread imaginative realization, and at the same time another reason for general interest in the region, was the growing movement of population westward which was working wonders with the West while it was perceptibly impoverishing the East and South. "The number of adventurers flocking from every quarter to the regions of the 'far west' is beyond all precedent and calculation," observed the *Mirror* in 1835—"old and young, all sexes and conditions, leave their homes, where they have resided in comfort and peace, to try the chances of the west and to pitch their tents in the great valley of the world."[42] A more pointed objection came from the South at about the same time: "A South Carolinian" writes in the *Southern Literary Journal:*

> The spirit of emigration is still rife in our community. From this cause we have lost so many, and we are destined, we fear, to lose more of our worthiest citizens. Of this we complain in private. Let it now be the subject of discussion in public.[43]

Still another phase of interest in the West was based upon church activity. Nearly all the church publications reported from week

[40] Martineau's *Society in America* (London, 1837), I, 139.
[41] *Western Monthly Magazine,* II, 384 (August, 1833).
[42] *New York Mirror,* XII, 383 (May 30, 1835).
[43] *Southern Literary Journal,* II, 259 (June, 1836).

to week and month to month the experiences of the western missionaries and reflected the exuberant optimism of the region. Finally, books about or from the West attracted wide attention and were extensively reviewed and quoted in the periodicals.

The chief magazine center in the West during this period was Cincinnati. By the census of 1850 Cincinnati was ranked fourth among American cities in the number of serial publications, and as early as 1834 the *American Quarterly Observer,* of Andover, was saying:

> Cincinnati now commands in a considerable measure the literary resources of the western valley . . . New York is too deeply imbued with the commercial spirit ever to become the literary center of the country . . . Boston is too far from the southern, western, and even central portions of the country . . . A package of books can be more readily sent to London than to Cincinnati. A book printed in Boston has been republished in Edinburgh before it reached Cincinnati.[44]

There we have a hint of Cincinnati's ambition, which was nothing less than to become the literary capital of the whole country: and we have a reference to what was not only Boston's difficulty but Cincinnati's as well—the problem of transportation. Further, it seems plain to a reader of her periodicals of this time that Cincinnati's ambitious publication efforts grew not so much out of the difficulty of getting eastern periodicals, or the desire (so prominent in the South) to be independent of New York and Boston, as out of the aspiration to create, immediately and impressively, a full-blown civilization, with all its appurtenances of cultivation and refinement. Cincinnati, with its educational institutions, printing presses, churches, and libraries—Cincinnati, the Athens of the West—would lead the way to culture. But, though she was fourth in the United States in the number of her periodicals, the "Queen City" was only eighth in the average circulation of them; though she outranked Baltimore, the third city in the union, in the number of magazines and papers, she afforded these struggling ventures comparatively slender support. "A western writer, we are sorry to say, finds more favor any-

[44] *American Quarterly Observer,* III, 141 (July, 1834).

where else than in the West,"[45] wrote Timothy Flint sadly in his *Western Monthly Review*. Yet magazines continued to increase: there were six weeklies, two semimonthlies, one monthly and one quarterly in Cincinnati in 1831;[46] in 1848 they had increased threefold—there were twenty-five weeklies and six monthlies.[47] A publishing ambition outrunning the ability of the constituency to support it is one of the truest characteristics of the good frontier city.

Cincinnati was the home, during the Period of Expansion, of several periodicals of the first value. Not the least of them was Timothy Flint's *Western Monthly Review*,[48] established in May, 1827. Writing much of it himself, Flint made it a good interpreter of the West and gave it some literary and critical quality. But, discouraged by the labor involved and the lack of financial reward, in June, 1830, he suspended publication. The next literary magazine at Cincinnati was James Hall's *Western Monthly Magazine*,[49] "A Continuation of the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*," [50] which Judge Hall had conducted at Vandalia, Illinois, 1830-32. The *Western Monthly* had a considerable list of contributors and a greater variety than Flint's magazine; it is one of the two or three most important literary magazines in the West before the Civil War. In 1837 it was united with William D. Gallagher's *Western Literary Journal, and Monthly Review* [51] to form the *Western Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal*,[52] but only five numbers of the new monthly were issued. Meantime the *Western Messenger* [53] had been founded in 1835 by a group of Unitarians who, though they gave some attention at the first to western literature, derived their chief inspiration from New England. During its career of six years the *Messenger* printed contributions from Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Jones

45 *Western Monthly Review*, II, 13 (June, 1828).
46 *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, I, 330-31 (April, 1831).
47 *Holden's Dollar Magazine*, II, 702 (November, 1848). Quoted from the *Cincinnati Atlas*.
48 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 559-61.
49 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 595-98.
50 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 595-96.
51 June – November, 1836. Smith and Day, publishers.
52 Edited and published by James B. Marshall and Wm. D. Gallagher February – June, 1837, in Louisville and Cincinnati.
53 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 658-63.

Very, and other eastern authors, and gave no small attention to British writing. Another Gallagher magazine came to town when that indefatigable magazinist moved the *Hesperian,*[54] which had been started in Columbus in 1838, to Cincinnati in the following year; but the change did not revive it and it perished in six months more. Lucius A. Hine, a young lawyer who had been endoctrinated with the new social ideas abroad in the land, succeeded Gallagher in the forties as the publisher of a series of ambitious Cincinnati periodicals. The first of these was the *Western Literary Journal and Monthly Magazine* (November, 1844 – April, 1845). Hine associated himself in this venture with E. Z. C. Judson, better known to readers of adventure stories as "Ned Buntline," and Hudson A. Kidd; but Judson got mixed up in one of his numerous shooting scrapes down in Kentucky and had to leave the country between days.[55] Judson left the debts of the young periodical in Hine's charge, which accounts for the end of a really promising journal after only six issues. Hine then published four numbers of the *Quarterly Journal and Review* in 1846, afterward merging it in the *Herald of Truth* (January, 1841 – July, 1848), a monthly allied with a socialistic community. The *Herald* was a well printed review showing editorial independence, with a certain amateurishness. The Hine periodicals were all failures, more or less, but not without value. One women's magazine must be mentioned as an adornment to the Cincinnati of the forties—the *Ladies' Repository,*[56] published by the Methodist Book Concern for thirty-five years beginning with 1841. Its material was highly moralized, and was written largely by ministers; the verse was furnished by the Cary sisters, the ubiquitous Mrs. Sigourney, and many unknowns—with several ballads contributed by (save the mark!) Martin F. Tupper, S.C.L., F.R.S. But some of the steel engravings are excellent, and there is a charm of quaintness about the whole work. Besides the literary periodicals that have been mentioned, Cincinnati had two or three of the popular informa-

[54] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 692-93.

[55] See W. H. Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley* (Cincinnati, 1887), pp. 90-91.

[56] To be treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

tion magazines,[57] including a reprint of the New York *Family Magazine;* at least one weekly miscellany, Gallagher's *Cincinnati Mirror* (1831-36); several religious periodicals such as the *Catholic Telegraph,* begun in 1831, and the *Western Christian Advocate,* established in 1834 by the Methodists—both of them still flourishing—and others of briefer duration;[58] and some fiction papers and ladies' books. In addition to these there was a quota of medical, agricultural, legal, and educational journals. In short, Cincinnati was not behind New York, Boston, and Philadelphia in the variety of periodicals produced.

Other western cities had their magazines in these years; Louisville, Columbus, and St. Louis were the leaders. St. Louis was calling for special recognition at the very end of our period: the *Western Journal and Civilian,*[59] which had been founded the year before, calls attention in its number for February, 1849, to three new monthlies just begun in that city. In a second rank were Lexington, Kentucky; Pittsburgh, then considered "western"; ambitious young Indianapolis; and Chicago, which in 1850 had a population of thirty thousand souls and was already the center of a railroad network. Chicago, however, had nothing to contribute to magazine literature until the forties,[60] and very little then: chiefly the *Gem of the Prairie*[61] (1844-52), a weekly literary miscellany, whose publishers founded the Chicago *Tribune* in 1847 and five years later made the *Gem* the Sunday edition of that paper; the *Western Magazine*[62] (1845-46), founded by William R. Rounseville; and the *Lady's Western Magazine*[63] (1848-49), edited by Chicago's first man of letters,

[57] See Ralph Leslie Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (New York, 1925), I, 185-87.

[58] *Ibid.,* I, 191-94.

[59] To be treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

[60] See Chap. I of Herbert E. Fleming, *Magazines of a Market-Metropolis* (Chicago, 1906). Also published under the title "The Literary Interests of Chicago" in the *American Journal of Sociology,* XI-XII (November, 1905–July, 1906).

[61] Editors: Kiler K. Jones and James S. Beach, 1844-45; T. A. Stewart, 1845-52, with J. Campbell for a time in 1845, James Kelley, 1846-50, and Charles Scripp, 1850-52.

[62] The first ten numbers (October, 1845–July, 1846) were published by Rounseville & Company, and the last two (August and September, 1846) by John J. Moon. Rounseville himself wrote much of this, Chicago's first monthly literary magazine.

[63] Charles L. Wilson, publisher.

Benjamin F. Taylor, and J. E. Hurlbut. Pittsburgh had the *Literary Examiner and Western Monthly Review*, later the *Examiner and Hesperian*,[64] and a monthly with the too familiar name of the *Literary Casket* (1840-43).

A "NATIONAL" LITERATURE

Now one of the striking facts to be noted in connection with a study of the development of American literature is that however interested the various sections of the United States may have been in their own literary growth, regional activity has helped rather than hindered the formation of a national literature. The great geographical variety and extent of what Whitman was so fond of calling These States has in itself been one of the chief forces in making a distinctively American literature; and whatever the other elements of Americanism in literature may be, certainly regional variety and geographical expansiveness are two of them. Paradoxical as it may seem, this very diversity has made for a national unity in our letters, for it has been one of the main factors which have distinguished them and given them the stamp of Americanism. Thus in the Period of Expansion, when the various sections were making their voices heard in all the tones of the diapason, it need not surprise us to find the motif of nationality reappearing almost as insistently as in the preceding period. It did not occur to the critics in these years that there could be any hint of inconsistency between the regional efforts and nationality: thus in Longfellow's plea for "national character" in the work of American writers, he says: "In order to effect this, they have only to write more naturally, to write from their own feelings and impressions, from the influence of what they see around them."[65] Such teaching would be likely enough to develop regional work. The fact is that when the critics of the period spoke of "nationality" they thought not so much of national unity in our literature as of independence from Europe.

In this sense Cornelius Mathews used the word in an address

[64] William W. Whitney, publisher; E. B. Fisher and W. H. Burleigh, editors. Vol. I, May – December, 1839; II, Nos. 1-2, January – February, 1840.

[65] *North American Review*, XXXIV, 74 (January, 1832).

at the University of New York, published in the *Broadway Journal*. "In behalf of this young America of ours," he said, "I insist on nationality and true Americanism in the books this country furnishes to itself and to the world." He adumbrates a home literature, a national drama, American schools of art.[66] The *Knickerbocker,* in beginning its second volume, spoke for most of the magazines of the country when it said: "The formation of a literature of our own—*a National American Literature*—is the dearest idol of our heart." It elaborated further: "We do not despair of witnessing the time when, in this country, the noble language which we speak shall in structure indeed be English, but in tone, in character, in power, purely and decidedly American." [67] A writer in the *Democratic Review* feels even more strongly:

> Our literature!—oh, when will it breathe the spirit of our republican institutions? . . . Why cannot our literati comprehend the matchless sublimity of our position amongst the nations of the world—our high destiny—and cease bending the knee to foreign idolatry, false tastes, false doctrines, false principles? When will they be inspired by the magnificent scenery of our own world, imbibe the fresh enthusiasm of a new heaven and a new earth, and soar upon the expanded wings of truth and liberty? [68]

One smells something of Jacksonian politics in this, and hears something of the eagle's scream. There was another view, less inflated, which was well expressed by Lowell in an article in the *North American* which was called "Nationality in Literature," and purported to review Longfellow's *Kavanagh.* After the Revolution, Lowell says, "it was forthwith decided that we must have a literature—as if we did not have Shakespeare and Milton!" And he concludes: "Nationality, then, is only a less narrow form of provincialism, a sublimer sort of clownishness and ill-manners." [69]

66 *Broadway Journal,* II, 26-27 (July 19, 1845).
67 *Knickerbocker,* II, 5, 7 (July, 1833).
68 *Democratic Review,* VI, 428 (November, 1839).
69 *North American Review,* LXIX, 196-215 (July, 1849).

Something more than Fourth of July oratory was required to make an American literature, however; and in the meantime a large proportion of the expanding output of writing was obviously imitative. "Amidst uncertain institutions and a heterogeneous population," writes that severe critic "Il Secretario" in the *Whig Review*, "we have mainly but a feeble and imitative literature, that servilely copies everything from abroad, and then seriously pretends to call its secondary inanities 'an American literature.'" [70] Publishers, as we have seen, ran races to get the first reprints of English works into the hands of an eager public. All the more prominent English magazines and reviews were regularly republished on this side of the water, and English books and periodicals were looted for the "selected" contents which still formed some part of American magazines. One of the most flagrant examples of this practice was the short-lived *Literary and Scientific Review* (New York, 1839-40). In the *Mirror* we find the following bit of sarcasm about this work:

> We observe among its contributors the names of Ben Jonson, Lord Bacon, and many other distinguished foreign writers. In the last number we noticed some very excellent lines beginning "To be or not to be, that is the question" given as original; the editor has been imposed upon by some silly scribbler, for we find the lines, word for word, in the play of Hamlet, by William Shakespeare, Esq. We do not mention this with unfriendly feelings, but simply to put the editor on his guard for the future.[71]

The English were not without literary pirates on their side, however. Irving, Willis, Cooper, Longfellow, Poe, and others suffered at the hands of London publishers. Poe's "The Fall of the House of Usher," which had appeared in Burton's *Gentleman's Magazine* in September, 1839, was reprinted without the name of author or magazine in *Bentley's Miscellany* for August, 1840; in the same number was Longfellow's "The Wreck of the

[70] *American Whig Review*, I, 576 (June, 1845).

[71] *New York Mirror*, XVII, 263 (Feb. 8, 1840). This is quoted from the *Literary Repository and Ladies' Boudoir*.

Hesperus." Bentley pirated American material every month, using excellent taste; and then *Bentley's* was re-pirated on this side the water for American sale. In its first number, the *Ladies' Cabinet,* of London, reprinted nine articles from the *Knickerbocker* without credit; two of them were later reprinted in America with credit tags ascribing them to the London magazine.[72] The *Mirror* noted, as early as 1828, that New York papers were printing its own pieces under the heading "Extracts from the English Papers." "Having performed the grand tour across the Atlantic," says the *Mirror,* "and been introduced among the highflyers of London and Liverpool, like some coxcomb whom travel has rendered ashamed of his old acquaintances, these articles have returned, with English dress and air, and without betraying the slightest symptom of relationship to us." [73]

International copyright was being discussed, but half a century of agitation was yet to take place before it should be agreed upon. In 1840 George Palmer Putnam presented his *Argument in Behalf of International Copyright* to both England and America; Dickens' visit in 1842 was ostensibly made in the interests of this cause; and in the following year nearly one hundred American publishers petitioned Congress in favor of it. But the *status quo* had its defenders also; their argument was most ably presented by Henry C. Carey, economist and publisher, in his *Letters on International Copyright* (1853).

Moreover, English magazines were still accepted as the standard in both form and content by their American imitators. "The magazines of the United States are generally modeled after those of the mother country," [74] said the observing *Mirror* in 1827; and though *Godey's* and *Graham's* surpassed English originals in fields which were not without importance, and certain other magazines deviated more or less from the English norm, still American magazines were, in the main, simulacra of those of London and Edinburgh.

And this at a time when those ambassadors of ill-will, the

[72] *Knickerbocker,* VIII, 119-20 (July, 1836).
[73] *New-York Mirror,* VI, 15 (July 19, 1828).
[74] *Ibid.,* V, 15 (July 28, 1827).

English tory travelers, were most industriously stirring up American resentments. "It is with feelings of deep regret that I observe the literary animosity daily growing up between England and America," wrote Irving in 1835, and then asks, "Why are we so exquisitely alive to the aspersions of Englishmen?" [75] This question, which was being asked in more ribald fashion in some of John Bull's own journals, was at least partially answered by the *Quarterly Observer* thus:

> It is not surprising that we should be peculiarly alive to what is said of us in the country whence we drew our birth and in a very considerable measure our political and social institutions and habits of thought, and whose press furnishes by far the greatest part of the books read in this country.[76]

The first paper written by Alexander H. Everett when he became editor of the *North American* in 1830 was one on "The Tone of British Criticism," in which he complains,

> The *Quarterly* reviles us, the *Edinburgh* sneers at us, the magazines show us up under no very brilliant colors in imaginary travels and journals from Kentucky:—even the poor bookseller's drudge, who gets up that humblest of all periodicals, the *Literary Gazette*, can afford to be merry at the expense of Jonathan. In short, we are daily, weekly, monthly, and quarterly, from one year's end to the other, accused before these self-created courts of sundry high crimes and misdeameanors.[77]

A rather extraordinary *North American* article contributed to this controversy in 1844 was one called "The Manners, Morals, and Poetry of England." [78] It appears to have been written in collaboration by Francis Bowen, the editor, and C. C. Felton; and though it was in reality a rather heavy travesty of a *Foreign Quarterly* article, it contained so many home thrusts, and backed up its allegations in regard to the "essential brutality and licentiousness of the English character" with such an array of details

[75] Quoted in *Mirror*, XII, 233 (Jan. 24, 1835).
[76] *American Quarterly Observer*, I, 271 (October, 1833).
[77] *North American Review*, XXXI, 26-28 (July, 1830).
[78] *Ibid.*, LIX, 1-44 (July, 1844).

that most of its readers took it in sober earnest. Which was probably well enough, as there surely was much of earnestness in it.

And this was the period of Dickens' *American Notes* and Captain Marryat's *Diary in America,* of deaf old Miss Martineau, and—most stinging of all for thin skins—of Mrs. Trollope.[79] There was scarcely a periodical in America that did not print something by way of review or comment upon at least three of these four most famous English commentators on the American life of this period. Miss Martineau especially was reviewed with care, thoroughness, and volume. Mrs. Trollope's extravagant account of American ill manners at first excited bitter resentment; then there was an attempt to laugh it off; and finally the critic's name became a byword for any egregious Americanism in manners. As late as the seventies "Trollope!" was a common cry to rebuke bad manners.[80] The *Mirror* ran a serial burlesque called "Leaves from Mrs. Trollope's Journal" in 1832. In drawing the portrait of an American belle, the writer says:

> She hauled up alongside of me with a true nautical air, and fetching me such a slap on my shoulders as I shall not easily forget, she exclaimed, "How are you, my old woman? I'm glad to see you in these here parts. How do you like our country?" I positively thought she would ask for some of Lorillard's best tobacco, a weed here universally used by all ages, sexes and classes.[81]

But it was difficult to travesty anything as broad as certain passages in Mrs. Trollope: can one paint the lily or gild refined gold? Perhaps a better retaliation was that of the *Democratic Review,* which printed an article on "English Trollopiana" in which the author collected accounts of some rather astounding English lapses, including an alleged habit of M. P.'s of raising their feet upon the benches in front of them.[82] But probably it was Dickens who hurt American pride most cruelly. Not that

[79] See Allan Nevins, *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers* (New York, 1923). Introduction to Part II, pp. 111-38.

[80] See James Parton, *Caricature and Comic Art* (New York, 1877), pp. 276-77. First published in *Harper's,* LI, 509-10 (September, 1875).

[81] *New York Mirror,* IX, 29 (July 28, 1832).

[82] *Democratic Review,* VII, 374-79 (April, 1840).

he was severest, but he had been such an idol of the American heart! Let the editor of the *Brother Jonathan* tell of the anxiety so widely felt after Dickens' visit, to know what he would say about it all:

> Many good people are in an agony of suspense—a perfect perspiration of inquiry—now that Dickens, to use a Southern phrase, has been come and is done gone, to know whether he will write a book, what sort of a book it will be, and what he will say about us. . . . Will he write a book? We hope so; and we hope, furthermore, that the mountain of folly which rose up before him in this country, till he could neither climb over or go round, and was obliged to run away from it, will be "essentially" showed up and wittily described. We have been trolloped—let us be *bozzed*.[83]

We were bozzed. Within nineteen hours after a copy of *American Notes* was received in New York, it was on sale on the streets, and fifty thousand copies were sold in two days in that city alone. Then what a howl of rage! We did not like our bozzing. Even the *Brother Jonathan,* so brave in anticipation, vented a paragraph of scandal about the late popular hero, this time in the authentic voice of John Neal, and referred to "the insolent, low-bred pretension of this young man."[84] Park Benjamin was nearly as bad in *Brother Jonathan's* rival, the *New World*.[85] Both papers were engaged at the time in pirating *Martin Chuzzlewit*.

There were, however, some events which promoted a certain good will between the United States and England. The arrival of the *Sirius* and *Great Western* on April 23, 1838, the first steamships to cross the Atlantic, excited the greatest interest and enthusiasm. The *Knickerbocker* editor wrote, in characteristic vein:

> Since the advent of Noah's ark, that unique piece of naval architecture, there has probably not been more fervent curiosity excited by any water-craft than has been awakened by the steam-

[83] *Brother Jonathan,* II, 212 (June 18, 1842).
[84] *Ibid.,* V, 467 (Aug. 19, 1843).
[85] *New World,* VIII, 5 (Jan. 1, 1844).

ships that have recently come to, and gone from, us across the Atlantic. The whole town, "populous, multi-faced," went on board of them.[86]

The periodicals had been full and running over with the coronation of Victoria some months before, and the young queen was very popular in America: the *Mirror* tells us that on that "day of excitement" when the ships came in, the writer heard one enthusiast shouting heartily: "God bless John Bull and Queen Victoria!"[87] The *Mirror,* which was indeed a matchless mirror of its times, says in another place: "The Americans are queen-mad. We have Victoria bonnets, Victoria shawls, Victoria songs, Victoria marches, Victoria mint-juleps, and somebody has just opened a shop in Broadway which he calls 'The Victoria Hair-pressing Establishment.'"[88] The queen's marriage later caused almost as much enthusiasm.

AMERICAN CRITICISM OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

And it was British literature that was chiefly read in America. American critics kept American readers abreast of the latest English writers; American rapid-fire publishers kept up the supply of English books; and the American eclectics skimmed the "cream of English periodical literature." The *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science* continued until its merger in 1843 with the *American Eclectic,*[89] which had begun two years before; it then became the *Eclectic Museum* and later the *Eclectic Magazine.*[90] Littell began his *Living Age*[91] in 1844. The *Boston Atheneum; or, Spirit of the English Magazines* continued until 1832, and the *Albion* ran throughout our period. Andrews Norton's *Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature*[92] (1833-34) was rather more than an eclectic. *Camp-*

[86] *Knickerbocker,* XI, 471 (May, 1838).
[87] *Mirror,* XV, 359 (May 5, 1838).
[88] *Ibid.,* XV, 523 (July 14, 1838).
[89] Bimonthly, in semiannual volumes. Absalom Peters was editor, assisted in 1841 by Selah B. Treat and in 1842 by J. Holmes Agnew. They were the editors of the *Biblical Repository* also. "Well calculated, 'we don't think,' for general perusal," said the *Knickerbocker,* XVIII, 369 (October, 1841).
[90] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 306-09.
[91] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 747-49.
[92] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 615-17.

bell's Foreign Monthly Magazine[93] (1842-44) was begun in Philadelphia by James M. Campbell but was sold after the first year to Sartain, the engraver, who made it a semimonthly and furnished it with handsome mezzotint plates. It was finally merged in the *Eclectic*.

Colonel Morris recognized in his *Mirror* a "state of transition" in English literature in 1833.[94] Scott was dead, though his immense popularity was unabated for yet a few years. "The present century has no name in its annals of more enviable distinction than that of Walter Scott," declared W. B. O. Peabody in the *North American* the year before Scott died. "The victories of Napoleon were not so wide, nor his monuments so likely to endure."[95] "Walter Scott by universal consent is the monarch and master of modern fiction,"[96] said Edward S. Gould magisterially in the *Literary and Theological Review* of 1836. But in that very year arose his successor in popular acclaim: one "Boz" began in 1836 to publish his *Pickwick Papers*. Two years later the *Knickerbocker* declared that Dickens was "as an author, universally 'endenizened in the national heart.'"[97] It was a sudden and overwhelming popularity, against which only a few conservative critics stood out—like those of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, and they only for a time—but it was none the less a lasting popularity. Bulwer was also popular from *Pelham* on, though he seems to have fared rather better with readers than with critics. Thackeray was not much known in the United States until after 1850, nor do Trollope, Reade, or Collins come in our period. But Carlyle's reign began in the late thirties. The influence of Carlyle upon American thought and letters was probably greater in force, directness, and intimacy than that of any other foreign writer of his century.[98]

[93] Titles: *Campbell's Foreign Monthly Magazine; or, Select Miscellany of the Periodical Literature of Great Britain*, September, 1842 – August, 1843; *Campbell's Foreign Semi-Monthly Magazine, or Select Miscellany of European Literature and Art*, September, 1843 – August, 1844. Six volumes, each containing issues for four months.

[94] *Mirror*, XI, 127 (Oct. 19, 1833).

[95] *North American Review*, XXXII, 386-421 (April, 1831).

[96] *Literary and Theological Review*, II, 46 (March, 1836).

[97] *Knickerbocker*, XII, 377 (October, 1838).

[98] See F. L. Mott, "Carlyle's American Public," in the *Philological Quarterly*, IV, 245-64 (July, 1925).

As early as 1838 one observer remarked that Carlyle's name was a household word in Boston,[99] and a few years later M. Richardson, writing in the *New Englander,* declared that Carlyle was "becoming popular."[100] By the end of our period, another writer in the same review declared that "Since the death of Coleridge no man in the British Isles has had so many followers this side of the Atlantic as Carlyle. Macaulay and Dickens have had more readers, but neither of them has raised up a school."[101] However, about twenty thousand copies of Macaulay's *History* were sold in the United States in 1849.[102]

In poetry too, there was a transition. Wordsworth was still being discussed, and Byron's death in 1824 inspired many estimates of that poet at the beginning of our period. But by the time we reach the forties we find Tennyson the name to conjure with. The *Democratic Review* acclaimed Tennyson "the first English poet of this day"[103] in 1844; but in the same year the *Southern Literary Messenger,* while admitting that his works had experienced "a ready and extensive sale" in America, accused him of "folly and bathos" and apologized for giving several pages of quotations to show that he was not even mediocre.[104] Within the decade the *Messenger* atoned handsomely for this attack, however.[105] Perhaps the most interesting and valuable Tennyson review of the period is one by "Carl Benson" Bristed in the *Whig Review,* in which he tells his American public in very characteristic accents that it is "the opinion of a very large number of the best educated men in England" that Tennyson is a greater poet than Byron.[106] Browning had comparatively little attention in America before 1850; there was, however, one notable article about him—that of James Russell Lowell in the *North American Review* for April, 1848. This was an essay of more than forty pages—perhaps half of it quotation from

99 *Hesperian,* II, 5 (November, 1838).
100 *New Englander,* II, 25 (January, 1844).
101 *Ibid.,* VIII, 46 (February, 1850).
102 Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States of North America* (London, 1849), II, 252.
103 *Democratic Review,* XIV, 62 (January, 1844).
104 *Southern Literary Messenger,* X, 246 (April, 1844).
105 *Ibid.,* XIX, 649 (November, 1853).
106 *American Review, a Whig Journal,* VIII, 28 (July, 1848).

Browning's poems, and Lowell closed by expressing the wish to call his subject a great poet, but contenting himself with the more conservative statement that "he has in him the elements of greatness," [107]—a statement probably adequate at that stage of Browning's career.

But more popular in America during most of the Period of Expansion than either Tennyson or Browning was Mrs. Felicia D. Hemans, author of "Casabianca," "The Landing of the Pilgrims," and other McGuffey favorites. The first named, beginning "The boy stood on the burning deck," has been ruined by a sportive parody, and the others have been pretty thoroughly forgotten; but in 1827 the *United States Review* recorded the fact that "The popularity of Mrs. Hemans' shorter poems has been almost unexampled." They are reprinted at once, and "read on our seaboard, repeatedly printed in the interior, diligently perused in the little circles of our villages, and, it may be, make their way across Lake Erie to the outskirts of civilization." [108] About the same time, the *Episcopal Watchman* spoke of the immense and increasing popularity of Mrs. Hemans' writings.[109] The Philadelphia *Album* is said to have offered her $1,500 and house rent to become its editor in 1827—a high salary. The religious press was especially fond of her. After her rather tragic end in 1835, the *Mirror* predicted that her poems would "be remembered as long as the language in which they were written exists." [110] Upon the publication of the Appleton edition of her *Complete Works* in 1844, the *Knickerbocker* exclaimed: "In how many thousand hearts in America are the records of tenderness and affection with which her true woman's heart overflowed forever endenizen'd." [111] Not greatly inferior to Mrs. Hemans in this endenizenation was L. E. L., of whom, the year after her death, the *Democratic Review* said:

> She went on increasing each year her poetical reputation until her fairy initials, L E L, became a constellation in the literary

[107] *North American Review,* LXVI, 399-400 (April, 1848).
[108] *United States Review and Literary Gazette,* I, 401 (March 1827).
[109] *Episcopal Watchman,* I, 12 (April 2, 1827). See also Evert A. Duyckinck, article in the *New York Review,* I, 200 (March, 1837).
[110] *Mirror,* XIII, 15 (July 11, 1835).
[111] *Knickerbocker,* XXIV, 594 (December, 1844).

firmament, and gave out a star-like lustre of their own which the greatest names of literature can never surpass.[112]

INTEREST IN GERMAN LITERATURE

American interest in German literature was second only to that which was shown in English writings. New York periodicals, such as the *New York Mirror,* the *Knickerbocker,* the *New York Review* and the *Democratic Review,* printed translations and critical articles on German writers in noticeable quantity. Mrs. E. F. Ellet's translations in the Philadelphia magazines did much to turn popular attention toward German literature. But the chief Germanophiles were such Bostonians as the *Christian Examiner,* the *North American,* and—preëminently, as we shall see—the *Dial.* Carlyle, with his immense influence in that section of the country, was the apostle of German literature to the Bostonians.

In 1833 the *Knickerbocker* printed a two-part article called "Horae Germanicae" about *Faust,* quoting liberally from Gower's translation; *Faust,* we are told, is "the most remarkable poem of the present age, beyond all doubt or competition."[113] This was the year after Goethe's death, and it was Goethe who received most of the attention lavished on German literature in our period. In 1833 also, Andrews Norton printed his scathing attack upon the poet in his *Select Journal.*[114] Two years later Leonard Woods published in his *Literary and Theological Review* a strong and far more favorable review of Goethe's work.[115] Motley's Goethe article in the *New York Review*[116] and that of William Ware in the *Christian Examiner*[117] are important, the former for its fresh appreciation, and the latter for its attack on the poet's character. The *Knickerbocker* continued to print some German material, including, in the forties, many selections from Jean Paul; it protested, however, against what it called "literary Germanosities." It did not care for Carlyle, and it

[112] *Democratic Review,* V, 337 (March, 1839).
[113] *Knickerbocker,* I, 33 (January, 1833).
[114] *Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature,* I, 250 (October, 1833).
[115] *Literary and Theological Review,* II, 282 (June, 1835).
[116] *New York Review,* III, 397 (October, 1838).
[117] *Christian Examiner,* XXVI, 360 (July, 1839).

alleged that "The author of *Sartor Resartus* has aroused a crowd of imitators." It was perhaps this dislike of the English writer which caused the *Knickerbocker* editor to decide that Goethe was "greatly over-rated."[118] But in 1841, the year of the *Dial's* birth, Editor Lewis Gaylord Clark, of the *Knickerbocker,* observes very justly:

> We perceive in Mr. Emerson's writings, and those of his school in the East, how much the German mind is infusing itself in that region. A wonderful change has come over Europe and America in the estimate of the intellect and literature of this nation.[119]

The *Dial,* as the medium of transcendental expression, of course owed an allegiance to German literature. Margaret Fuller, R. W. Emerson, and Theodore Parker wrote about it. Parker's essay is particularly significant. "If we are to believe what is currently reported and generally believed," he begins, in what comes as near to a humorous vein as the *Dial* could be expected to achieve,

> there is, somewhere in New England, a faction of discontented men and maidens who have conspired to love everything Teutonic, from Dutch skates to German infidelity. . . . This German epidemic, we are told, extends very widely. It has entered the boarding schools for young misses, of either sex. . . . It has attacked clergymen, in silk and in lawn. The Doctors of Divinity fall before it. . . . Histories of this plague, as of the cholera, have been written.

This conception is exaggerated, Parker tells us. Then he defends the German literature against those who hate it—for "there is a party of cool-headed, discreet, moderate, sound, and very respectable persons who hate German literature" because they think it subversive of religion. But they are "haters without knowledge," and this knowledge he proceeds to impart.[120] W. T. Harris wrote many years later that this article of Parker's "was a cause of much study of German literature, and of my own

[118] *Knickerbocker,* XIV, 90 (July, 1839).
[119] *Ibid.,* XVII, 355 (April, 1841).
[120] *Dial,* I, 315-39 (January, 1841).

study of it among the rest."[121] The various heritors of the *Dial* carried on some discussion of German literature after the death of that journal. John S. Dwight, reviewing *Gems of German Song* in the *Harbinger,* shows his enthusiasm in these words: "And they are 'German' songs; such as are only born and sung in Germany; for where else is the life of men deep enough, strong, free enough?"[122] The *Broadway Journal* in 1845 published a number of Mrs. Lowell's translations from the German, and some critical studies in German literature. German opera in New York was reviewed: "On the whole, we think that for the first time the American public can hear German music performed in German style" at Palmo's in the winter of 1845-46.[123] The *Democratic Review* was, however, the chief German enthusiast at the close of our period. It printed a remarkably large quantity of translations of German works serially in its pages, including Goethe's *Hermann and Dorothea* and *Alexis and Dora,* and a part of the *Iphigenia,* Schiller's *The Diver,* Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* and *Minna von Barnhelm,* and Mendelssohn's *Phaedo*—all these within the two years 1848-49. "German literature is the finest modern literature in the world,"[124] asserts the *Democratic* roundly; and in another place it says:

> The taste for German literature is continually on the increase in this country, not only from the considerable number of German settlements where the "Muttersprache" is retained, but from the gradual spread of acquaintance with the great German authors.[125]

Whether the political motives beneath the pro-German and anti-English attitude of the *Democratic Review* influenced its judgment of literary matters or not, we need not decide; certainly its observation of the popular attitude as quoted is not far wrong.

121 Letters of Harris in Hinsdale, "Foreign Influence upon Education in the United States," in *Report of the Commissioner of Education,* 1897-98, p. 613. Quoted in S. H. Goodnight, *German Literature in American Magazines Prior to 1846* (Wisconsin Studies in Philology, Madison, 1907), p. 53. The latter monograph is a careful and dependable study.

122 *Harbinger,* I, 26 (March 21, 1845).

123 *Broadway Journal,* II, 375 (Dec. 20, 1845).

124 *Democratic Review,* XX, 14 (January, 1847).

125 *Ibid.,* XXVIII, 479 (May, 1851).

AS TO FRENCH LITERATURE

The magazines paid far less attention to the French writers than to the German. In 1839 the *New York Review* pointed out that current French literature was "sealed to a majority of our readers in consequence of its extremely small circulation here."[126] Hugo and Dumas and George Sand were the subjects of some discussion—Hugo especially. But it was not until *Les Misérables* in 1862 that Hugo was to achieve an American popularity; throughout most of the Period of Expansion he suffered under the displeasure of moralists. An article on Hugo's plays in the *North American* in 1836 ends by saying: "If we have yet no literature, God forbid that any we may hereafter own should rise upon so rotten a foundation" as Victor Hugo's dramas.[127] In the same year the *American Quarterly* said that Hugo and Dumas had obtained their ascendency "by a degree of extravagance and immorality unparalleled in the preceding history of the drama."[128] This was a familiar note in the criticism of French literature, as a recent French student of American periodicals has pointed out.[129]

[126] *New York Review*, IV, 443 (April, 1839).

[127] *North American*, XLIII, 133-63 (July, 1836). By F. K. Butler.

[128] *American Quarterly Review*, XIX, 107 (March, 1836).

[129] See Gilbert Chinard, "La littérature Française dans le Sud des Etats-Unis" in the *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, VIII, 89 (January, 1928). M. Chinard speaks of "les généralisations rapides et fausses," and of the "préoccupations morales" which vitiated American criticism of French literature at this time.

CHAPTER VIII

TYPES OF WRITING IN THE MAGAZINES; THE ARTS AND SCIENCES

LITERARY CRITICISM IN THE MAGAZINES

BEFORE we turn to an examination of the criticism of American authors as it appeared in American magazines, it may be as well to look into the state of the art of criticism at this time. And when we do this we are tempted to turn back from our enquiry, for according to the magazines, American criticism was in a parlous state. The chief fault, we are told, is the spirit of indiscriminate praise. Poe observes in the *Southern Literary Messenger* that "We get up a hue and cry about the necessity of encouraging native writers of merit—we blindly fancy we can accomplish this by indiscriminate puffing of good, bad and indifferent." [1] A fuller indictment of the critics is found in Edward S. Gould's lecture upon "American Criticism on American Authors," as reprinted in the *Mirror*. Gould speaks of the superficiality of much of the criticism in the periodicals, of the fondness for generalities rather than analysis, of the hyperboles, and of the use of copious extracts in place of critical discussion. These extracts, by the way, so common to reviews of *belles-lettres* at this time, were undoubtedly thought desirable contents for the magazine. But the great objection voiced in the Gould lecture and in various other articles on the subject in the better magazines [2] is that there is too much leniency.

THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE RANGE OF THE CURRENT REVIEWS OF AMERICAN BOOKS [the capitals are Gould's], NINE OUT OF TEN ARE HIGHLY COMMENDATORY. After all epithets fail, the author under review is summarily dubbed the *American Hemans*, the *American Goldsmith*, the *American Addi-*

[1] *Southern Literary Messenger*, II, 326 (April, 1836).

[2] See also Introduction to *Knickerbocker*, I, 11 (January, 1833); *Mirror*, VII, 159 (Nov. 21, 1829); *Democratic Review* (W. A. Jones) XV, 241 (September, 1844).

son, etc. When we come to be possessed of an AMERICAN MILTON, and an AMERICAN SHAKESPEARE (events not far distant if *analogy* proves anything) we shall probably cease to make progress in literary excellence, from sheer lack of competition!

But the most interesting feature of Gould's vigorous onslaught is his enumeration of the causes of the low state of criticism. He names (1) the gift of complimentary copies of works to critics—surely an abuse only when the presentation was made by the author by way of friendship rather than by the publisher by way of business, (2) indulgence for personal friends, (3) leniency toward colleagues on the same journal, (4) fear of offending the author's admirers among readers of criticism, (5) desire to encourage American literature, and (6) indolence.[3] A seventh reason is suggested by the *Knickerbocker* when it objects to the "absolute sway of English criticism over our tastes and opinions," and adds, "We would like very much to see one of our critics pluck up sufficient courage to question the orthodoxy of a bull of the pope of London or Edinburgh."[4] E. P. Whipple complains of the same abuse when he writes in the *North American,* "If the *Quarterly Review* or *Blackwood's Magazine* speaks well of an American production, we think that we can praise it ourselves."[5] Newspapers are even worse offenders: their criticism "discovers the very lowest phases of the art," says W. A. Jones in the *Democratic Review.*[6] And the same writer, himself one of the best critics of the time, charges in *Arcturus* that "A newspaper criticism is generally a puff or a libel—either an extravagant eulogy or a violent attack. It is in most cases equally weak and inefficient."[7] The *Mirror* editor, including British critics in his indictment, writes along the same lines:

> The criticism to be found in newspapers, both English and American, is worse than worthless. Weak tea and bread and butter

[3] Gould's lecture, delivered before the Mercantile Library Association, Dec. 29, 1835, was published in the *Literary and Theological Review,* II, 33 (March, 1836); and in the *New York Mirror,* XIII, 321 (April 9, 1836).

[4] *Knickerbocker,* V, 475 (June, 1835).

[5] *North American,* LVIII, 37 (January, 1844).

[6] *Democratic Review,* XV, 152 (August, 1844).

[7] *Arcturus,* I, 149 (February, 1841).

—milk and water—we cannot think of anything stale, diluted, insipid enough for a comparison. With very rare exceptions but one character pervades all the dailies, weeklies, and monthlies wherever the English language is written—puff—puff—puff; morning, noon and night, summer and winter—octavos, quartos, folios, blue covers, yellow covers, white, green and brown. Nothing but puff. . . . It is a lamentable fact that any man may get his work puffed.[8]

Undoubtedly there was much basis for these diatribes. The reader of letters of the period—Griswold's *Correspondence,* for example—is impressed with the devotion of the Benjamin-Griswold-Briggs group to the sordid business of log-rolling. Poe's brilliant criticism is vitiated by intense prejudices. The religious journals are too strongly swayed by ethical and religious considerations. The political journals—indeed, most of the secular quarterlies—allow politics to affect their literary judgments. Most southern magazines are more or less governed by political and geographical associations. Geography plays a suprisingly large part in criticism. To be more specific: German literature suffers at the hands of the *Select Journal* because it is connected with German "freethinking"; the French romantics cannot be considered by the *American Quarterly* or the *North American* apart from the Revolution of 1830. The *Knickerbocker* holds a grudge against Boston (though it admires Longfellow, a contributor) and it never tires of poking fun at the transcendentalists; on the other hand, it is the specially appointed guardian of New York reputations. The *New Englander,* of New Haven, is also consistently inimical to Boston. The *Southern Literary Messenger* can find nothing good in the work of any writer who has been associated with antislavery, nor can it often find it in its heart to say anything unkind of any author south of the Mason and Dixon line. One always looks for a political dark-skin in the *Democratic Review's* critical woodpile, as in that of the *Whig Review.* And so it goes: each periodical affords a special problem in analysis of prejudices and influences.

[8] *Mirror,* XI, 47 (Oct. 10, 1833).

On the other hand, there is some important criticism in the magazines of this period. We should recognize that nobody loves the critics, now or ever. Some of the jeremiads penned by critics against their brethren must be taken *cum grano salis*. We could ill spare the soberer critical essays of Poe, or those of Lowell, Simms, Prescott, the Everetts, the Duyckincks, W. A. Jones, Leonard Woods, E. P. Whipple, Charles A. Dana, Margaret Fuller, or George Ripley. Besides these there were many others, such as Emerson, Longfellow, and Motley, who occasionally turned to criticism and produced valuable essays in that kind. The *Christian Examiner, North American, New Englander,* and the reviews of Brownson; the *Arcturus* and the *Literary World;* the *Southern Quarterly* and the *Western Messenger,* the *Dial,* the *Harbinger,* and Lowell's *Pioneer;* the *Democratic* and *Whig Reviews,* and Woods's *Literary and Theological Review;* as well as the *Knickerbocker* and *Mirror,* all contained much critical material throughout these twenty-five years which is still valuable.[9]

MAGAZINE EVALUATIONS OF AMERICAN WRITERS

American periodical criticism very generally placed Irving first among American writers, in the first half of our period at least. Edward Everett, writing in the *North American* for 1835, may be taken as speaking for the great majority of American critics and readers when he said, "We regard Washington Irving as the best writer of English prose."[10] It will be recalled that Lamb, Hazlitt, and Scott were dead by 1835; that Newman and Carlyle, Thackeray and Dickens had not yet come forward: Everett must then have thought only of Macaulay and DeQuincey as British rivals for Irving. In the following year Edward S. Gould names as the leading American prose writers Irving, Cooper, Paulding, Bird, Simms, and Kennedy; and as poets Dana, Halleck, Bryant, Percival, Pinkney, Miss Sedgwick, and Miss Gould.[11] A few years earlier the *Mirror* had chosen

[9] One of the earliest of publishers' house organs was Wiley and Putnam's *Literary News Letter,* begun in 1844.

[10] *North American,* XLI, 1 (July, 1835).

[11] *Literary and Theological Review,* II, 46 (March, 1836).

Of these poets of 1827 only Bryant and Halleck are much remembered today. Dr. James G. Percival and the Rev. John Pierpont were Yale graduates, though both were Bostonians in 1827. Charles Sprague was a local Boston poet. James G. Brooks was editor of the New York *Minerva;* Edward C. Pinckney was a Baltimorean; and Samuel Woodworth, a New Yorker, was author of "The Old Oaken Bucket" and one of the founders of the *New-York Mirror.* Washington Irving wrote a few poems in his youth. From a plate in the *Mirror* for January 26, 1828.

James G. Percival, Fitz-Greene Halleck, W. C. Bryant, Edward Coote Pinkney, Charles Sprague, James G. Brooks, John Pierpont, Washington Irving,[12] and Samuel Woodworth for its large engraving of "Eminent American Poets."[13] Cheever placed Dana first among American poets in his *American Common-Place Book of Poetry* in 1831, but Alexander H. Everett, reviewing Cheever in the *North American,* thinks Bryant should come first.[14] About the time that Gould promulgated his list, Professor George Tucker, of the University of Virginia, dividing his catalogue more carefully into classes, named as essayists Irving, Paulding, Cooper, Wirt, Walsh, Everett, Ingersoll, J. Q. Adams, Cass, Flint, and Dwight; as novelists Cooper, Bird, Miss Sedgwick, and Kennedy;[15] and as poets Halleck, Percival, Bryant, Sigourney, Willis, Allston, Mellen, and Miss Davidson.[16] It was six years later that Poe wrote in *Graham's Magazine:* "Our principal poets are, perhaps, most frequently named in this order—Bryant, Halleck, Dana, Sprague, Longfellow, Willis, and so on."[17] It will be seen that Longfellow had by this time won some recognition: in 1842 the *Southern Literary Messenger* remarked that his reputation was "very high in some parts of the Union, while in others he is practically unknown."[18] There was no unanimity of opinion in regard to Longfellow, however; Professor Felton's declaration in the *North American* of 1842 that his poetry "wherever known is universally admired"[19] is belied by severe reviews of *Evangeline* and the *Poems* of 1845 in the *Whig Review* and the *New Englander.*[20]

[12] Irving wrote two or three poems, including a theatrical "address."

[13] *Mirror,* Vol. V, with number for Jan. 26, 1828. See illustration opposite.

[14] *North American,* XXXIII, 299 (October, 1831).

[15] Tucker adds a mention of *Edge Hill* and *George Balcomb,* novels written by two Virginians, James E. Heath, and Beverly Tucker, respectively.

[16] *Southern Literary Messenger,* IV, 81 (Dec. 19, 1837). Lucretia and Margaret Davidson were two consumptive child poets of New York, who died, the former in 1825 and the latter in 1837. Miss Sedgwick wrote a life of Lucretia which was published in Sparks' *American Biography* series, and her verses were praised by the *Quarterly Review*—perhaps glory worth dying young for. Margaret's poems were edited by Washington Irving.

[17] *Graham's Magazine,* XXIII, 160 (September, 1843).

[18] *Southern Literary Messenger,* VIII, 151 (February, 1842).

[19] *North American,* LV, 114 (July, 1842).

[20] See *American Review: A Whig Journal,* XIII, 359; and VII, 155. Also *New Englander,* VI, 548 (October, 1848).

Emerson's reputation encountered still more difficulties. The *Western Messenger* was almost his only whole-hearted champion among the magazines during the early years of his writing. The *Christian Examiner* was anxious that the Harvard Divinity School should not be held in any degree responsible for what Andrews Norton was calling "the latest form of infidelity," and hastened to declare that the "Divinity School Address" contained "the lucubrations of an individual who has no connection with the school whatever." [21] But not only the religious journals, but the secular press were against Emerson. "In 1837 the word Transcendentalist was new," wrote Edward Everett Hale many years later, "and it was considered 'good form' to ridicule the Transcendentalists, and especially to ridicule Emerson." [22] But in 1840 Emerson began his career as a lecturer; and though his lectures "were listened to with delight by some, with distrust by others, and by a few with something like horror," [23] they contributed to the increase of his popular reputation. It was not until the *Essays, Second Series,* were published in 1844 that the tide seems really to have turned in Emerson's favor; the change is marked by a favorable review in the *Christian Examiner,* his ancient enemy, from the pen of F. H. Hedge.[24] In the *Harbinger* of 1846, W. W. Story remarked of Emerson: "He has become the fashion, or rather the fashion has become him. His admirers have gradually become the public." [25] This was probably putting it rather strongly; certainly there were plenty of unfavorable reviews of Emerson until after the *Conduct of Life* in 1860.[26] But he continued to ascend in public estimation, even though transcendentalism went down. "Transcendentalism," said the *Literary World* in 1847, "seems to be just now at a discount. It is beginning to be considered a bad card for a young author to play." [27] The *Whig Review* had said much the same thing two years before, but had pointed out

[21] *Christian Examiner,* XXV, 38 (November, 1838).
[22] E. E. Hale, *James Russell Lowell and His Friends* (Boston, 1898), p. 202.
[23] *Christian Examiner,* XXX, 253 (May, 1841).
[24] *Ibid.,* XXXVIII, 94 (January, 1845).
[25] *Harbinger,* II, 143 (Feb. 7, 1846).
[26] See *passim* Nevius Ove Halverson, *Growth of Emerson's Reputation up to the Time of His Death in 1882* (Thesis, University of Iowa, 1925).
[27] *Literary World,* I, 53 (Feb. 20, 1847).

that Emerson was bigger than the movement of which he was a part and was now speaking to a larger audience in his books and on the platform.[28]

William Ellery Channing was also very highly regarded both as a preacher and as a writer on social problems. This is true of all sections of the country; in spite of his anti-slavery writings, his reputation seems to have been high at the South. The *Southern Literary Messenger* praised his work more than once, and the *Southern Quarterly Review* said just before his death: "Dr. Channing, by almost universal consent, stands at the head of the literary men of this country, and, perhaps, of the age." [29]

Cooper was never quite approved by the critics. "There is no doubt that very various opinions are entertained by different persons in regard to the precise degree of his merit," [30] remarked O. W. B. Peabody in the *North American* in 1831; and in the same year Willis wrote in his *American Monthly:* "We are afraid Cooper is not valued at home as he ought to be." [31] And after the novelist's return from his European sojourn he aroused animosities which vitiate the periodical criticism of his work.[32] Simms not only offered him the tribute of discipleship, but praised him in the *Southern and Western.*[33]

There was great diversity of opinion in the magazines about Edgar Allan Poe. Poe was himself in the thick of so many critical battles, his enmities were so bitter, and his life and death were so involved in controversy, that contemporaneous judgments of his work could scarcely be unbiassed. Perhaps the following comment on his poems, written by J. S. Dwight for the *Harbinger,* may be taken as fairly representative: "Edgar Poe does not write for humanity: he has more of the art than the soul of poetry. . . . We must confess his poems have a great deal of power, a great deal of beauty." [34]

[28] *American Review: A Whig Journal,* I, 238 (March, 1845).
[29] *Southern Quarterly Review,* II, 130 (July, 1842).
[30] *North American,* XXXII, 509 (April, 1831).
[31] *American Monthly Magazine,* II, 694 (January, 1831).
[32] See, for example, the articles on Cooper in the *New York Review,* IV, 209-21 (January, 1839), and the *Western Law Journal,* VIII, 1-24 (October, 1850).
[33] *Southern and Western Magazine,* I, 440 (June, 1845).
[34] *Harbinger,* I, 411 (Dec. 6, 1845). See also Charles A. Dana's review of the tales along somewhat the same lines, I, 74 (July 12, 1845).

Hawthorne's short stories were praised in *Graham's* by Poe, who said they belonged to "the highest regions of art." [35] Lowell also had some admirers; but his *annus mirabilis* was 1848, so that he really belongs to later periods. Even the *North American* at Boston was giving him carefully calculated praise in 1848.[36] Whittier was thought of chiefly as an antislavery agitator. Holmes, though he had published little, was hailed by the *North American* in 1847 as "one of the most popular of American poets"; [37] that popularity was based upon his humorous verse. Richard Henry Dana enjoyed a high reputation as a poet: a *Democratic Review* article in 1840 placed him second only to Bryant on the roll of great American writers of verse.[38] Bryant and Halleck, though not highly productive throughout the period under consideration, maintained their places in public esteem. Halleck "is generally admitted to be one of our few classics," wrote Simms in 1845.[39] Charles Sprague, the Boston poet of occasions, was much admired throughout the period.[40] Of the many women writers of verse, Mrs. Sigourney held the highest rank. In 1835 a writer in the *Family Magazine* declared her "not inferior to any poet or poetess in the world." [41] And if the *Family Magazine* be considered as beneath the dignity of good criticism, we may turn to Alexander Everett, who was enthusiastic enough to place her "at the head of the lady-poets of the day since the death of Mrs. Hemans." [42] An article on "Female Poets" by Mrs. Hale names Mrs. Sigourney ("an example to her sex"), Hannah F. Gould, Mrs. Emma C. Embury ("Ianthe"), Anna Marie Wells and her sister Frances Sargent Osgood, Sarah Louisa H. Smith (a Cincinnati poet who had recently died at twenty-one), Caroline Gilman, Elizabeth F. Ellet, and Anna Peyre Dinnies of St. Louis.[43] In the *New England Magazine* some versifier, happily

[35] *Graham's*, XX, 298 (May, 1842).
[36] *North American*, LXVI, 458-82 (April, 1848).
[37] *Ibid.*, LXIV, 212 (January, 1847).
[38] *Democratic Review*, VIII, 419 (November, 1840).
[39] *Southern and Western Magazine*, II, 67 (July, 1845).
[40] *North American*, LVIII, 8 (January, 1844).
[41] *Family Magazine*, II, 319 (Sept. 28, 1835).
[42] *Democratic Review*, XI, 246 (September, 1842).
[43] *Baltimore Monument*, I, 72 (November, 1838).

unknown, after commenting on the bad poetry sometimes published, proceeds:

> Yet there are some whose brilliant names shall last
> When all our trash and all our dreams are past:
> The ivory lyre by gentle hands is ruled
> When struck by Sigourney and Hannah Gould.[44]

The only others named are Percival and Bryant. It is interesting to compare with the earlier lists the canon of writers chosen by Lowell in 1848 for treatment in his *Fable for Critics:* Emerson, Alcott, Brownson, Willis, Parker, Bryant, Whittier, Dana, Neal, Hawthorne, Cooper, Briggs, Poe, Irving, Holmes, Lowell, and Halleck. About half of these were living in the environs of Boston; the New England regency had begun. By 1850 the writers who are now read in the schools as classics had rather generally replaced those now forgotten authors hailed by hopeful critics in 1825 as the creators of the struggling new American literature.

POETRY IN AMERICA

It was a poetical era. As early as 1827 we find one critic in the *American Quarterly* closing an article on "Early American Poetry" with these words: "The spirit of poetry is abroad among us. . . . Our constitution and state of society permit no talents to be inactive; they call out genius wherever it lies hid." [45] This was doubtless more hopeful than accurate. Yet Willis Gaylord Clark compares the ordinary magazine poetry of England and America in 1834 in favor of the latter: "The fact is undeniable as it is generally acknowledged that since the death of Lord Byron the best fugitive poetry of the United States has been greatly superior to that of England." [46] He mentions Bryant, Halleck, Hillhouse, Percival and Sprague. The *North American* supports the *Knickerbocker* in very similar statements by Edwin P. Whipple and Alexander H. Everett.[47]

[44] *New England Magazine*, IX, 159 (September, 1835).
[45] *American Quarterly Review*, II, 509 (December, 1827).
[46] *Knickerbocker*, IV, 11 (July, 1834).
[47] *North American Review*, LVIII, 8-10 (January, 1844). Also XXXIII, 297-98 (October, 1831).

But other critics were inclined to look on the dark side of the situation with regard to American poetry, and that dark side was exemplified by the sentimental verses which appeared in such quantities in *Godey's* and the other ladies' books, and in the literary weeklies of local circulation. The poetasters feel "a certain craniological maggotry," observes the *Western Monthly Review,* obviously in the accents of Timothy Flint, "and thinking it the spur of the muses, down they sit, and the materials committed to memory from reading the verses of others are cut down, remoulded, and re-appear in new form." [48] Other magazines make similar complaints,[49] and Mrs. Kirkland throws up her hands in terror, exclaiming in her *Union Magazine,* "It is fearful to think of the deluge of indifferent poetry at present!" [50] Though there were those to complain of "an unpoetical age" [51] and of the indifference of the publishers to the poets,[52] it appears that there was an output of eight or ten volumes of verse a year through the thirties, and more in the next decade. This, when one considers that in 1854, for example, there were but 253 new American books issued, and that more than half of them were for the schools and for the lawyers, doctors and clergy,[53] shows some belief in poetry on the part of the publishers. In April, 1847, the *North American* reviewed in one article nine volumes of verse issued by Boston publishers in that preceding season. "We doubt whether any other city in the world ever turned so large a brood of poets out of the nest in one season," [54] said Bowen, the reviewer.

NOVELS AND NOVEL READING

Though there were two or three times as many two-volume novels published between 1825 and 1850 as there were thin

[48] *Western Monthly Review,* III, 375 (January, 1830).

[49] See *Knickerbocker,* VII, 101 (January, 1836); and *American Whig Review,* I, 580 (June, 1845).

[50] *Union Magazine,* I, 144 (September, 1847).

[51] *Southern Literary Messenger,* XI, 177 (March, 1845).

[52] *Mirror,* II, 263 (Feb. 14, 1835).

[53] *Mirror,* XIV, 335 (April 15, 1837).

[54] *North American,* LXIV, 404 (April, 1847). Reprinted in the *Southern Literary Messenger,* XIII, 292 (May, 1847), without sufficient credit.

volumes of verse, and fiction ranked high in the booklists,[55] there was less of critical interest manifested in fiction than in poetry. The serious reviews rather looked down upon the novel; they were wont to preface their reviews of fiction by more or less profound disquisitions upon the reasons for a philosophical interest in the novel, or by some other form of apology. Scott, however, had attained to critical canonization. Jared Sparks observed in the *North American* that Scott's novels had "had a powerful effect in increasing the demand for works of a similar character. They have served to bring the practice of novel reading into better favor with the graver part of the community." [56] And Willis thought it "a great privilege to live in the same age with the author of *Waverley*";[57] he was perhaps paraphrasing Francis Bowen, who thought "We of the present generation can hardly estimate our own good fortune, in having lighted upon this prolific and entertaining age." [58] It must have been a relief to the serious-minded to find themselves licensed, as it were, to enjoy the reading of fiction. We must remember, however, that when the critics talk about fiction-reading in America they are talking mainly about the reading of novels produced abroad, for the greater part of the novels turned out by American presses were English, French, German, and (in Fredrika Bremer's case) Swedish. So it was when, in reviews already mentioned, Bowen said, "This is, emphatically, the age of novel writing; and as such will undoubtedly be characterized in the annals of English literature"; and Willis called those times "the Golden Age of Fiction." The *American Quarterly* gives us a hint upon the matter of distribution when it says, in 1834: "That work of fiction, in these palmy days of circulating libraries, must indeed be a poor performance, of which an edition cannot be sold." [59]

"The novel of sentiment is now practically dead," wrote W. A. Jones in *Arcturus* in 1841. "It has been superseded by

[55] See Francis J. Grund, *The Americans in Their Moral, Social and Political Relations* (London, 1837), p. 98. In a table giving American publications for 1835, fiction ranks only below educational works (which probably include textbooks).

[56] *North American*, XXI, 78 (July, 1825).

[57] *American Monthly Magazine*, II, 694 (January, 1831).

[58] *North American*, XXV, 183-84 (July, 1827).

[59] *American Quarterly Review*, XVI, 497 (December, 1834).

the historical romance, by German legends, and tales of the sea."[60] Certainly a large proportion of American novels in this period were historical in nature. Cooper and Simms were active in this field, and Bird's *Nick of the Woods,* Paulding's *Dutchman's Fireside,* Kennedy's *Horseshoe Robinson* and *Rob of the Bowl,* Thompson's *Green Mountain Boys,* and William Ware's Roman stories are among the most prominent examples. Simms did not always fare well at the hands of the critics, but his immense activity forced them to take some note of him. The *Southern Literary Messenger* was none too kind to him at first, but later gave him some very glowing notices. "Even northern exclusiveness has admitted him to a participation in the bright rewards of fame,"[61] it declared in 1844; as if in reply some two years later C. C. Felton in a very unkind review in the *North American* called Simms "a writer of great pretensions and some local reputation."[62] In the field of nautical romance we have Cooper's work, Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast,* and Melville's early books. Melville's reviewers scarcely knew what to make of him;[63] strangely enough it was not *Typee* or *Omoo,* among the early novels, which called forth the most understanding notice, but *Mardi,* which was reviewed in the *Democratic* by some unknown critic who, in spite of a rather theologic cast of mind, or possibly because of it, saw something fine in Melville.[64] As to Jones's other category—fiction based on German legend—it was, in America, largely limited to shorter tales, as certain examples by Poe and Irving. They had Simms's *Martin Faber* and Longfellow's *Hyperion,* of course; and there was still a strong admiration for Charles Brockden Brown's *Wieland.*

But although novels were, upon the admission of all, being read as never before, so that such a pleasantly conservative clergyman as W. B. O. Peabody could acknowledge complaisantly that the reading of them was "now the most common recreation

[60] *Arcturus,* I, 84 (January, 1841).
[61] *Southern Literary Messenger,* X, 18 (January, 1844).
[62] *North American,* LXIII, 357 (October, 1846).
[63] See *American Whig Review,* VI, 36 (July, 1847).
[64] *Democratic Review,* XXV, 44 (July, 1849).

in civilized lands,"[65] there were those who were shocked and worried over the situation. "The novelist I unequivocally proscribe," writes a minister to his daughter in some edifying letters published in the *Hopkinsian* in 1829, and he proceeds to warn her that they are only spreading "nets to catch young minds in the maze of Satan."[66] The *Christian Parlor Magazine* informs its pious readers of 1844 that "The habitual use of the stimulus of fiction is always enervating to the intellect, as that of alcohol is to the physical system."[67] And lest it be thought that such opinions were limited to the religious journals, we might present long quotations from "The Confessions of a Novel Reader," which appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1839. This commentator finds novels quite as harmful to the mind as opium is to the body.[68] Or we may place in evidence the *Knickerbocker,* whose editor allowed one contributor to print the opinion that the "widely extended taste" for the work of Scott "has had a very injurious influence on both morals and manners. It has created an admiration of outlaws and freebooters, a respect for the license of barbarous ages."[69] The influence of Hugo's work and of Bulwer's *Pelham* is also earnestly deprecated. The *Democratic Review* tells with apparent approval of the meeting of a representative of a Bible Society with an aged man who was fond of novel reading; the agent inveighs against the atrocious old wretch as follows: "What will he do with his passion beyond the grave? Can he throw aside God's truth, and have fiction in heaven? Can he have it in hell? though more fitting there than in any other department of eternity!"[70] Finally, there is a picture in Mrs. Kirkland's *Union Magazine* which is less distressing only because it is more humorous. It is engraved by W. T. Matteson and represents a woman sitting at an uncleared breakfast table reading a novel: the dog is at the meat, the cat is in the milk, the baby is crying, the husband is scolding, the daughter is pleading,

65 *North American,* LVII, 128 (July, 1843).
66 *Hopkinsian,* III, 576 (December, 1829).
67 *Christian Parlor Magazine,* I, 21-22 (May, 1844).
68 *Southern Literary Messenger,* V. 179-93 (March, 1839).
69 *Knickerbocker,* V, 320, 322 (April, 1835).
70 *Democratic Review,* XX, 462 (May, 1847).

the butcher-boy is waiting at the door; but the woman reads on serene and untroubled.[71] Most observers, however, were inclined to accept the situation philosophically. "It is too late in the day to question whether works of imagination can be safely read; read they certainly will be," [72] decided W. B. O. Peabody, who reviewed a number of novels in the *North American* in the thirties.

Of course the larger part of the opposition to novel reading was based upon a disapproval of the cheaper and more meretricious fiction. Something has already been said of the methods of cheap republication of novels in book and newspaper form. Jonas Winchester, publisher of the *New World,* plunged into competition with other practical (popular spelling of *piratical* [73]) publishers; the advertising columns of the *New World* show the great number and variety of his publications. But there were other publishers on an even lower level, and the whole movement for cheap publication became at length a recognized abuse. John Neal wrote the following characteristically spirited attack, probably directed chiefly at Winchester, for *Brother Jonathan*—a paper which, though born of the cheap literature craze, kept its columns reasonably clean:

> The present system of cheap literature is playing the very mischief with our country—corrupting the morals—belittling the public mind—spoiling the stomachs—and impoverishing, not only our Native Authors, and the publishers of wholesale books, but even the *Trash-Purveyors* of the day, who seem to be fattening upon the offal they furnish—a sort of garbage, gathered from the gutters and stews of all Europe, for retail by the pennyworth, over all these United States of America—faugh! [74]

Edward De Leon in the *Southern Literary Messenger* laments that this cheap literature has "crushed the hopes of American Authors . . . lowered the scale of national honor . . . tainted and corrupted youth by open and shameless licentiousness." [75]

[71] *Union Magazine* for November, 1847. Vol. II.
[72] *North American,* XXXII, 387 (April, 1831).
[73] *Putnam's Monthly,* I, 2 (October, 1906).
[74] *Brother Jonathan,* VI, 322 (Nov. 18, 1843).
[75] *Southern Literary Messenger,* X, 34 (January, 1844).

Graham's was equally concerned: "We are to have few valuable books hereafter in this country. . . . Cheapness is the only cry." [76] And some years later a writer upon the "Satanic and sensual school of romance" attacks it as "a compound mass of passionate nonsense, immorality and irreligion passing under the nickname of popular literature." [77] Doubtless most of this material has perished, as such stuff does; and one cannot be sure whether the rather highly colored criticism of it was overdone or not. What is indubtiable, however, is that there was an immense output of cheap reprints, especially of novels—of cheap good novels, of cheap mediocre novels, and probably of cheap vicious novels.

SHORT STORIES

Short stories received very little criticism of value. Poe's epochal critique of the *Twice-Told Tales,* already mentioned, is the great exception. The *Mirror* made a significant observation in 1843 when it spoke of the need for a word "to designate a writer of short tales, or novellettes—we have to borrow from the French even in describing that of which we are endeavoring to show the need. 'Tale-writer' is sometimes used, but this is a clumsy combination." [78] The recognition here evinced of the short tale as an art-form distinct enough to need a name of its own may be taken to show a growing appreciation of such work. Ordinarily, however, the short narrative, when thought of at all, was considered a kind of mongrel in literature, of no particular breed or lineage. Timothy Flint wrote in his *Western Monthly Review:*

> Infinite numbers of these forlorn orphans are cast out on the arid highways, or to float on the lone waters, without even an ark of bulrushes to keep the feeble wailers from perishing. More than half are the fruit of foreign illegitimacy, and by no means as well worth raising, as our own home-born and honest bantlings. We should think charity began at home. . . . We have seen, during

[76] *Graham's,* XXII, 263 (April, 1843).
[77] *Ibid.,* XXXVIII, 159 (March, 1851). See also in same volume, p. 364 (May, 1851).
[78] *Mirror,* XII, 159 (Nov. 15, 1834).

the past year, numbers of stories and tales and witty matters going the rounds of the papers, that might claim the premium for the highest attainable degree of vapidity and silliness. Editors, who commit such naughty actions, should be fined for debauching and stupifying public taste.[79]

And Mrs. Kirkland, herself a writer of "home-born and honest" tales, observed that "nine-tenths of the magazine stories, so popular among us, have nothing to do with this life, and no references to that which is beyond it." She referred to such stories as "vapid and valueless."[80] The work of certain masters of the short story who wrote in this period—Poe and Hawthorne and Irving—could not leaven the loaf. "If we except Hawthorne, Simms and Willis," wrote a *Democratic Review* critic in 1845, "and one or two others—there is not even a respectably skilful tale-writer on this side the Atlantic."[81]

Stories had become, long before the end of our period, a chief constituent of the bill of fare of the general magazines, and they were produced in great quantities. Hawthorne's score or so of tales in the *Democratic Review* and almost as many in the *New England Magazine*, Poe's stories here and there, and the scattered work of Willis, Irving, Fay, Hoffman, Judge Hall, Mrs. Kirkland, Miss Sedgwick, and others have a variable importance; but the opinions of critics were formed largely upon the standard sentimental tale of the *Godey-Peterson* type. This was undoubtedly the lineal descendant of the story of sensibility of the eighteenth century, and it was destined to hold the upper hand in the magazines until the seventies. It was a half-sister to the sentimental set of verses, and sprang from much the same kind of "craniological maggotry."

THE ANNUALS

All this was encouraged not only by the ladies' books and literary weeklies, and by the newspapers that clipped and printed

[79] *Western Monthly Review*, II, 9 (June, 1828).
[80] *Democratic Review*, XVI, 61 (January, 1845).
[81] Quoted in *Broadway Journal*, I. 354 (June 7, 1845). Poe and Irving are overlooked.

from such sources, but also by the annuals. Annuals were commonly reviewed in the magazines until the great increase of them about 1840. Sartain, who as the leading mezzotint engraver had a close connection with their development, summed it up in his magazine after the annuals for 1849 were out:

> This species of literature is very decidedly on the increase. . . . The popularity of the first annuals brought into the market such a host of competitors that the business was soon overdone. The number of annuals increased almost ad infinitum on both sides of the Atlantic, and their quality deteriorated in the same ratio, until at length they became a mere laughing stock. For the last few years, however, there have been symptoms of reform. . . . The number of annuals published in this country the present season far exceeds that of any former years. The average character is decidedly above what it was a few years since, while some of them are greatly in advance of anything heretofore published in the United States. The annuals are giving important aid in the promotion of the fine arts among us. The amount of engraving, particularly of mezzotinto, done every year for this class of books almost exceeds belief. . . . The literary character is at least stationary, if not retrograding. . . . *Now* an annual is bought to look at. No one ever thinks of reading them.[82]

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Next to poetry and fiction in interest came biography. Practically all periodicals gave some attention to biography, and some gave a good deal. It would have been a strange number of the *North American* if one had failed to contain a biographical article. This was the period of Sparks's *Library of American Biography,* Irving's *Columbus,* George Tucker's *Jefferson,* Cooper's *Lives of the Naval Commanders* in *Graham's Magazine,* and so on. "The eagerness with which every species of biography is read in the present day has led to the adoption of this phrase—biography mania," [83] said the *Mirror* in 1830.

Nor was history entirely neglected in the magazines. The reviews, in their articles upon historical works, quoted liberally

[82] *Sartain's Magazine,* I, 154 (February, 1849).
[83] *Mirror,* VII, 359 (May 15, 1830).

and discussed at length. The *North American* had two historian editors during this period—Sparks and Palfrey—and Prescott, Motley, and Bancroft were faithful contributors to it. The Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society maintained for a time its *Virginia Historical Register,* which has already been mentioned in discussing Richmond's magazine activities. In its earlier years the *Southern Literary Messenger* had been the literary repository of the Society. The *American Pioneer* was the organ of the Logan Historical Society of Ohio, from January, 1842, through October, 1843. John S. Williams conducted it, publishing the first volume at Chillicothe and the second at Cincinnati; a second edition of Volume I appeared at Cincinnati. Its purpose was that of Neville B. Craig's *Olden Time,* of Pittsburgh, which set forth its aims in its subtitle: "Devoted to the preservation of documents and other authentic information in relation to the early explorations, and the settlement and improvement of the country around the head of the Ohio." Two annual volumes were published in 1846 and 1847.[84] In Boston the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*[85] began its notable career in 1847.

TRAVELERS AND ORATORS

Accounts of travelers also form a portion of all magazine menus. No small part of this travel literature came by way of foreign books and magazines. Reviewers, who were wont to make up a considerable proportion of their long articles by means of quotation, indulged themselves thus in reviewing travel books with particular copiousness; and they had much material to work with. "Authorship and travelling are all the fashion," observed the *American Quarterly* in 1829. "Sailors wash the tar from their hands and write verses in their log-books; midshipmen indite their own adventures; and naval commanders, not content with discovering countries and winning battles, steer boldly into the ocean of literature."[86] Travel in the American West is

[84] Title-page of Vol. II says 1848. There was a Cincinnati reprint in 1876. Publishers: J. W. Cook, Vol. I; Wright & Charlton, II. Indexed in *Poole.*

[85] To be treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

[86] *American Quarterly Review,* V, 343 (June, 1829).

also presented to magazine readers in the *Knickerbocker,* the *Southern Literary Messenger,* and many other periodicals.

Another department of literature, though not represented so copiously by example in the magazines, is much discussed—that of oratory. It was the time of Webster, Hayne, Calhoun, and Clay in Congress; "In our Senate," remarked the *Democratic Review,* "there are many the style of whose eloquence . . . would do honor to any nation on earth." [87] There were level-headed critics to condemn the grandiloquence which was not uncommon, but praise of the leaders in this golden age of American parliamentary eloquence gave the prevailing note. E. P. Whipple expressed the almost unanimous judgment of his times when he said that "in all the characteristics of great literary performances," Webster's orations "are fully equal to many works which have stood the test of ages, and baffled the skill of criticism." [88] The popular idolatry offered Webster in his native region is illustrated by the following sentence in the *New-England Magazine* of 1834: "No station can add substantially to his fame, though there is not a station which would not be illustrated and sustained by his talents." [89] There is also much interest in the oratory of the earlier American era. The reviewer of Griswold's *American Prose Writers* in the *Knickerbocker* declares: "Looking at the monuments of American eloquence, even with the severe eye of scholars and critics, there is cause for satisfaction and a just pride"; [90] while a writer in the *New-England Magazine* thinks that the "opportunities for the cultivation of eloquence, especially the eloquence of public debate," have been greater in America than in any "other nation, either ancient or modern." [91] Magazines—especially those of the South—frequently published addresses.

AMERICAN HUMOR

There is one other kind of writing which is found in certain magazines and which, despite the possible offence which the

[87] *Democratic Review,* XXXIV, 47 (July, 1854).
[88] *North American,* LIX, 46 (July, 1844).
[89] *New-England Magazine,* VII, 104 (August, 1834).
[90] *Knickerbocker,* XXX, 344 (October, 1847).
[91] *New-England Magazine,* VII, 105 (August, 1834).

juxtaposition might give the shade of Daniel Webster, shall be treated here. Humor is far more prominent in American periodical literature in this period than it had ever been before; all except the most serious now have their "Fun Jottings" or "Joke Corner," or something analogous. The *Knickerbocker* is the leader in this department; besides being a good many other things, that magazine is the best comic periodical of the times. "The present age," Clark believed, "is emphatically the Age of Fun. Everybody deals in jokes, and all wisdom is inculcated in a paraphase of humor."[92] Therefore he introduces much fun into his "Editor's Table," and gives us John Phoenix and all the other frontier humorists, as well as more urban and urbane entertainers. The *Knickerbocker's* temporary department called "The Bunkum Flagstaff and Independent Echo," set up to represent typographically a country newspaper, contained some good satire. (See illustration opposite.) The *Literary World* notes the same characteristics of "this laughing age" that the *Knickerbocker* points out. "The American face," it says,

> is best daguerreotyped with a broad grin upon it; and it is now too late in the day to quarrel with the grinning propensities of Brother Jonathan or attempt to close the mouths that daily stretch from the borders of *Boston Post* down to the editorial sancta of the *New Orleans Picayune*. Too late to quarrel, were we disposed to it, with the patronage that crowds the Drama's temples whenever Momus presides, and leaves empty boxes to catch the tears of Melpomena.[93]

Burton and Brougham held the boards in these days, and the newspapers were eager propagators of humor. Varied American types lent themselves to caricature, but surely it was the Frontier which motivated most of the humor of the period. "The sources of American humor," the *Democratic Review* tells us,

> are various and novel, the scheming Yankee, the wild Kentuckian, the generous Virginian, the aristocratic Carolina Planters, the camp meeting, the negro music, the auctioneers and orators, the fashionable clergy, life on the Mississippi and the Lakes, the history of every man's life, his shifts and expedients, and change of pursuits,

[92] *Knickerbocker*, XXVIII, 181 (August, 1846).
[93] *Literary World*, IV, 59 (Jan. 20, 1849).

mento, which he will dispose of a great bargain. Also, a couple of cider-barrels, which, from their circular form, can be very easily rolled from Chagres to Panama. Also, some large trunks and boxes, for the same route, and a few sausages. JOHN TRYALL. m1 isp.

MY WIFE SALLY ANN has left my bed and board without provocation whatever. She has been ugly ever since I took her, some fifteen years ago; scratches when she's mad, and gets the histerricks at a moment's warning. She's a dangerous woman, I being entirely taken in by her beauty, which served me right. I never was so sick of any job. I hope nobody will catch her and bring her back. No debts paid of her contracting.

3t is. DUSENBERRY SNODGRASS.

STRAYED into the subscriber's enclosure, a small yaller goslin, with part of the shell stikin to him, supposed to be recently hatched. The owner can have him by proving property, paying charges, and take him away. A. B.

m2 p3is.

GRANDFATHER'S LIFE PILL.—The Doctor's Grandfather spent a whole life time of arduous study in the composition of these pills, and died in putting the last touches on them. They form the most triumphant result of unintermitted devotion perhaps on record. From the time of his leaving the Edinburgh College till he grew gray in their combination, they have formed a part of his regular diet, and in the last affecting scene of his departure to a better land, where pills will be no more needed, he bequeathed them with a faltering tongue to the bowels of posterity. Children cry for them; and afterward, when they grow up to full age, they continue to use them for stoppage. In every steamboat explosion in the country where there has been a box of them on board, they have been found of invaluable service; cure the jaundice, extirpate worms, and is good for fits. There is no obstruction of the human system which does not readily yield to them; and his grandfather has been heard to say they would open a turnpike-gate. These pills have physicked all the old states of the Union. The Western States which suffered dreadful from lowness they keep them regular. More recently, Texas consumed 15,000 boxes, and done him good. The present proprietor sent a box of them to the Bey of Tunis, hoping to get a valable present in exchange; and when it comes to hand he will get you know, as the news on time hopes he remains perm'y seated on his throne. The most delicate female may use them with perfect impunity; keep her complexion fair, red and white, and save her ear-rings from rusting, pulse regular, and breath sweet. Warranted to solder up a broken leg, or money returned. In Poor-Houses they will be found an excellent specific to relieve the town from porpuses, and the county from tax. In several of these institutions they have been known to make those die easy that would'n died at any rate, and squenched their sufferings some months previous to the ordinary time. Come and let us reason, fellow citizens, on the philosophy of this pill. Why is it?—What is the source of health, strength, happiness—nay, life itself? Common reason will tell you that it is the BLOOD: its circulation discovered by HARVEY some years ago, and has continued to flow ever since. Now what does common reason tell you to do? Keep the source of life pure. Purge! purge! purge! If the blood is all pure, then of course the streams will take the character of the fountain. Why is it that mankind have remained so long in the dark with respect to this fact? We will tell you. It is because charlatanism has stalked abroad in the earth. When so many impostors are vending their drugs and nostrums, to the ruin of the health, can it be wondered that a deaf ear is turned to the plainest, simplest reasons of philology, philosophy and common sense? Read the following: READ!

From Miss TABITHA TITMOUSE:

'DEAR SIR: For fifteen years or more I was laboring under an unpleasant breath. Although it was not any particular inconvenience to myself, it was noticeable by my friends, and I have reason to think, impeded my matrimonial prospects, as I have been deserted by several lovers, and remain unmarried to this day. In this unfortunate predicament, I heard by accident of your pill, and after fifteen boxes experienced relief. My breath was entirely changed; so much so, that there is now a young man quite attentive to me, who this morning, unbeknown to me, helped himself to a sly kiss, and said it was first-rate. A sense of gratitude induces me to make this acknowledgment; and if it can be of any service to you you are welcome to publish it from

'Your grateful servant,
'TABITHA TITMOUSE.'

Extract of a letter from one of the fair sex in Bergen County:

'DEAR SIR: Left an infant by my parents at an early age, I began to swallow needles. I kept up this practice until it became positively deleterious. I at last carried it to such an extreme, that I breakfasted, dined, and supped upon no other diet. After that it preyed upon my health. My sleep became disturbed, and my pulse irregular, with frequent palpitations of the heart; and from the paleness of my complexion, I seemed verging to an early grave. My friends became alarmed; till reading of your Life Pill in the 'Bunkumville Chronicle,' they procured two boxes as a last resort. Since that I have discharged through the arms, eyes and brain, many gross of needles, and providentially have been able to set up a small shop, on the proceeds of which I am doing well. If you think this will be any service to young ladies in the like situation, you are perfectly welcome to make what use of it you may deem fit. MELISSA G. SNIBS.'

From another lady, who swallowed chalk, etc.:

'Having read the extract of a letter signed MELISSA SNIBS, I was induced to try your remedy. Besides chalk, I have swallowed slate-pencils, which with the foregoing would be enough for all the black-boards and all the district-schools in the world. I became sallow and out of health, but by the blessing of GOD I am now cured, thanks to your medicine, and ready to go at it again.

'Respectfully yours,
'S. JEMIMA CODDINGS'

From the Methodist minister in Columbia, Greene County:

'DR. H. U. M. BUG, Esq., Dear Sir: I have

A PAGE FROM THE "BUNKUM FLAGSTAFF"

A burlesque of the country newspaper published as a humorous feature of the *Knickerbocker Magazine*.

newspaper controversies, fashions in dress, militia trainings, public lectures, newspaper advertisements, placards, signs, names of children, man-worship, razor-strop men.[94]

This is a good catalogue. Are not these the elements, moreover, which Mark Twain and his contemporaries were to utilize a little later? With the addition, of course, of phases of American life that had not yet developed. The *Knickerbocker's* Yankee traveler who, when informed of the wonders of Mount Vesuvius, exclaims, "Oh, git eout with your all-fired mounting!—we've got the Cat'rack o' Niag'ra to-home, that'd put it out in ten minutes!" is an earlier Innocent Abroad.

A series of short-lived humorous papers could be followed at intervals through the Period of Expansion. The New York *Constellation* (1829-34), edited by Dr. Asa Greene, William T. Porter, and others, was an early comic newspaper. *Every Bodie's Album,* devoted to "humorous tales, essays, anecdotes and facetiae," was published in Philadelphia by Charles Alexander, of the *Saturday Evening Post,* and carried some comic woodcuts. In 1842 Robert H. Elton, a wood-engraver, and Thomas Nichols, a doctor of the water-cure persuasion, aided by the artist John H. Manning, brought out the *Pictorial Wag,* a quarto paper which they soon gave up for the more lucrative but similar business of manufacturing comic valentines. The *Jester* was one of many brief attempts to imitate *Punch* in America; it was printed in Boston in 1845. *Yankee Doodle* came the next year, in New York; it was edited by the satirist Cornelius Mathews, assisted by Richard Grant White and George G. Foster. Willis and Greeley also contributed, and Charles Martin drew pictures; but in spite of this galaxy the journal lived only about a year. A few weeks after *Yankee Doodle* began its tune, *Judy,* who attempted to show herself the late-born twin sister of the London *Punch,* put in an appearance. Henry Grattan Plunkett was editor. But in April, 1847, the *Democratic Review* had to write her obituary:

A sister has departed from among us; *Judy* is no more. Her short career was closed by a surfeit of indigestible pleasantries.

[94] *Democratic Review,* XVII, 215 (September, 1845).

. . . That style of publication began upon a false system; the open, undisguised imitation of the London *Punch* was fatal, because imitations must be even better than the originals to succeed, and *Punch* is not easily surpassed in his vein.[95]

In the year that *Judy* passed on, one Dr. Hutchings, a manufacturer of certain very useful pills, started the *New York Picayune* to advertise his patent medicines, and printed several columns of wit as a lure to the sufferers from liver complaint and headaches. Evidently the *Picayune's* jokes were a better cure for the sick than the doctor's pills; at any rate the paper made a rather surprising success as a low-priced comic weekly. Joseph A. Scoville was editor until 1854, when he started a *Pick* of his own. He was succeeded by Robert H. Lenson, whose Negro sermons of Professor Julius Caesar Hannibal attracted some attention, and then in short shifts by John Harrington and John D. Vose. In 1856 Thomas Butler Gunn, an artist and the author of *The Physiology of a New York Boarding House*, bought the paper, reduced it in size from folio to quarto, and put Frank Bellew, another artist, in editorial charge. Mortimer Thomson, better known as Philander Q. Doesticks, joined Bellew the next year, but in spite of a definite improvement in the *Picayune* in these last years, it chortled its last on February 18, 1860. In the meantime G. B. Zieber, of Philadelphia, and George Dexter, of New York, publishers, and George G. Foster and Thomas Dunn English, editors, started the weekly *John-Donkey*.[96] English was the doctor-lawyer-poet who had edited Metcalfe's *Miscellany* in Philadelphia and the *Aristidean* in New York, and he and "Gaslight" Foster made a good team. *John-Donkey* was the best humorous periodical that had yet been attempted, labored though some of its wit appears. It never admitted its witty intention, and died protesting a natural stupidity. Its satire was often scurrilous; it attacked Greeley, Poe, and many others. It is said to have attained a circulation at one time of twelve thousand,[97] but libel suits ruined it after it had brayed valiantly from January to July, 1848.

[95] *Democratic Review*, XX, 371 (April, 1847).
[96] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 780-83.
[97] Albert H. Smyth, *Philadelphia Magazines* (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 235.

Finally the pioneer college comics may be mentioned—the *Thistle* (1834) and *Chameleon* (1835), both at Princeton.

THEATRICAL CRITICISM

There were few special theatrical journals from 1825 to 1850; dramatic criticism was, for the most part, left to the general periodicals and newspapers. The animadversions of W. A. Jones upon American dramatic criticism, published in *Arcturus,* have substantial justification. "A remarkable neglect is visible, on the part of our periodical writers, in the department of theatrical criticism," wrote Jones. "We have no dramatic critics worth the name. The newspaper notices of plays and actors . . . are so extravagant, both in censure and praise, as to amount to nothing at all."[98] A few theatrical periodicals may be mentioned: a brief *Theatrical Censor and Musical Review* was printed at Philadelphia in 1828; Alexander's Philadelphia sports magazine, the *Gentleman's Vade-Mecum* (1835-36) was also a "Dramatic Companion"; John S. Wallace began his brief *Opera Glass* in New York in September, 1828; there was a *Dramatic Mercury* in New York in 1841, edited by A. D. Patterson, who had been doing the theaters for *Albion;* and the *Dramatic Mirror and Literary Companion* was published weekly in New York and Philadelphia for nine months, 1841-42. But the best theatrical criticism of the times is found in such periodicals as the *New York Mirror,* Leggett's *Critic,* Porter's *Spirit of the Times, Arcturus,* Benjamin's *American Monthly,* Snowden's *Ladies' Companion,* the *New World,* and the *Knickerbocker.* These are all New York magazines; in Boston there were Buckingham's *New-England Magazine* and Willis's *American Monthly;* while in Philadelphia Burton's *Gentleman's* was important, and the *Philadelphia Monthly* may be mentioned.

New York had become the theatrical center of the United States, however. In 1827 the *Mirror* printed a large steel engraving of the Lafayette, "the largest and most splendid building ever erected in the United States for theatrical purposes."[99] There were three other theaters in the city at the time—the Park,

[98] *Arcturus,* II, 27 (June, 1841).
[99] *New-York Mirror,* V, 102 (Oct. 6, 1827).

the Chatham, and the Bowery. The last named erected a fine new building in 1828, and the *Mirror* gives an excellent engraving of it, also, with a long description.[100] That paper is doubtful whether four theaters can be supported in New York; if they cannot, it declares that "the Park ought to be the last to fail," because "In the present corrupted state of the drama, this has been the stronghold of taste, talent and respectability; and its decline argues the decline of similar qualities in the play-going public."[101] The Park did not fail, and when the hard times of 1837 came on, there were eight playhouses open in New York: the lordly Park, the burly Bowery, the Olympick, the Franklin with its *diablerie,* the Euterpian with Mr. and Mrs. Flynn and the German Company, Mrs. Hamblin's Theatre, the Dramatick Saloon under Miss Monier, and Niblo's Garden. "At least half of them must fail,"[102] predicted the *Mirror;* but by the end of September, though the Dramatick Saloon and the Euterpian, and Niblo's with its summer vaudeville, had closed, the National and Richmond Hill had opened. Two years later we are told that "Notwithstanding the universal cry of 'hard times' the theatres do not appear to share in the depression."[103] But in March, 1841, *Arcturus* informs us that "the prices have been reduced at the Park 'to suit the times' from one dollar to seventy-five cents for the boxes, and fifty cents to thirty-seven and a half cents for the pit."[104]

There was constant complaint that the theaters were dependent upon foreign plays. "What is the reason," asked Leggett in his *Critic,* "that American writers, some of whom have risen to so proud a height in other walks of literature . . . have none of them yet met with decided and permanent success in dramatic letters?"[105] William Dunlap's plays appear to have been the only exception to this generalization: the *Mirror* tells us of their popularity in 1828.[106] The *Critic's* remarks were made in connection with the offer by Edwin Forrest in that paper to pay five

[100] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, with number for Aug. 23, 1828.
[101] *Ibid.*, V, 319 (April 12, 1828).
[102] *Ibid.*, XV, 95 (Sept. 16, 1837).
[103] *Ibid.*, XVII, 103 (Sept. 21, 1839).
[104] *Arcturus,* I, 251-52 (March, 1841).
[105] *Critic,* I, 62 (Nov. 22, 1828).
[106] *Mirror,* VI, 191 (Dec. 20, 1828).

hundred dollars and a share of the proceeds for the best American tragedy; the result was John A. Stone's *Metamora,* which was an immediate success when produced at the Park on Dec. 15, 1829. A similar offer made by James H. Hackett in 1830 for an American comedy brought forth James K. Paulding's *Lion of the West;*[107] but the same actor's thousand-dollar prize for an American historical play, offered in the *Mirror* in 1836,[108] appears to have been fruitless. These facts serve to point to an earnest desire for American plays, as does also the statement of the *American Quarterly* that "Because a play and player are American, they are applauded to the skies."[109] But as late as 1845, the *Democratic Review* could observe contemptuously that "The only true American drama, thus far, is a species of national farce—an exhibition of East and South, and Western humors. . . . Rice is the father of the Æthiopian drama . . . the author of 'Jim Crow.'"[110]

The lack of copyright protection was one of the chief difficulties which American dramatists labored under; another was the stern opposition to theaters which was maintained in certain quarters throughout this whole period. The *American Monthly* discusses the report of the Tremont Theatre Investigating Committee, which had taken cognizance of the accusation that the Tremont was "a place of common intoxication." "Why has the once popular amusement of the theatre fallen into disrepute?" it asks. It thinks the popularity of lectures and the cheapness of books have injured the playhouses: "for the price of a pit ticket eight volumes may be hired." The drama "already struggles for existence, and must soon disappear forever."[111] The Tremont was made over into a church building in 1845. In 1841 W. A. Jones laments in *Arcturus* that

we are without good actors; public opposition has set in, with all the force of ignorant prejudice, against the profession of an actor and theatrical entertainments; and we have not as yet the right race of

[107] *Ibid.,* VIII, 175 (Dec. 4, 1830).
[108] *Ibid.,* XIII, 391 (June 4, 1836).
[109] *American Quarterly,* XII, 529 (December, 1832).
[110] *Democratic Review,* XVII, 218-19 (September, 1845).
[111] *American Monthly Magazine,* II, 770 (February, 1831).

critics. . . . Opera and burlesque, the melodrama and the ballet, have literally swallowed up the legitimate drama. . . . We are not a theatrical people.[112]

The feebleness of legitimate drama before the onslaughts of spectacles, melodrama, and so on is a frequent topic in the *Mirror*. The *Knickerbocker* was wont to notice the "diorama" shows and museums along with the theaters. In Boston, the *Dial* of 1842 said

We have been tempted to regret that the better part of the community should have been induced to look so coldly on theatrical exhibitions. . . . There is, however, not so much reason to regret this, as the drama seems dead, and the histrionic art is dying with it.[113]

And even such a thoroughgoing New York paper as the *Broadway Journal* believed "there are few things which the public cares so little about as the gossip of the theatres." It added

Dramatic entertainments were never popular this side the Atlantic. . . . Any species of entertainment which the professedly religious feel themselves compelled to avoid can never be esteemed popular. . . . With us the stage has never been indigenous. There have been but few American actors, and not one American dramatist. . . . If a cockney should fall asleep in the Haymarket and awake in the Park Theatre, he would be hardly conscious of a change.[114]

There was some exaggeration in this, and the *Mirror* took issue; but the *Broadway* stood its ground. The *Literary World,* speaking of the "low point of depression" of the New York stage in 1847 and earlier, comments upon the vice exhibited not on the stage but in the audience.[115] Upon this point a religious journal, the *Hopkinsian,* may be quoted:

It is a fact not to be concealed that the company of lewd women is expected and desired at the Theatre. A place is assigned them

[112] *Arcturus,* II, 29 (June, 1841).
[113] *Dial,* III, 46-47 (July, 1842).
[114] *Broadway Journal,* I, 30 (Jan. 11, 1845).
[115] *Literary World,* I, 16 (Feb. 6, 1847).

so prominent that everybody can see it. It has been said, and it is undoubtedly a fact, that tickets of admission, free of all expense, are sometimes sent by the managers to these abandoned wretches. The *freedom of the Theatre* has been conferred upon them in consideration of their important and highly acceptable services! [116]

The *Hopkinsian,* far from a liberal periodical, certainly believed all this; but it-has-been-said evidence is not precisely convincing, and the charge that theatrical managers encouraged vice in their houses must be marked "not proved." But it was very generally admitted in the magazines that gave attention to such things that theatrical conditions were unsatisfactory in this period as to morals in the house, popular support of the better people, acting, the proportion which legitimate drama bore to spectacle and other entertainment, and distinctively American talent displayed.

CRITICISM OF MUSIC

The contemporary opinion of the advancement of music in America is more favorable. "It is delightful," says the *Mirror* in 1829, "to witness the progress which the science of music has made in our city within a few short years"—a progress from precentors and masters of singing schools to such singers as Philips, Incledon, and Garcia. "Pianos of native manufacture there were none"; now they are "made without number." The organization of the Philharmonic Society, and the establishment of Italian opera are cited as among the city's proudest cultural achievements. "Music is everywhere cultivated; music-masters are roundly paid." [117] Five years later the same paper declared: "In nothing has this great city improved more within the last eight or ten years than in musical taste and knowledge." Thus New York; for the situation in Boston, we can do no better than to let John Sullivan Dwight, the best musical critic in the United States in the latter part of our period and later, tell the tale. In the first number of the *Dial,* July, 1840, Dwight wrote:

[116] *Hopkinsian,* III, 327 (February, 1829). An even stronger presentation of this point of view is given in the Boston *Spirit of the Pilgrims,* III, 597-601 (November, 1830). The sale of liquor in the audience at the Tremont Theater is especially condemned.

[117] *Mirror,* VII, 15 (July 18, 1829).

Music has made a decided progress in our city this past winter. . . . We cannot flatter ourselves that we of Boston are, or shall be for years to come, a musical people. The devoted lover of the art is only beginning to be countenanced, and recognized as one better than an idler.

The oratorios of the Handel and Haydn Society have been encouraging, however.[118]

In 1845 Dwight wrote in the *Harbinger,* with a wider national outlook: "Our people are trying to become musical. There is a musical movement in this country." It has been discovered that there is more to music than the psalm tunes of the churches, the drums and fifes of training days, and the fiddling of dancing parties.

Yes! the practical American mind begins to respect music as an art. . . . Some excellent societies in our cities are learning the love of what is great and permanent by their attempts to perform it. . . . Singing schools "for the million" are unlocking the outer musical sense for all. The real virtuosos come from Europe and give us a touch of their ability . . . and finally, much excellent music is printed here.[119]

From Cincinnati, in the West, come the words of Timothy Flint, in disapproving tones, to be sure, for he thought piano playing only a part of the empty life of fashion:

We traverse the streets of our own city and the wires of the piano are thrummed in our ears from every considerable house. In cities and villages, from one extremity of the Union to the other, wherever there is a good house and the open doors and windows betoken the presence of the mild months, the ringing of the piano wires is almost a universal sound.[120]

There are many comments upon Italian opera in New York. "The impulse which Garcia's Troupe gave to musical taste in New-York," says the editor of the *Knickerbocker* in 1833, "is the most extraordinary event of which the era of Music can

[118] *Dial,* I, 124 (July, 1840).
[119] *Harbinger,* I, 12 (June 14, 1845).
[120] *Western Monthly Review,* III, 403 (February, 1830).

boast. [The Garcia Company had come eight years before.] The experiment of Italian Opera having been fairly tried since the present company [Montresor] visited our shores," there is "hardly a doubt remaining of its successful permanent establishment."[121] In 1845 we find the *Broadway Journal* chronicling the season of Italian opera,[122] and the experience of the French opera company, with Calvé, which came up to New York from New Orleans.[123] There was, with all this appreciation, a good deal of good-natured fun poked at operas and oratorios by those unlearned in such matters,[124] and some serious objection on the grounds of artificiality and the worship of the foreign. We find the name of Walter Whitman signed to an essay on "Art-Singing and Heart-Singing" in the *Broadway*. "Hardly anything that comes to us in the music and songs of the Old World is strictly good and fitting to our nation," he thinks.[125]

One class of music came to the fore in this period which was an American product—the Negro minstrel songs. A writer in *Holden's* tells his readers in 1848 that the success of "the negro minstrelsy of the Christy's . . . is unparalleled by any popular exhibition that has ever been offered in New York."[126] It was George Washington Dixon who made the song "Old Zip Coon" famous; but Thomas D. Rice made a much greater hit with his "Jump Jim Crow." The *Knickerbocker* speaks of "the Jim Crows, the Zip Coons, and the Dandy Jims who have electrified the world," and says they compose an "American national opera."

From the nobility and gentry, down to the lowest chimney sweep in Great Britain, and from the Member of Congress down to the youngest school-boy in America, it was all

Turn about and wheel about
And do just so,
And every time I turn about
I jump Jim Crow.

121 *Knickerbocker*, I, 63 (January, 1833).
122 *Broadway Journal*, I, 30-31 (Jan. 11, 1845).
123 *Ibid.*, I, 410 (June 28, 1845).
124 See *Knickerbocker*, XXX, 527 (December, 1847).
125 *Broadway Journal*, II, 318-19 (Nov. 29, 1845).
126 *Holden's Dollar Magazine*, I, 189 (March, 1848).

. . . "Zip Coon" became a fashionable song; "Lubly Rosa, Sambo come" the favorite serenade; and "Dandy Jim of Caroline" the established quadrille music.[127]

By the middle of 1849 the *Literary World* thought Negro minstrelsy had "lost its fascinating and variable novelty and returned to its original haunts, there to convulse the b'hoys and their sempstress sweethearts";[128] but far greater things were to come from Negro music later.

Another musical phenomenon of the times was the visit of that "modern Orpheus," Ole Bull. Many rhapsodies upon the great violinist were printed, not the least of which was that of Lydia Maria Child, from which this sentence may be quoted: "His music exposed to me more of the infinite than I ever saw, or heard, or dreamed of, in the realms of Nature, Art, or Imagination."[129] But the most valuable agencies of musical cultivation were probably the societies formed for the rendition of the best music. A writer in the *Democratic Review*, who may have been Dwight, said that "The Philharmonic has done more for the cause of the highest order of music than any other institution here" in New York. He declared that "In the United States music has made greater advances within the past ten years [1837-47] than in the previous sixty of our national existence as a country, and relatively almost incredibly greater advances here than in Europe"; and he lists the factors of that advance as follows: "the Philharmonic Society, the American Musical Institute, the brilliant succession of vocal and instrumental artists, . . . and finally the successful and, we hope, permanent establishment of Italian Opera."[130]

But with all the interest in the art, no strong musical magazine was established in this period. The *American Musical Journal* (New York, October, 1834 – November, 1835) had no distinction. The *Musical Magazine*, also of New York, published by Ezra Collier and edited by Thomas Hastings, said in its first number,

[127] *Knickerbocker*, XXVI, 333 (October, 1845).
[128] *Literary World*, V, 1 (July 7, 1849).
[129] *New World*, VIII, 25-26 (Jan. 6, 1844). Quoted from the *Boston Courier*. See also Mrs. Child, "A Welcome to Ole Bull" in the *Democratic Review*, for September, 1844.
[130] *Democratic Review*, XX, 372-73 (April, 1847).

May, 1835, that though there had been "musical intelligencers" before, "a monthly magazine appropriated to all the important branches of theoretical and practical music will, to say the least, be regarded as something new."[131] It published two annual volumes. Two years after its death another *Musical Magazine,*[132] in fortnightly numbers this time, was begun at Boston. It considered 1839 an auspicious time for its establishment on account of the recent introduction of music into the public schools of Boston.[133] Its editors were H. Theodor Hach and T. B. Hayward; it was largely eclectic, using material from English sources and many translations, especially from the German. It was short-lived, but before its death after three years, Hayward, with a new partner, George J. Webb, started the monthly *Musical Cabinet* in the same city.[134] Another Boston periodical was the *Boston Musical Review,* a fortnightly edited by G. W. Peck and published by L. H. Bridgeman, which printed four or five numbers in 1845. *Saroni's Musical Times* (1849-52) published many compositions. A number of the general magazines, and practically all the women's periodicals, published a piece of music monthly. "We argue well for the progress which the science of music is making in this country from the increase of sterling periodicals devoted to this delightful art," said the *Knickerbocker* pleasantly in 1841.[135] But alas, these sterling magazines were uniformly allowed to perish.

THE FINE ARTS

Art criticism in America was less important than musical criticism, at least so far as quantity was concerned. True, there were scattering articles in the reviews upon art, and Burton's *Gentleman's,* the *Mirror,* the *Knickerbocker,* the *Whig Review,* and some other magazines gave more or less consistent attention to it; but art comment in the period is at best fragmentary. Mrs. Kirkland's *Union Magazine,* which became *Sartain's,* had special

131 *Musical Magazine,* I, 1 (May, 1835).
132 Subtitle: *Repository of Musical Science, Literature, and Intelligence.* Publishers: Otis, Broader & Company. Three volumes, Jan. 5, 1839 – April 24, 1842.
133 *Musical Magazine,* Prospectus, I, 2 (Jan. 5, 1839).
134 Bradbury and Soden, publishers. July, 1841 – June, 1842.
135 *Knickerbocker,* XVIII, 180 (August, 1841).

interest in the fine arts, and many general periodicals showed excellent intentions in that direction by the inclusion of the word "Fine Arts" in their subtitles; but too frequently the extent of the attention to graphic arts was the publication of engravings on copper and steel. These engravings were of the greatest importance in the magazine history of the times, as will be shown in the discussion of illustration in a later chapter. The general opinion as to the relation of these engravings to art movements in the United States is expressed in Burton's magazine as follows:

> In a country like ours you cannot hope for great advances in the public feeling of art but by reaching the people generally. . . . It is the habit of contemplating works of art which, in the course of years, forms the taste for art. . . . A good engraving of a good picture is, in its effect upon the mind, incomparably superior to a painting of ordinary merit. . . . The prolific family of annuals . . . the invention of lithography, and the great advance in wood-cutting . . . have enlivened with glimpses of art the walls of many a humble dwelling.[186]

Pride in the achievements of American artists at home and abroad is a note frequently struck in the magazines of 1825-50. "We have established the falsity of the assertion by the London *Quarterly* that 'a high genius for art is incompatible with a republican form of government,'"[187] declared F. R. Holland, writing on "The Fine Arts in America" in the *Knickerbocker* in 1839. J. Houston Mifflin had listed for *Knickerbocker* readers some years before the following artists in whom Americans could take pride: in portrait painting, West, Copley, Stuart, Rembrandt Peale, Sully, Neagle, and Inman; in historical painting, West, Trumbull, and Allston; and in landscapes, Doughty, Cole, Fisher, and Birch.[188] There was much of Powers' work in sculpture, and of the Hudson River school. Robert Walsh expresses a common opinion when he writes in his *American Quarterly* that "Painting is the pursuit to which the genius of

[186] *Gentleman's Magazine*, VII, 55-58 (July, 1840).
[187] *Knickerbocker*, XIV, 39 (July, 1839).
[188] *Knickerbocker*, II, 30-35 (July, 1833).

our land, as far as the fine arts are concerned, has the strongest affinity." [139]

The National Academy of Design was established in 1826. There was the Athenæum gallery in Boston, and after 1840 that of the Mercantile Library Association in New York, modeled upon its Boston predecessor. But the great popular movement in art during this period is found in the growth of the Art Unions. These institutions were first devised in Germany, and then spread to England, where one was founded in London in 1837. The Apollo Association was established in New York the next year; its name was soon altered to "The American Art Union," and by the end of our period there were Philadelphia and Boston Art Unions, and a Western Art Union in Cincinnati. The *American Quarterly Review* described the system employed as follows:

> The plan of all these societies in Europe and America is essentially the same. Each subscriber pays some small amount annually. This forms a fund which, after defraying expenses, is appropriated to the production of engravings and the purchase of works of art. The engravings are given to all subscribers and the works of art are distributed among them by lot.[140]

The American Art Union had 814 subscribers in 1839; two years later it had 937, and awarded seven paintings by lottery; in 1847 it had 9,666 members, among whom it distributed 272 paintings "of the best character of American art," 250 bronze medals, and fifty other medals, besides the engravings, and in addition maintained an exhibition gallery. By the end of the period it had over sixteen thousand subscribers, and had distributed about two thousand works of art painted by 231 different artists, and 150,000 copies of etchings and engravings.[141] It published annual volumes of *Transactions* 1839-49, and beginning in 1847 it issued for six years a *Bulletin* edited by the engraver W. J. Hoppin. The *Democratic Review* in 1849 congratulated the country that

139 *American Quarterly Review*, XVII, 143-77 (March, 1835).
140 *Ibid.*, XXXII, 442-47 (November, 1848).
141 Figures are from *ibid.*; *Democratic Review*, XXIII, 374 (October, 1848), and XXV, 382-83 (October, 1849); *Graham's*, II, 59 (June, 1841).

The great success of the American Art-Union, the late announcements of a new institution with similar objects, the multitudes of statues, casts, and other objects of art which decorate the shops, the splendor of many of the new editions of the classical authors, together with the numerous well attended "musical solemnities" which our cities now boast, all these are symptoms of the awakening of artistic taste in this country.[142]

MEDICAL JOURNALS

There was also, unmistakably, an awaking of scientific interest. In each of the two fields of science most cultivated in the earlier American magazines—medicine and agriculture—we find developing during the Period of Expansion a large group of special periodicals.

The medical profession made great progress during these years. Medical education, organization of societies of physicians, new discoveries in science, and the publication of medical journals contributed to this development. The causes of the earlier prejudice against doctors had passed away by 1831, wrote Dr. Enoch Hale in the *North American*. "We believe that there never was a time, when they were held in so high respect and confidence as at the present day, and probably in no part of the world is this confidence more generally felt, than among us."[143] Medical journals had made a good start in the preceding period; and such prominent examples as the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*[144] and the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* were strengthened, in 1826 and 1829 respectively, by mergers which gave them additional prestige during our period. Every considerable center of population had its medical reviews, journals, or intelligencers, its lancets or registers, which gave physicians' and surgeons' accounts of cases to fellow practitioners. Philadelphia had, besides the *American Journal* and various briefer attempts, the *North American Medical and Surgical Journal*, quarterly in twelve volumes, 1826-31; and the *American Medical Intelli-*

[142] *Democratic Review*, XXIV, 89 (January, 1849).
[143] *North American*, XXXII, 369 (April, 1831).
[144] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 566-68.

gencer,[145] monthly, 1837-42. It had also the pioneer pharmaceutical periodical, the *American Journal of Pharmacy*,[146] founded in 1825. Philadelphia was the leader in medical journals; but her neighbor to the north had the *New York Journal of Medicine*[147] (1843-60) and several other periodicals which lasted from a few months to two or three years, and Baltimore had at least three.[148] In the West, Louisville was the chief medical publishing center, with Dr. Daniel Drake's *Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery* (1840-55), which, with predecessors and successors[149] covered a span of thirty-five years; Lexington had its quarterly *Transylvania Journal of Medicine and the Associated Sciences* (1828-39) in twelve volumes, edited by John Esten Cooke and Charles Wilkins Short; and at Columbus, the *Ohio Medical and Surgical Journal* published sixteen annual volumes from 1848, with a new series in 1876-78. In the South, the *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*[150] began its long life in

[145] Vol. I was called *The American Medical Library and Intelligencer*, Vols. II-N.S. I, *American Medical Intelligencer. A Concentrated Record of Medical Science and Literature.* I-IV, April, 1837 – 1841; N.S. I, 1841-42. Continued as *Medical News and Library*, 1843-79 (37 vols.), later called the *Medical News and Abstract*, 1880-81 (XXXVIII-XXXIX) and finally the *Medical News*, 1882-1905 (XL-LXXXVII). It was then merged with the *New York Medical Journal* (1865-1923, 118 vols.) which became the *Medical Journal and Record* in 1924.

[146] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 539-40.

[147] The words "and Collateral Sciences" added to title July, 1848. Vols. I-X, July, 1843 – June, 1848; N.S. I-XVI, July, 1848 – June, 1856; 3d S. I-VIII, July, 1856 – June, 1860.

[148] The *Baltimore Monthly Journal of Medicine and Surgery* made one volume February, 1830 – January, 1831. The *Baltimore Medical and Surgical Journal and Review* (October, 1833 – September, 1834) became the *North American Archives of Medical and Surgical Science* (October, 1834 – September, 1835)—each in two volumes.

[149] The *Ohio Medical Repository* (1826-27) was a semimonthly founded at Cincinnati by Guy W. Wright and James M. Mason; after one volume it became the *Western Medical and Physical Journal, Original and Eclectic* (April, 1827 – March, 1828) which was under the care of Daniel Drake and Wright for one annual volume, and then, with Drake in charge, became the quarterly *Western Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences* (April, 1828 – July, 1838), making with its predecessor twelve volumes. This was merged with the *Louisville Journal of Medicine and Surgery* (January – April, 1838) to form the *Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery* (See above). This became the *Louisville Review* during 1856 after which it was merged with the *Medical Examiner* (1st Series, 7 vols., 1838-44; N.S., 12 vols., 1845-56), of Philadelphia, to form the *North American Medico-Chirurgical Review* (1857-61, 5 vols.), also of Philadelphia. Cincinnati had an *Ohio Medical Repository* later than the one mentioned above; it published five monthly numbers beginning September, 1835.

[150] Vol. I and No. 1 of Vol. II were called the *New Orleans Medical Journal*, and Vols. XXII and XXIII the *New Orleans Journal of Medicine*. It was suspended during the war, May, 1861 – July, 1866, and also November, 1870 – June, 1873.

1844. The homeopathic doctors also had a few journals in this period.[151]

Also connected with this group are the popular health magazines. The *Journal of Health*,[152] "conducted by an association of physicians," in Philadelphia, was published first by Henry H. Porter, and after his financial failure, by Samuel C. Atkinson, publisher of the *Saturday Evening Post*. It ran through four annual volumes, 1829-33. It aimed to present "plain precepts, in easy style and language, for the regulation of all the physical agents necessary to health."[153] Explicitly opposing empiricism, it dwelt chiefly upon the necessity of fresh air, good food, exercise, healthful clothing, and the proper correlation of mind and body. It opposed the use of tobacco and liquors. The following are designated by the *Journal of Health* as "Unreasonable and Dangerous Practices":

> To drink after fatigue very cold or iced water; or to take iced punch, or iced cream, in place of a draught of clear river water, or that which has been exposed some time to the air. . . .
>
> To sleep exposed directly to the night air.
>
> To have recourse to morning bitters, drams, or antifogmatics of any description.
>
> To be tempted by the fineness of the evening to sit up till midnight, and as a consequence to lie in bed in the morning.[154]

Physical culture occupied some space also in the general magazines. *Godey's* and other periodicals had health departments; and there were occasional articles on such matters in the grave reviews—for example, Dr. John Jeffries' "Physical Culture the Result of Moral Obligations," in the *American Quarterly Observer*.[155] The educational periodicals sometimes advocated more attention to physical training. "The present generation is suffer-

[151] The *American Journal of Homeopathia* issued four numbers in 1835; the *American Journal of Homeopathy* was published August, 1838–July, 1839; a second journal of the latter name was published more than eight years, April, 1846–August, 1854. All were New York periodicals.

[152] I-III, Sept. 9, 1829–Aug. 22, 1832, semimonthly; IV, September, 1832–August, 1833, monthly. John Bell and D. Francis Condie, editors.

[153] *Journal of Health*, I, 1 (Sept. 9, 1829).

[154] *Ibid.*, I, 350-51 (July 28, 1830).

[155] *American Quarterly Observer*, I, 251 (October, 1833).

ing incalculably under an ignorance of physical education," wrote Horace Mann in his *Common School Journal*.[156]

One of the most surprising successes of the later years of our period is the *Water-Cure Journal and Herald of Reform*, "a thoroughly popular work" of great variety in contents, which claimed a circulation of fifty thousand shortly after 1850. It was established in 1845 by Fowler and Wells, of New York, and was, according to its own statement, devoted to physiology, pathology, hydropathy, and physical, moral, and intellectual development. It ran for fifteen years under its original title, and fifty years longer under other names related to health and hygiene.[157] There was an extraordinary interest in the "water cure." Water, for drinking, bathing, compresses, and so on, was the great panacea. The new system invaded the general magazines. Dr. E. A. Kittredge, writing in the *Harbinger*, quoted Shakespeare in support of hydropathy: "Throw physic to the dogs; I'll none of it."[158] The *Knickerbocker* had an interesting satire on the water cure, in which an invalid is shown dosed with bucketfuls and pailfuls of water, until at last he "turned pale, and kicked the bucket."[159] John Wiley, the publisher of Cooper, competed with Fowler and Wells in the publication of "Water-Cure Works," —*Guide to Hydropathy, Water-Cure for Ladies*, hydropathic cookbooks, and so on. There were other journals of a medical kind much less orthodox than the *Water-Cure Journal*—"herb-doctor" papers, patent medicine journals, and such.

AGRICULTURAL PERIODICALS AND MECHANICS' JOURNALS

The agricultural journals also multiplied surprisingly in this Period of Expansion. Some seventy of them were begun before

156 *Common School Journal* (Boston), IV, 5 (Jan. 1, 1842).

157 Titles: *Water-Cure Journal*, 1845-61 (I-XXXIII); *Hygienic Teacher and Water-Cure Journal*, 1862 (XXXIV); *Herald of Health*, 1863-92 (XXXV-LXXVII); *Journal of Hygiene and Herald of Health*, 1893-97 (XLIII-XLVIII, No. 9; N.S. II-VII, No. 9); *Omega*, 1898–August, 1900 (XLVIII, No. 10–L, No. 8; N.S. VII, No. 10–IX, No. 8); *Health*, September, 1900–1910 (L, No. 9–LXXVII; N.S. IX, No. 9–XXIX, after which N.S. numbering was abandoned). The year 1892 being the magazine's forty-second year, the volume numbering was in that year changed from the semiannual numbers to annual numbers counted from the beginning, LXXVII being according to the new numbering XLII, and so on to the end. Subtitle variations were numerous.

158 *Harbinger*, IV, I (Dec. 12, 1846).

159 *Knickerbocker*, XXXV, 76-78 (January, 1850).

1850.[160] The patriarch of them all, the *American Farmer*,[161] was issued regularly throughout these years, though its founder, John S. Skinner, sold his interest in it in 1829. He later edited the *Journal of Agriculture*[162] (Baltimore, 1845-48) which was chiefly eclectic, and from the end of this periodical until his death he conducted *The Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil*,[163] one of the ablest agricultural journals of the times, which was afterward merged with the *American Agriculturist*. Although Thomas Green Fessenden died in 1837, the *New England Farmer*,[164] which he had so successfully edited, persisted for some ten years thereafter. Two years before his death he and J. E. Teschmacher began the Boston *Horticultural Register and Gardener's Magazine* (4 vols., 1835-38), with colored plates; and at the same time he started *Fessenden's Silk Manual and Practical Farmer* (2 vols., 1835-37). The *Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture* was founded in Boston by the New England Agricultural Society in 1840 to run through sixty-five annual volumes. A second *New England Farmer*[165] was begun in Boston December 9, 1848, and published in semi-monthly numbers until 1871.

Of the scores of periodicals devoted to farming, stock raising, horticulture, and allied topics which were begun in this period only a few of the most prominent need be mentioned here.[166] The *Genesee Farmer*[167] was begun in 1831 by Luther Tucker at

[160] See list in L. H. Bailey, *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture*, IV, 78-79. But W. A. Sumner, associate professor of agricultural journalism, University of Wisconsin, has compiled a more extensive list, as yet unpublished.

[161] See p. 153.

[162] Half title: *Farmer's Library and Monthly Journal of Agriculture*. Three annual volumes from July, 1845.

[163] Twelve annual volumes, 1848-59. The last two volumes were called *The American Farmer's Magazine*.

[164] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 317-19.

[165] It was suspended for five months in 1864. A new series includes the years 1867-71.

[166] See Gilbert M. Tucker, *American Agricultural Periodicals* (Albany, 1909). This is a valuable compilation, though not without errors. It has a natural partiality for the Albany *Cultivator* and related journals. In 1828 two important agricultural papers were established: the *New York Farmer* (1828-37, 10 vols., the last five of which constitute a new series), edited in the early thirties by Samuel Fleet; and the Charleston *Southern Agriculturist* (1828-46, 12 vols. 1828-39, numbering omitted 1840, 6 vols. N.S. 1841-46), edited by J. D. Legaré. The latter was called the *Southern Cabinet of Agriculture* in 1840.

[167] Nine annual volumes, 1831-39.

Rochester, New York. It was dignified, pious, and, in a stilted way, literary. It won the sincere good will of its constituency and a certain fame. Jesse Buel became an assistant editor in 1833, but soon resigned to edit the *Cultivator,* which had been established at Albany by the State Agricultural Society in 1834. In 1839 Tucker bought Buel's *Cultivator,* united the *Genesee Farmer* with it under the name of the *Cultivator,* and moved to Albany. Rochester, thus deserted, soon had its *New Genesee Farmer and Gardener's Journal,*[168] founded in 1840 by John J. Thomas and M. B. Bateman, but edited after 1842 by such famous agricultural writers as Henry Colman and Joseph Harris. It claimed descent from the original *Genesee Farmer,* and lasted until 1866, when it was merged with the *American Agriculturist.* Meanwhile Tucker had started in 1853 the *Country Gentleman,*[169] which he conducted in conjunction with the *Cultivator,* which was now made a monthly, until the end of 1865, when he merged the two, keeping the name of the younger. Three Luther Tuckers conducted these journals successively (with Gilbert Tucker, a son of the first Luther) until the *Country Gentleman* was sold to the Curtis Publishing Company in 1911, to enter upon a much greater era of development. It has been worth while to trace these papers in detail not only because of their early importance, but because of the interest excited by claims that the *Country Gentleman* is "the oldest agricultural journal in the world"—which is true enough if one counts from the birth of the *Genesee Farmer,* which was absorbed by the *Cultivator,* which was absorbed by the *Country Gentleman;* but if claims were to be based upon direct descent, the *Country Gentleman* would be compelled to yield to more than one claim of priority.

A brilliant young preacher named Henry Ward Beecher edited the *Indiana Farmer and Gardener,* a semimonthly affiliated with the *Indianapolis Journal,*[170] in 1845-46, contributing characteristic

[168] Twenty-six annual volumes, 1840-65. The word "New" was dropped from the title after the fifth volume.

[169] To be treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

[170] This journal was begun in January, 1845. Edward J. Hooper, who had edited the *Western Farmer and Gardener* at Cincinnati from September, 1839, through July, 1845, became joint editor of the *Farmer and Gardener* with Beecher in 1846, though remaining in Ohio, and the paper was published simultaneously in Indian-

comment not only on gardening but also on schools, temperance, and so on; then the editor had a call to Brooklyn and to fame. Another *Indiana Farmer* began in 1845, to last through 1917, when it was merged with the *Farmer's Guide*.

In 1842 one of the most important of American farm journals was established when A. B. and R. L. Allen started the *American Agriculturist* [171] in New York. Finally, two important western farm papers were founded shortly before the end of our period. The *Ohio Farmer* was established by Thomas Brown of Cleveland in 1848; in 1863 it absorbed Col. S. D. Harris's *Ohio Cultivator*, of Columbus, which had antedated it by three years; and it still flourishes. And Colman's *Rural World* was founded at St. Louis under the name of the *Valley Farmer* in 1848, to be edited for half a century by Norman J. Colman, at one time United States Commissioner of Agriculture. These are only a few of many journals which were important in the lives of farmers and their families.[172]

All these farm papers furnished, besides their agricultural mat-

apolis and Cincinnati under the name of the *Western Farmer and Gardener*. It lasted for only six months in 1847. See *Western Farmer and Gardener*, II, 1 (Jan. 1, 1846), for historical note.

171 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 728-32.

172 Maine, Tennessee, and Indiana had their *Farmers* named after them in 1833, 1834, and 1837, respectively; but the only one of the three which had a long life was the *Maine Farmer* (92 vols., 1833 – January, 1924), born *Kennebec Farmer*, which was started at Winthrop, but moved to Augusta in 1843, and was edited for thirty years by E. Holmes. The *Farmer's Cabinet and American Herd Book* was established in Philadelphia in 1836 by Josiah Tatum; it was merged in 1848 with that omnivorous devourer of its kind, the *American Agriculturist*. Probably the earliest western farm journal was the *Farmer's Reporter and United States Agriculturist*, by H. L. Barnum, Cincinnati, 1831-33. The *Western Farmer* (1839-42) of that city became the *Michigan Farmer* of Detroit in 1843; and in 1862 the famous *Western Rural*, edited by H. N. F. Lewis, was founded in Chicago. The *Rural* underwent various changes before its end in 1901; it became the *Western Rural and American Stockman* in 1884, the *Western Rural and Live Stock Weekly* in 1895, and the *National Rural and American Family Magazine* in 1899. Another westerner was the *Prairie Farmer*, founded by the Union Agricultural Society of Chicago, as the *Union Agriculturist* in October, 1840, and changing its name in 1843. The *Boston Cultivator*, later the *American Cultivator*, was begun in 1839 and continued until 1915. The *Southern Planter*, of Richmond, was established in 1841, but was suspended by reason of the war from 1862 to 1867; in 1867-75 it ran a new series in nine volumes; then it resumed the old numbering, which it still employs. Still further south is the *Southern Cultivator*, which, founded in Augusta by J. W. and W. S. Jones in 1843, moved to Athens after the war, and then to Atlanta, changing its frequency of issue, absorbing a number of other farm journals in different southern cities, and adding the title of one of them, the *Dixie Farmer*, to its own in 1886.

ter, some literary miscellany. Many of them, indeed, were quite as valuable in a literary way as the weekly miscellanies which were so numerous.

Allied with the agricultural journals were those which were designed for mechanics, artisans, and manufacturers. One of the first and greatest of these was the *Journal of the Franklin Institute,*[173] which began as the *American Mechanics' Magazine* at Philadelphia in February, 1825. Originally an imitation of the London *Mechanics' Magazine,* it became a strong and able periodical devoted to the interests of American students of science and mechanics. Thomas P. Jones was editor throughout nearly all of our period. Boston, Albany, and New York were prominent centers for the mechanics' magazines. The *Journeyman Mechanics' Advocate* is said to have been "the first labor paper in the world."[174] In Boston there were the *Mechanics' Magazine* of 1830, which published twelve monthly numbers from February of that year; the *Young Mechanic* (1832-35) which ended its life as the *Boston Mechanic;* and the *Mechanic-Apprentice,* which lasted one year from May, 1845. The *New England Mechanic* (1847-65) was moved to Smithville, New Jersey, where it became the *New Jersey Mechanic,* devoted to woodworking; losing its state designation in the eighties, it lasted until 1911. The weekly *New York State Mechanic*[175] (1841-43), of Albany, published "under the direction of the New York State Mechanic Association," was succeeded by the *Mechanic's Advocate*[176] (1846-48). The latter was more literary than its predecessor; it was edited by John Tanner, and published some fiction, politics, and miscellany. There were other mechanics' magazines in Albany in the forties. In New York there was the *Mechanics' Magazine and Journal of the Mechanics' Institute* (1833-37), which was com-

[173] Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 556-58.

[174] Article by E. R. A. Seligman, *Cambridge History of American Literature* (New York, 1921), IV, 436. The *Advocate* was published in 1827. More important in this class is the *Working Man's Advocate,* founded by G. H. Evans, Oct. 31, 1829, which became *Young America* (January, 1845 – May, 1849). The *Advocate* was the weekly edition of Evans' *Man,* Fanny Wright editor, during that paper's life in 1834-35.

[175] An eight-page quarto. Subtitle: *A Journal of the Manual Arts, Trades and Manufactures.* First number published Nov. 20, 1841, though date line says 1842 by error. Published by Joel Munsell, and illustrated by occasional woodcuts.

[176] Much like its predecessor in form and contents except for serial stories by J. N. T. Tucker, T. S. Arthur, and others. Circulation in 1848, 2,000.

bined with the *American Railroad Journal* in May, 1837. And lastly, the *Scientific American*[177] was founded August 28, 1845, under the editorship of Rufus Porter, and by 1850 it was claiming the excellent circulation of 14,000. It gave special attention to patents, and printed some woodcuts from the first.

SCIENCE IN THE GENERAL MAGAZINES

There were many articles of scientific interest in the general magazines of the period. The entire group of periodicals devoted to the wholesale distribution of information after the example of the *Penny Magazine* supplied their readers with series of articles on the various sciences. The reviews printed some authoritative discussions by scholars. Silliman's *Journal* increased its already excellent reputation. Perhaps the greatest popular interest in any science was that in geology. The earlier lyceum, as inaugurated by Josiah Holbrook in 1826, was founded largely upon an interest in that science; Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830-33), the lectures of its author in the United States in 1841 and 1845, and the theological questions involved in the acceptance of the teachings of the new school of geology—these were all factors in the intense interest which many found in the subject. G. W. Featherstonhaugh, "United States Geologist," and editor of the new *Monthly American Journal of Geology*,[177a] had an enthusiastic article in the *North American* on this science in 1831. "At present Boston people are geologically mad," wrote "Vanderblunt" in the *New England Magazine* in 1835. "My friend Professor Silliman, for whom I have a particular regard, has by no means contributed to allay the mania. The symptoms are still at their height."[178] The author of an article on "Geology and Revealed Religion" in the *Knickerbocker* in the next year attacks a tract by the versatile and vigorous President Thomas Cooper, of the College of South Carolina, on *The Connection Between Geology and the Pentateuch*, as well as some statements of Professor Moses Stuart of Andover in the *Biblical Repository*.[179] Another writer in the *Knickerbocker* a few months later com-

[177] To be treated in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.
[177a] New York, July, 1831 – June, 1832.
[178] *New England Magazine*, VIII, 320 (April, 1835).
[179] *Knickerbocker*, VII, 441-52 (May, 1836).

plains of the "warfare upon science," and asserts that some "raise the cry of infidelity whenever a discovery in science is announced."[180] The religious reviews took up the controversy at length, and began a war which was to last a long time.

There were certain pseudo-sciences which also claimed large space in the periodicals. Mesmerism, animal magnetism, and hypnotism claimed some attention; one notes much discussion of them in the *Broadway Journal* and recalls Poe's special interest in them. Dr. Braid's valuable "neurohypnotic" investigations were just then attracting attention. The author of an article on "Animal Magnetism" in the *Democratic Review* "pleads guilty to the crime of belief" in it;[181] and the *Knickerbocker* printed articles of a similar tenor in 1841.

PHRENOLOGY

But it was the "science" of phrenology, or craniology, that most interested the readers of these years. The two great expositors of the system—the German Spurzheim, chief disciple of the founder Gall; and the Scotch Combe, Spurzheim's most important follower—lectured in America; indeed Spurzheim died in Boston in 1832 while on a lecture tour, and Combe delivered 158 lecture-demonstrations in this country in 1838-40. Combe's *Edinburgh Phrenological Journal* was widely read in the United States, but in 1838, Nathan Allen, a young medical student, established an American *Phrenological Journal* in Philadelphia. Allen graduated in medicine in 1841, and thereupon sold the periodical which had put him through college to O. S. and L. N. Fowler, of New York. In 1852 the Fowlers were joined by Dr. Samuel R. Wells, vegetarian, hydrotherapist, and lecturer on phrenology, who was already associated with them in the publication of the *Water-Cure Journal*.

The Fowlers were phrenologists, too, with their sister Charlotte, who married Wells. After Dr. Wells's death in 1875, his widow carried on the business. The Wellses and Fowlers all toured the country lecturing on phrenology, and they had their Phrenological

[180] *Ibid.*, VIII, 666-74 (December, 1836). Note an article by Ephraim Peabody in the *Western Messenger*, II, 1-9 (August, 1836) on "Genesis and Geology"—a review of Lyell.

[181] *Democratic Review*, IX, 515-27 (December, 1841).

Institute, where the "science" was taught. The *Journal* lived to publish 124 volumes, ending January, 1911. On its cover it carried the familiar drawing of the human head divided off into compartments in each of which was pictured an exemplification of the quality or characteristic which was supposed to have its residence in that particular spot, while at the sides of the drawing was the "Key" to the "organs." (See a reproduction of this cover design opposite page 622.) The *Journal* made a specialty of analyses of the mental characteristics of famous persons, illustrating its articles by portraits—a proceeding almost as embarrassing as the later Freudian "psyching"; but it had much also of physiognomy and ethnology, and published columns of miscellany. In later years it was largely a health journal.

There were many disciples of phrenology among the other magazines. "We are devout believers in its doctrines," wrote the editor of the *New England Magazine*, who, at the time, was Park Benjamin. And he adds, directing his words toward his skeptical neighbor, the *Christian Examiner*, "We cannot discover in its principles any incompatibility with religious belief."[182] The *Family Magazine* was committed to the system, and published several articles about it in 1833, as did Silliman's *Journal of Science* in 1840. Edgar Allan Poe, reviewing Mrs. L. Miles's *Moral Influence of Phrenology*, said in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1836:

> Phrenology is no longer to be laughed at. It *is* no longer laughed at by men of common understanding. It has assumed the majesty of a science; and as a science ranks among the most important which can engage the attention of thinking beings. . . . As a study it is very extensively accredited in Germany, in France, in Scotland, and in both Americas. . . . Nearly all of Edinburgh has been brought over to belief in spite of the *Review* and its ill sustained opinions. . . .[183]

Subsequently there was no little comment in the *Messenger* on the subject, including Combe's lectures, and some of the "ill sustained opinions." It was J. S. Allen, of Kentucky, who, anent

[182] *New-England Magazine*, VIII, 229 (March, 1835).
[183] *Southern Literary Messenger*, II, 286 (March, 1836).

an attack on the system by P. Flourens, called "Phrenology Examined," delivered himself of the following excellent bombast:

> But mark ye, if that man Gall has located but one single organ aright, he has founded a science which old Father Time will surely complete for him; his name, unmusical though it be, has conquered death: at the end of six thousand years of labor he has succeeded in laying the corner-stone of one of the noblest of sciences—the science of mind; his name will be more bruited in men's mouths than Newton's because each man's head is of more interest to him than all the host of heaven . . . mark ye, *if* he has, posterity will make our tombs echo with roars of merriment vented at the expense of us laughers.[184]

In the *Democratic Review* of 1841, a phrenologist bases a system of government upon phrenology—"the last and best of human sciences."[185] In 1845 the publisher of Arthur's *Ladies' Magazine* asserts that the principles of phrenology are "now pretty generally believed."[186]

But to an observer at this distance, opinion seems to have been rather equally divided. The *New York Mirror,* for example, rejected all the prating of combativeness, acquisitiveness, amativeness, and all the other -tivenesses.[187] In 1838 it presented the following travesty:

> At a late meeting of the Mudfog Association for the Advancement of Everything a learned member exhibited to the company the skull of Eugene Aram when a schoolboy, and another gentleman presented another skull of that individual when at a more advanced age. The innocence of the boy, contrasted with the criminality of the murderer, as clearly developed in the two existing heads, was highly corroborative of the incontrovertibility of skullology.[188]

Russell Jarvis wrote in *Burton's Gentleman's* on "The Humbug of Phrenology."[189] The *Knickerbocker,* though it published

184 *Ibid.,* XII, 267-77 (May, 1846).
185 *Democratic Review,* IX, 462 (November, 1841).
186 *Arthur's Ladies' Magazine,* IV, 158 (October, 1845).
187 *Mirror,* V, 15 (July 28, 1827).
188 *Ibid.,* XVI, 135 (Oct. 20, 1838).
189 *Gentleman's Magazine,* VII, 62-69 (August, 1840).

early in its career Timothy Flint's defence of the "science" against "the bigotry of anti-Phrenologists" as expressed by an article in the *North American,*[190] and though it afterward allowed the phrenologists the use of its pages once or twice, was, on the whole, amusedly skeptical.[191] Its editor tells us of how a certain witty shoemaker equipped his head with an artificial bump made of gum—to the amazement of the examining phrenologist "who couldn't tell gum from gumption."[192] E. A. W. contributes the following satirical couplet to the controversy:

> Thou hast a noble cranium; what remains
> To make thee a great genius? Only brains.[193]

And Thompson Westcott, in *Brother Jonathan,* also breaks into verse:

> Hail, glorious science, which all men should foster
> That would roughen a skull like the shell of an oyster,
> That would think a great head incomparably greater
> Stuck over with knobs like a mercer potatoe . . .
> Know well thy skull, and note its hilly lumps:
> The proper study of mankind is bumps.[194]

[190] *Knickerbocker,* II, 103-10 (August, 1833). This was a reply to an article by Gamaliel Bradford, *North American,* XXXVII, 59-83 (July, 1833).
[191] *Ibid.,* May, 1833, November and December, 1837, March and April, 1839, etc.
[192] *Ibid.,* VI, 242 (September, 1835).
[193] *Ibid.,* XXXVI, 48 (July, 1850).
[194] *Brother Jonathan,* I, 36 (Jan. 8, 1842).

CHAPTER IX

POLITICS, ECONOMICS, REFORMS, AND FADS

LEGAL PERIODICALS

A PARAGRAPH about the journals devoted to the legal profession may appropriately introduce a study of that avocation of the lawyers—poltics—in this period. Perhaps the most important legal journal was the quarterly *American Jurist and Law Magazine,*[1] of Boston, founded in 1829 and edited 1836-43 by Charles Sumner, Luther S. Cushing, and George S. Hillard. In 1843 its name was changed to the *American Law Magazine* and it was moved to Philadelphia, where it lived for three years. The *Law Intelligencer,*[2] founded at Providence in the same year as the *Jurist,* was, after a single volume, also moved to Philadelphia, where it published a second and third volume, 1830-31. A third Philadelphia venture was the *Pennsylvania Law Journal,*[3] begun in 1842, and changed in 1848 to the *American Law Journal,* to perish in 1852. Samuel Owen's *New York Legal Observer* [4] had a useful life of thirteen years, 1842-54.

[1] Titles: *American Jurist and Law Magazine,* January, 1829 – January, 1843 (I-XXVIII); *American Law Magazine,* April, 1843 – January, 1846 (I-VI). Published in January, April, July, and October. January, 1836, was omitted. Sumner and Hillard resigned in 1840, leaving Cushing as sole editor 1840-43; no editors named 1829-35 and 1843-46.

[2] It added the words "and Review" to its title when it was moved to Philadelphia. The titles given are those of the half titles and captions; title-pages say *United States Law Intelligencer and Review.*

[3] Volumes as follows: *Pennsylvania Law Journal*—I, twenty-six undated weekly numbers; II, twenty-six undated weekly numbers; III, twelve monthly numbers; IV, twelve monthly numbers; V, November, 1845 – October, 1846; VI, November, 1846 – October, 1847; VII, November, 1847 – June, 1848. *American Law Journal*—N.S. I-IV, each twelve monthly numbers July-June (July, 1848 – June, 1852). Vols. VI-VII of *Pennsylvania Law Journal* are also called New Series I-II; and N.S. I-IV of *American Law Journal* are also called VIII-XI of *Pennsylvania Law Journal.* Henry Wallace and E. W. David edited Vols. I-II, Henry Wallace and David Webster III-V, J. J. Robbins VI, and "An Association of Gentlemen Learned in the Law" the remainder. Vol. VII was published at Lancaster, Pa.

[4] "Containing reports of cases decided in the courts of equity and common law, and important decisions in the English courts; also articles on legal subjects, practical points of general interest, remarkable trials, sketches of the bench and bar, anec-

Finally, Judge Timothy Walker edited the *Western Law Journal*[5] in Cincinnati for ten years from 1843.

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES

Politics furnished much magazine material, though they are found disputing place with *belles-lettres* less often in these years than in the preceding period. Not only were politics considered to be unsuited to the women's and children's periodicals, but the religious papers and reviews were expected to be nonpartisan; and the journals prepared for doctors, teachers, farmers, and other special classes were frequently independent of politics. In short, there was a noticeable drift toward specialization. Yet the violent political contests of the times are, in general, mirrored in the magazines; there, in a truly magazinish *mélange*, they neighbor with poetry, art criticism, the familiar essay, and the short story. Magazines like the whig *New England*, the democratic *Southern Literary Messenger*, the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, the *Whig Review*, the *North American* and the *American Quarterly*, gave their readers such a mixture. Critics occasionally condemn the bitterness of partisanship, and satirists laugh at it; but it is commonly accepted as a necessary part of the American system of government and life. Timothy Flint, who felt keenly the blighting effect of such a situation upon refinement and artistic achievement, said in 1830—midway between two campaigns:

> In travelling through our land, little interest or excitement is seen in any thing, but electioneering and politics . . . The columns of our newspapers are occupied with little else . . . Gothic public taste, this relish born in a tavern, nourished on whiskey, and developed and matured in the electioneering arena.[6]

dotes, etc., etc., with a table of cases, a general index, and a digest of the reports." Volumes as follows: I, Oct. 1, 1842 – April 8, 1843, weekly; II, April 15, 1843 – Feb. 1, 1844, weekly through May, semimonthly thereafter; III, May 1, 1844 – November, 1845, semimonthly through May, monthly thereafter omitting June-February (no issue for December, 1845); IV-XII, twelve regular monthly numbers each (1846-54). Samuel Owen, "of the New York Bar," editor and publisher.

[5] Monthly in ten volumes, October, 1843 – October, 1853. Judge Walker, who was a professor of law in Cincinnati College, was assisted by C. D. Coffin in the editorship of Vols. IV-V, C. Gilman V, and M. E. Curwen VIII. Vols. VI-X also called N.S. I-V.

[6] *Western Monthly Review*, III, 576 (May, 1830).

One of the most picturesque campaigns the country ever knew was that of 1840. Cornelius Mathews, a talented writer who had a feeling for urban types and popular movements, summed up that campaign as follows in *Arcturus:*

A contest like our recent general election we imagine was never seen or known before in this or any other country. Fifteen millions of people hurrying to and fro in wagons, stagecoaches and steamers, lengthening out in bannered processions, or packing themselves close in dense auditories and masses; silent as death under the breath of some potent speaker, or bursting again into shouts and multitudinous choral songs of political faith . . . Night marches by torchlight; pilgrimages by land and water from every point of the compass, cities roaring like dens of lions, inoffensive villages rudely taken by the collar, as it were, and roused into a state of huge activity by delegations and committees from more stirring places: . . . the literature of the country, for the time, seemed to take political form . . . Tom Moore was forgotten amid the sweeter melodies of Tippecanoe and Tyler too. . . . So melodious an era was probably never before known. . . . Every possible kind of club was formed. . . . We look upon a general election as the great act of national supremacy, the quadrennial spasm that shall test the sinew and heart of our apparent vigor.[7]

It was a period of far-reaching events and vital issues. Much of the Great Debate over states' rights fell within its limits. The National Bank question, the panic of '37, the Mexican War, the annexation of Texas, the Oregon dispute, South Carolina nullification, the rise of abolitionism, and the increasing heat of the slavery controversy all were topics of the highest importance for political discussion.

HARD TIMES AND THE BANK

The period begins with a note of congratulation on the expansion of the period. "From every part of our extended and still extending confederacy," says the *Mirror,* "we have reiterated accounts of a surprising enlargement of numbers, wealth, and improvements."[8] By 1833 the *Mirror* was commenting repeatedly on the amount of mendicancy in New York. The hard times

[7] *Arcturus,* I, 75-82 (January, 1841).
[8] *Mirror,* VIII, 199 (Dec. 25, 1830).

which began in 1837, though they seem to have affected magazine publishing but little, came in for some discussion, of course—much of it political in nature. "The whole responsibility of the great currency convulsion" of 1837, said the *Democratic Review* a few years later, "was cast upon us [Democrats] by such a storm of clamor as utterly drowned for a time the calmer accents of argument and reason."[9] The *Democratic* advocated state as against national banks with all its might; it regarded Jackson's veto of the recharter of the United States Bank as a heroic act, to "be referred to as one of the great epochs in the history of our government."[10] But it realized that "No administration under our Government has ever been subjected to so severe an ordeal. It met fearlessly and firmly all the responsibility of the crisis. . . . Its party at large throughout the country became dreadfully confused and disorganized."[11] The *North American,* on the other hand, was a powerful advocate of the Bank. George Bancroft began that review's series on the subject in 1831 with an article in which he admitted that he thought "the sun would still rise and set, and the day be spent in its usual business" without the Bank, but, after a long review of the Bank's functions, concluded that it should be rechartered.[12] The jurist William B. Lawrence followed with a strong plea for the institution a few months later,[13] and the next year O. W. B. Peabody wrote a spirited article on the matter, in which he predicted disaster if the new charter were refused.[14] The *Democratic* and the *North American* may be taken as representative of the two sides of a very general debate. The bank controversy is referred to in the *Democratic* as late as 1839 as "the great question which has now, like the rod of Aaron, swallowed up every minor one."[15]

THE MEXICAN WAR, AND MILITARY JOURNALS

Some of the magazines were strongly opposed to the Mexican War. Ralph Waldo Emerson asserted that "We have a bad war"

[9] *Democratic Review,* VIII, 388 (November, 1840).
[10] *Democratic Review,* II, 312 (June, 1838).
[11] *Ibid.,* V, 348 (April, 1839).
[12] *North American,* XXXII, 23, 64 (January, 1831).
[13] *Ibid.,* XXXII (April, 1831).
[14] *Ibid.,* XXXV, 485-517 (October, 1832).
[15] *Democratic Review,* V, 347 (April, 1839).

in the opening "Editor's Address" in the *Massachusetts Quarterly;* and Theodore Parker in the same number, referring to the achievement of humbling Mexico, says: "It seems surprising all men cannot see that such a glory is only shame."[16] The *Quarterly* reverted to the theme in succeeding issues. "The Capture of Vera Cruz" is the first article in the *Knickerbocker* for July, 1847. "Poor, unhappy Mexico!" it begins, and is very sympathetic with that country throughout.[17] The *Knickerbocker* ordinarily kept clear of politics, nor was it an antislavery organ; so it was not one of those trouble-makers to which the *Democratic Review* referred when it said that the " 'Slavery Question' has led to opposition in certain quarters to the measures of Government, and has drawn public attention too much from the consideration of the war as a national measure of public justice, as well as from its origin, conduct, and real character." The *Democratic* declared that "We owe the bloodshed to Mexican folly, and perhaps Mexican corruption."[18] The *Whig Review* was very outspoken in its criticism of the motives and conduct of a war which, it said, "might and should have been avoided."[19] The war articles in this journal were written by Daniel D. Barnard, who had just retired from Congress, where he had been prominent. "We have been plunged into this war," he declared, "by the blunders, or the crime, of those who administer the public affairs of our own country." He refused to defend the annexation of Texas, with which the *Review* had been out of sympathy; and he asserted that even after annexation there would have been no war had the United States forces been kept from passing the "well-known limits" of old Texas.[20] Other reviews and magazines were notably silent upon the war, its episodes, conduct, effects, and meaning. The *North American* may be searched in vain for such commentary. The *Southern Literary Messenger* was not much interested; and the *Southern Quarterly Review,* which had severely criticised the "wretched farce" of the early

[16] *Massachusetts Quarterly,* I, 4, 51 (December, 1847).
[17] *Knickerbocker,* XXX, 1 (July, 1847).
[18] *Democratic Review,* XX, 291, 299 (April, 1847).
[19] *American Whig Review,* III, 578 (June, 1846).
[20] *Ibid.,* IV, 1-15 (July, 1846).

Texas campaign,[21] kept its peace as to the operations in Mexico.

The military and naval magazines may be mentioned here. Benjamin Homans edited and published his *Military and Naval Magazine* monthly for three years from March, 1833. Its home was Washington, and it had variety and interest not strictly professional, especially in the reminiscences of officers which it published. It was merged with the *Army and Navy Chronicle*,[22] a Washington weekly which had a brief second incarnation in the *Army and Navy Chronicle and Scientific Repository*.[23] The *Naval Magazine* was published by the United States Naval Lyceum at New York in bimonthly numbers from January, 1836, through November of the next year. The Rev. C. S. Stewart was editor, and the journal was ably conducted and well printed. Finally the Philadelphia *Military Magazine* (1839-42) may be mentioned.

THE SLAVERY DEBATE

The slavery question became the paramount national issue long before the end of our period. William Lloyd Garrison founded his *Liberator* in 1831, and the next year established the New England Anti-Slavery Society, which one year later became the American Anti-Slavery Society. The number of local societies in the movement increased from one hundred in 1826 to two thousand by 1840, with over 175,000 members. The Liberty party was organized in 1839, with Birney and Earle as standard bearers. The underground railroaders were active. The slavery question affected the alignment on all matters discussed in Congress.

Something has been said in a preceding chapter of the earliest antislavery journals. The number of them increased greatly in the twenties;[24] and besides those which were devoted mainly to the cause, there were more than fifty newspapers before 1830 which had lent their columns to antislavery propaganda.[25] The

[21] *Southern Quarterly Review*, IX, 446 (April, 1846).

[22] In twelve semiannual volumes and eighteen numbers of a thirteenth volume, Jan. 3, 1835, through May 21, 1842.

[23] In three volumes, Jan. 12, 1843, through June 27, 1844.

[24] Some of them are listed in J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1900), V, 212.

[25] William Birney, *James G. Birney and His Times* (New York, 1890), p. 405.

ONE OF THE "INCENDIARY PICTURES" OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CRUSADE

Southern periodicals urged the exclusion of antislavery papers and magazines from the mails because the pictures of tortures of the slaves tended to incite to a servile uprising. Two pages of the *Anti-Slavery Record* are shown above, an "incendiary picture" on one and a poem by Whittier opposite.

Shall the United States—the free United States, which could not bear the bonds of a king, cradle the bondage which a king is abolishing? Shall a Republic be less free than a Monarchy? Shall we, in the vigor and buoyancy of our manhood, be less energetic in righteousness, than a kingdom in its age?—*C. Stewart.*

Shall every flap of England's flag
Proclaim that all around are free,
From 'farthest Ind' to each blue crag
That beetles o'er the Western Sea?
And shall we scoff at Europe's kings,
When Freedom's fire is dim with us,
And round our country's altar clings
The damning shade of Slavery's curse?

Go—let us ask of Constantine
To loose his grasp on Poland's throat—
And beg the lord of Mahmoud's line
To spare the struggling Suliote.
Will not the scorching answer come
From turbaned Turk, and fiery Russ—
"Go, loose your fettered slaves at home,
Then turn and ask the like of us?"

J. G. WHITTIER.

RECEIPTS

INTO THE TREASURY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

From December 20th, 1834, to Jan. 20th, 1835.

Carlisle, Pa., H. Duffield, mon. sub.	$ 5 00
Champlain, N. Y. J. Churchill	1 00
Cincinnati, Ohio, William Donaldson	8 00
Hartford, Pa., O. Thatcher	50
Huntington, Ira Nichols, 2; David Hawley 1	3 00
Huntsburg, Ohio, A. Clark, Jr.	3 00
New Garden, Ohio, William Griffith, mon. sub.	5 00
New York City, J. Rankin, mon. sub.	100 00
William Green, Jr.	83 33
William Jay	1 50
W. H. Mabbs	1 50
North Yarmouth, Me. James C. Hill	2 00
Perry, N. Y., S. F. Phoenix, mon. sub.	12 00
Philadelphia, Female A. S., L. Mott	5 00
Portland, Female A. S. " "	10 00
Rochester, N. Y., W. W. Reid " "	25 00
Tallmadge, Ohio, Mrs. C. Wright " "	3 00
Waterville Me., George Le Row " "	6 50
Western Reserve College, Ohio, F. W. Upson	6 37
Mrs. Dea, E. Penfield	1 00
Sales at the Office	123 96
Total,	$406 66

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. I. MARCH, 1835. NO. 3.

A punishment, practised in the United States, for the crime of loving liberty.

DO THE SLAVES DESIRE THEIR LIBERTY?

It is often said, in apology for American Slavery, that, though the system is wrong in the abstract, when we come to the matter of fact, the slaves are about as happy as labouring people can be. Let us leave theory, and inquire whether facts do teach this strange doctrine. When people are in a happy and prosperous condition, we do not expect to see them anxious to get out of it, or rambling to the ends of the earth, enduring hunger, cold, and nakedness, and facing all manner of dangers, to get into some other condition—they know not what. How is it in regard to the slaves?

African Repository was begun in 1830 as the monthly organ of the American Colonization Society; it was devoted largely to the reports and records of that organization, and continued until long after the war.[26] The *Anti-Slavery Record* (1835-37) was the small monthly journal of the American Anti-Slavery Society. It published three annual volumes filled with stories and woodcut pictures of the sufferings of the slaves. It was superseded by the *Anti-Slavery Examiner,* 1836-45 (14 vols.). Other societies had their papers: for example, the Massachusetts Abolition Society had its *Massachusetts Abolitionist* (1839-41); and the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society had the *Pennsylvania Freeman* (1838-54), which is notable for Whittier's editorship in 1838-39 and Lowell's editorial work on it six years later. Whittier had previously had a hand in the *Anti-Slavery Record,* and had edited and published the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* (June – November, 1833). The latter was little more than an antislavery tract sent out for some months to clergymen and others.[27] But the greatest of all these journals was, of course, Garrison's *Liberator,*[28] of 1831 to 1865. This Boston weekly, hated and stormed at, loved and eulogized beyond anything which often falls to the lot of a periodical, has immense historical importance and no small literary value. Arthur Tappan, organizer of the New York Anti-Slavery Society, founded his *Emancipator* in 1833; Joshua Leavitt, whose Congregational newspaper, the *Evangelist,* had been an advocate of abolition, was its editor in 1837, and afterward moved it to Boston. In 1836 James G. Birney established his *Philanthropist* in Cincinnati, giving up the editorship of it the next year to Dr. Gamaliel Bailey. Twice in 1837 its printing office was raided by a mob, and again in 1841, but Bailey continued the paper until about the end of 1846. In 1847 he and his wife began another abolition paper, called the *National Era,* this time in Washington, D. C. The *National Era* printed some important literary contributions, including Hawthorne's "The

[26] It ended January, 1892. The *Colonizationist and Journal of Freedom* (April, 1833 – April, 1834) was merged into the *African Repository.*

[27] The American Anti-Slavery Society continued it for eight months in 1834 as the *American Anti-Slavery Reporter.* It was published in New York.

[28] To be treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

Great Stone Face," Whittier's *Margaret Smith's Journal* and other writings, and, from June 5, 1851, to April 1, 1852, *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Elijah P. Lovejoy's Presbyterian *Observer,* printed 1833-36 in St. Louis, sought refuge from its enemies across the river at Alton, Illinois. The destruction of Lovejoy's presses and the murder which, in 1837, at once ended the *Observer* and gave fuel to abolitionism, are history. Finally, the American Anti-Slavery Society's *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York, 1840-64), the *Anti-Slavery Bugle* (Salem, Ohio, 1845-61), and Frederick Douglass' *North Star* (Rochester, 1847-63) were important.

While these special journals were discussing slavery, other periodicals were not silent upon the question. It was a frequent topic in the religious reviews and weeklies. The *American Quarterly Observer,* Congregational, printed a series of articles in 1833-34 on the historical, political, ethical, and religious phases of slavery, taking its stand against the institution. The *Biblical Repertory,* Presbyterian, took the other side, justified slaveholding scripturally, condemned the abolitionists, and defended slavery even into war times. The *Independent,* Congregational, and *Zion's Herald,* Methodist, were among the leading opponents of slaveholding. The slavery debate breaks out in places where it is least expected. The Fourierist *Harbinger* thinks its panacea of "association" is "a safe and simple remedy for the evils of slavery, without incurring the dangers which are now regarded as the inevitable result of emancipation." [29]

The reviews followed the changing phases of the great controversy in careful and weighty articles. The fundamental constitutional question so pointedly raised by South Carolina's nullification called for general discussion. The *Southern Review,* published at Charleston, had warned the nation four years before matters came to a crisis in set terms: "From the errors of misguided, even if honest statesmen, posterity may have to mourn over the fragments of this mighty Republic." [30] After nullification, A. H. Everett, editor of the *North American Review,* wrote a paper marked by "an affectionate regard for our mistaken brethren of South Carolina," and ending in the Jacksonian phrase,

[29] *Harbinger,* I, 30 (March 21, 1845).
[30] *Southern Review,* I, 320 (May, 1828).

printed in capitals: "THE FEDERAL UNION,—IT MUST BE PRESERVED." [31] A few months later Everett asserted that the destruction of slavery "will not be expedited by the discussion of projects of immediate abolition in the free states," and this thought he earnestly recommended "to the attention of the real friends of humanity and the country." [32] Thus the *North American* propounded a set of opinions generally held in the North in our period: first, the Union must be preserved; second, slavery, though wrong, is not an issue requiring immediate attention; and third, abolitionism is wicked and dangerous. Everett, shortly after his retirement from the editorship of the *North American,* wrote an article for the *Democratic Review* on "The Texas Question" in which he reprimanded the North for its bitter and offensive tone toward the South. Slavery, he said, had been forced upon the South by "our forefathers of Old and New England." [33] Out in Cincinnati Judge Hall, writing on slavery in the *Western Monthly,* declared that "the calm wisdom of the nation has long since settled down in the opinion that this subject should be left to the providence of God, to the matured decision of time, and public sentiment." [34] Such a nonpartisan journal as the *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge* felt impelled to declare that "Without doing anything to uphold slavery, or to justify it, we must say, that we disapprove of the conduct and proceedings of those who are urging the immediate abolition of slavery at every hazard." [35] In Lucian Minor's serial "Letters from New England" in the *Southern Literary Messenger* of 1834, we have the following interesting illustration of New England opinion:

At Worcester last year an apostle of Abolition from "somewhere down east" delivered a lecture in the Baptist church against slavery, depicting its wrongs and evils and insisting upon its extirpation. He was heard patiently; but when he closed, the pastor of the church rose and to the satisfaction of a numerous audience completely answered every argument, vindicated the southern slave-

[31] *North American Review,* XXXVI, 275 (January, 1833).
[32] *Ibid.,* XXXVII, 249 (July, 1833).
[33] *Democratic Review,* XV, 269 (September, 1844).
[34] *Western Monthly Magazine,* III, 269 (May, 1834).
[35] *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge,* II, 23 (September, 1835). Signed B, probably Abel Bowen.

holders from all wilful injustice, shewed the impracticability of any but the most gradual emancipation, and the madness of attempting even that by officious intermeddling from the non-slaveholding states. Our apostle wanted to lecture again the next day, but the excitement against his doctrine had grown so strong that he was refused a further hearing and admonished by some of the leading citizens that if he remained longer he was in danger of tar and feathers. . . . Abolition, if not dead here, is in a state too desperately feeble to give us an hour's uneasiness.[36]

Yet the growing number of antislavery periodicals thrust many thorns into the flesh of the South. They stirred the matter up, made trouble, provoked mob-violence. "We hold slavery to be a blot upon our national escutcheon," the *Liberator* solemnly declared, "a libel upon the Declaration of Independence, A SIN AGAINST GOD which exposes us to his tremendous judgments, and which ought to be immediately repented of and forsaken."[37] The thermometer of the success of these journals in their propaganda was the rapidly mounting membership in the antislavery societies. And so, in spite of the friendly attitude toward the South and its "peculiar institution" which Lucian Minor noted in New England, and his diagnosis of the "desperately feeble" state of the cause, there was increasing alarm in many quarters over the activities of the abolitionists. New York held a great mass meeting to protest against them the year after Minor's letter was printed, and Boston immediately followed suit. From the Boston meeting grew the excitement which culminated in the mobbing of Garrison and the destruction of the *Liberator's* press. Only two Boston papers stood by the *Liberator* and its editor in this crisis—*Zion's Herald*, the great Methodist newspaper, and the forgotten *New England Spectator*. "And this is the land of LIBERTY!" shouts the *Herald* in capitals. "Our soul is sick at such hypocrisy! . . . Who are the authors of this riot? The daily press of this city . . ."[38] In this same year of 1825 a Charleston mob broke into the United States mails and took out copies of northern antislavery papers, to burn them in

[36] *Southern Literary Messenger*, I, 87 (November, 1834).
[37] *Liberator*, V, 131 (Aug. 15, 1835).
[38] Quoted in *Zion's Herald* centenary number, Jan. 10, 1923.

public, along with effigies of their editors. A few days later a public meeting at Richmond called upon the North to suppress all the abolition papers in the interest of the preservation of the Union.[39] William Gilmore Simms, reviewing M'Caine's *Slavery Defended from Scripture,* in the *Magnolia,* declared that "We do not regard it as so important to prove the divine origin of slavery and its beneficial character, as to prove to our Northern neighbors that we can resent impertinence." He calls the abolitionists "a gang of incendiaries whose sires and grandsires sold us a commodity which the sons now declare we had no right to buy."[40]

Practically all southern periodicals had to discuss the slavery question. Simms's *Southern Quarterly* treated states' rights in dignified articles. The *Southern Literary Messenger* apologized that articles on this subject "occasionally force themselves upon our pages in spite of ourselves."[41] "A Southron," writing in the *Messenger* in 1838, thus sums up what he conceives to be the southern creed in relation to slavery:

> (1) That it is coeval with society, necessary for its formation and growth, and was in the primitive ages a natural condition of a large part of the human family. (2) That it is *universal* and has existed in all ages. (3) That it is neither prohibited by the *moral* or *divine* law. (4) That Christianity alone, by its exalting influence, and by its peaceful and gradual operation, can abolish it. (5) That its sudden abolition by any people, either by a fanatical perversion of the mild principles of Christianity or by any intemperate agency, must necessarily be attended with frightful social and political revulsions, destructive alike to the bond and the free.[42]

Scriptural evidences favoring slavery were often invoked, as in the article by Francis Wayland and Richard Fuller in the *Messenger* under the title "Domestic Slavery, Considered as a Scriptural Institution."[43] Another familiar argument is that which compared the southern labor system with that in use in the North: the *Southern Literary Journal,* for example, alleged that

[39] These events may be followed in the *Liberator's* fifth volume (1835).
[40] *Magnolia,* N.S. II, 63 (January, 1843).
[41] *Southern Literary Messenger,* V, 1 (January, 1839).
[42] *Ibid.,* IV, 737 (December, 1838).
[43] *Ibid.,* XI, 513-28 (September, 1845).

there was "as much, and perhaps, more real slavery existing at the North than at the South."[44] The *Democratic Review* even went so far as to suggest that Northerners had better treat their wives better before they complained of another state of slavery in the South.[45]

As the controversy progressed toward the climacteric events of 1850, the antislavery papers multiplied, but the leading general reviews and magazines in the North maintained their anti-abolition attitude. The *Whig Review* attempted to throw opprobrium upon the northern democrats by claiming that "Abolition at the North has leagued itself with radical democracy. That is the great fact of the age." "The truest and best way to treat slavery," it thought, "even to get rid of it, is for the North to let it altogether alone. Politically and directly we have nothing to do with it, any more than with the serfdom of St. Petersburg or the religion of Constantinople." Further, the South "can never be threatened, driven, or whipped out of her terrible infirmity."[46] Southern resentment against the attacks of northern fanaticism has become threatening: "that dark southern cloud is tenfold darker now than it was twenty years ago."[47] The *Whig Review's* opponent in politics, the *Democratic Review,* was of one mind with it on this question. "Fanaticism," said the *Democratic* in 1850,

> perhaps never assumed a more dangerous form than it now presents in the United States. It is waging a direct, inveterate warfare against the constitution of the United States. It asserts principles which if carried out to their fullest extent will unquestionably bring about a dissolution of the Union. Its principles have a direct tendency to civil and servile war—to rapine, murder and pollution.[48]

Two months later the same review presented as its leading article a discussion of "Abolition versus Christianity and the Union." Not every editor took the matter so seriously, how-

[44] *Southern Literary Journal,* I, 63 (September, 1835).
[45] "Wives and Slaves: A Bone for Abolitionists to Pick," in *Democratic Review,* XVII, 264-73 (October, 1845).
[46] *American Whig Review,* X, 192 (August, 1849).
[47] *Ibid.,* IX, 118-19 (February, 1849).
[48] *Democratic Review,* XXVI, 393-94 (May, 1850).

ever. The reforming *Harbinger,* with its dying breath in 1849, laughed at the Southern Manifesto of that year as "a One Man-ifesto—a Calhouniad against the Union. . . . The Union may be stirred up but it won't dissolve. You might as well talk of dissolving Mt. Washington or the Alleganies in a drenching summer shower."[49] Finally, the *North American Review,* representing the sober second thought of New England, while condemning slavery as usual, said in 1848 that it

> is, however, a practical question, and if any change takes place, it will be accomplished, not by the declamation and agitation of strangers, but by practical expedients, deliberately considered and spontaneously adopted by the public sentiment and the lawful authority of the States concerned. Surely there is every reason to be satisfied with the progress of opinion on this subject.[50]

This was evidently a carefully considered statement; it was written by Charles W. Upham, clergyman, politician, and educator, of Massachusetts.

THE TARIFF; THE OREGON QUESTION

The Bank, Texas, Mexico, and slavery were not the only issues discussed in a very active political period. The tariff was voluminously debated in the *Southern Quarterly,* the *North American,* the great democratic and whig journals, and in other periodicals; the changes were rung on Clay's American System, and on the relation of the tariff to the sectional animosity and the Union.

The Oregon question was another issue. The *Democratic Review* inclined to favor war with England over the trouble,[51] while the *North American* thought Oregon not worth fighting for. "The territory of Oregon is not worth much," says the Boston review; and it quotes Dandie Dinmont's words about his farm from *Guy Mannering:* "It's lying high and exposed—it may feed a hog, or aiblins twa in a good year." Oregon is separated from the United States by "a desert two thousand

[49] *Harbinger,* IV, 132 (Feb. 10, 1849).
[50] *North American,* LXVII, 318 (October, 1848).
[51] *Democratic Review,* XVI, 523-33 (June, 1845).

miles broad and a range of lofty and precipitous mountains." The reviewer, though upon examination he finds the title of the United States to the territory sounder than that of England, favors the acceptance of the compromise offered by England.[52] James D. B. DeBow was the author of an able discussion of the Oregon question for the *Southern Quarterly Review* in July, 1845.

CALIFORNIA, MEXICO, CUBA

After the discovery of gold in California in 1848, a higher value was placed upon the country's far western possessions. The magazines were filled with echoes of California after that momentous event. The *Literary World,* a magazine of literary criticism, may be taken as an example: it kept its readers informed of the news of the gold fields in 1849 under such headings as "Gold Siftings" and "Gold Items." "We live in an age of marvels wonderful as any which ever occupied the pen of the historian of the so-called romantic periods," [53] exclaimed the *World;* and later a special correspondent from the gold fields writes: "A man has found one lump of gold weighing two hundred and fifty pounds, valued at seventy-five thousand dollars. . . . Several of the writer's acquaintances have returned averaging for their labors a thousand dollars in the gold region." [54] We learn also from the *World* of the picturesque "rush," and by 1850 there are many books on California to review. The *Democratic Review* can now justify the Mexican War on the ground that "the conquered territory is found to be literally 'made of gold.'" [55]

These references to the geographical extent of the country remind us of the embarrassment felt by many commentators throughout a long period over the lack of a suitable national name. The *Monthly Anthology* had suggested and supported the name "Fredon" in the second decade of the century; and the *Medical Repository* used the name "Fredonia." [56] The *Democratic Review* favored renaming the continent "Columbia"

[52] *North American,* LXII, 216, 235 (January, 1846).
[53] *Literary World,* III, 917 (Dec. 16, 1848).
[54] *Ibid.,* IV, 62 (Jan. 20, 1849).
[55] *Democratic Review,* XXIV, 4 (January, 1849).
[56] See quotation, pp. 150-51, *supra.*

and the United States, "America." [57] A later suggestion was "Alleghan"; [58] and there were others.

Cuba's troubles, with their political implications, also furnished a topic for the magazines. The *Southern Literary Messenger* was much interested in the annexation of the island, and the *Democratic Review* was an enthusiast for such action. The latter presents the benefits that would accrue to Cuba if it were a part of the United States,[59] follows the trials of the fifteen who had been indicted for "filibustiering," and presents to its readers the "Personal Narrative of Louis Schlesinger," [60] who "accompanied the late Liberating Expedition to Cuba." The *Knickerbocker* also paid attention to Cuba in 1841 and 1844.[61]

AS TO NEWSPAPERS

In closing this sketchy survey of the political discussions of the magazines, it may be appropriate to note the popularity and the remarkable growth of the political newspapers. This was emphatically a newspaper era—the era in which most of the greater American newspapers were founded and brought to influential positions. At the beginning of the period there were ten daily papers in New York, with an average circulation, according to the *Mirror,* of 1,850; [62] by its close the *Herald* and *Tribune* were credited with lists of—*mirabile dictu!*—twenty to thirty thousand, and the *Whig Review* spoke with some awe of the *Tribune's* 1850 dividend of seventy thousand dollars.[63]

An interesting light is thrown on the matter of news communication with Europe before the days of the cables by the *Christian Advocate's* explanation of a lack of foreign news in its "Public Affairs" department for February, 1834: "It is seldom that more than two months elapse without bringing intelligence

57 *Democratic Review,* XI, 475-81 (November, 1842).
58 *Ibid.,* XVI, 492-95 (May, 1845).
59 *Ibid.,* XXV, 203 (September, 1849).
60 *Ibid.,* XXXI, 210-24ff. (September, 1854). This is a serial. There is much other Cuban matter. See "The Acquisition of Cuba," XLIII, 1-37 (April, 1859).
61 *Knickerbocker,* XVII, 415 (May, 1841). Kimball's "Letters from Cuba" begin in the number for November, 1844 (Vol. XXIV).
62 *Mirror,* VII, 211 (Jan. 9, 1830). Figures of 1828.
63 *American Whig Review,* XIV, 408-17 (November, 1851).

from Europe to the United States. Such, however, is the fact at present." [64]

The magazines were much interested in the more journalistic field, if we are to judge from their comments: all the phases of newspaper development are noticed now and again. The *Democratic Review,* for example, thinks advertising patronage is the ruin of a good political newspaper.[65] And "There is a mania in the United States," notes another commentator, "for papers of large dimensions. It is said that one of our mammoth dailies is still to be enlarged to an unheard-of extent, so that it will require two boys, at least, to hold it for perusal." [66] The cheap press excited much interest; the writer of an article on "Penny Dailies" in the *Family Magazine* in 1834 says that "the *New-York Sun,* the great progenitor of the whole tribe," though it has not yet completed nine months' life, "has a circulation of nine or ten thousand copies." [67] But there was the note of criticism also, as in the *Mirror's* objection to editorial billingsgate:

> As far as our observations upon the subject have extended we have been able to discover no satisfactory reason why an editor should not be a gentleman, although to peruse the written insults which daily go the rounds of the country one would imagine that instead of gentlemen the press was managed by common street-brawlers.[68]

Thus the New York *Mirror:* the fault animadverted upon was, alas, one from which the critic itself was not always quite exempt.

RAILROAD BUILDING

One of the great topics of the day was railroad construction. There were local railways for horsedrawn vehicles at the beginning of our period. Within a few years a great interest in them developed; the Baltimore & Ohio began in 1828 and in a year

[64] *Christian Advocate,* XII, 95 (February, 1834).
[65] *Democratic Review,* XXX, 362 (April, 1852).
[66] *Mirror,* XII, 375 (May 23, 1835).
[67] *Family Magazine,* II, 40. Sec. V, 1834.
[68] *Mirror,* VII, 343 (May 1, 1830).

and a half had laid thirteen miles of rails; a similar stretch had been laid from Albany to Schenectady in a year from July, 1830, by the Mohawk & Hudson; a shorter piece had been built from Charleston to Hamburg in 1829; and locomotives were successfully used on these roads in 1830 and 1831. Then came the railway-building mania; at the end of Jackson's administration in 1837 there were fifteen hundred miles of track in the United States. In the forties the work increased by leaps and bounds until by the end of our period the rate of building was close to three thousand miles a year.[69] "The most prominent object of pursuit, at the present time," wrote one observer in 1833,

> is the construction of rail roads. . . . The most conspicuous are those which will extend from New-York to Lake Erie; from Sandusky City to Dayton, in Ohio; from Baltimore to Wheeling, on the Ohio river; from Boston to Providence; and from New-York to Baltimore and thence to Washington. We are struck with amazement at the magnitude of these undertakings.[70]

The railway idea took hold mightily upon the imagination of the whole country. "Wings indeed!" exclaimed Judge Hall in the first number of his magazine out in the wilds of Illinois,

> Even if the art of flying should be invented, who would endure the trouble of wearing a pair of wings and the labor of flapping them, when every gentleman may keep his own "locomotive" and travel from the Mississippi to the Atlantic with no other expenditure than a teakettle of water and a basket of chips! [71]

This may seem rather lightly conceived, but a good deal of romancing was being done by financiers, statesmen, and even engineers about that time, and besides, "aerial navigation" was being given serious consideration in the thirties. H. Strait writes too optimistically in Silliman's *Journal* in 1834:

> Conveyance by air can easily be rendered as safe as by water or land, and more cheap and speedy, while the universal and uniform diffusion of the air over every portion of the earth, will render aerial

[69] *Western Journal and Civilian,* VIII, 250-58 (June, 1852). Quotation from *American Rail-Road Journal.*
[70] *Mirror,* XI, 135 (Oct. 26, 1833).
[71] *Illinois Monthly,* I, 14 (October, 1830).

navigation preferable to any other. To carry it into effect there needs only an immediate appeal, on a sufficiently large scale, to experiment . . .[72]

But railway development was enough to occupy the imaginations of most writers. In 1839 the *Knickerbocker* published what deserves to be the classic of early railroad fiction, but the story unfortunately has never been exhumed by the anthologists from that "dusty crypt of darkened forms and faces" which we know as a file of old magazines. It was called "The First Locomotive," and was signed by the letter D; Editor Clark revealed many years later the fact that it was written by Charles Augustus Daly, a business man, and that it had come to the *Knickerbocker* through the agency of Washington Irving—of whom, by the way, it would not have been unworthy. Jabez Doolittle is a half-crazed inventor who has spent his life building a locomotive; one day he demonstrates it to the author with great show of secrecy and the boast that it has been made to go "a leetle slower than chain lightnin', and darned leetle!" He builds the fire; he gets up steam; there is a roaring and a clanking; he pulls this lever and that; and out he and his machine go through the building and through all enclosures, belching sparks and careering crazily off, with Jabez still pulling cords and drawing levers, and exclaiming, "Slam bang to etarnal smash!"—and the last that is seen of Jabez and his locomotive is the glimpse that the author has when the whole contraption vanishes over the edge of a distant hill. But the next month one of a band of trappers in the West reports to the *Knickerbocker* having seen a storm of sparks one night when encamped under the brow of one of the loftiest ranges of the Rocky Mountains, and having heard a tremendous commotion, and then having seen the famous locomotive, huge and black and clanking, with Jabez on top "busy as the devil in a gale of wind." Five minutes and the whole thing was gone across the Rockies like a jack-o'-lantern, and all the startled trappers heard was the echo of the shout of Jabez: "Slam bang to etarnal smash!" Thus we have the Flying Dutchman legend of the railroad building era.[73]

[72] *American Journal of Science*, XXV, 25. No. 4 of 1834.
[73] *Knickerbocker*, XIII, 343-48 (April, 1839); and XIII, 445 (May, 1839).

There was a special political interest in the connection of the South and West by railroad. Senator Hayne wrote in the *Southern Literary Journal* in 1835:

A nobler enterprise has seldom been conceived than that of connecting the Ohio river with the Atlantic, by a line of Rail-Roads extending from Cincinnati to Charleston . . . to give them a strong inducement for sustaining Southern interests, thus binding together two great quarters of the Union by the endearing bonds of mutual sympathies and common interests.[74]

No sooner had gold been discovered in California than discussion of a transcontinental railway began in earnest. J. Loughbridge, a St. Louis lawyer, had an article in the *Western Journal and Civilian* in which he gave careful topographic consideration to several routes: Natchez to Mazatlan, as proposed by Professor Forshey in *DeBow's;* Memphis to San Diego, Monterey or San Francisco, as proposed by Lieutenant M. F. Maury; and St. Louis to San Francisco, which he himself advocates.[75] But the best periodical in which to follow the railway talk of the times is the *American Rail-Road Journal,*[76] of New York, which was founded in 1832 as a weekly, later to become a semimonthly and then a monthly. It observed the whole railway mania of this period, and was an offspring of it.

SOME ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

Such questions as immigration, poverty, and conditions of labor found occasional commentary in the magazines, but were by no means prominent. An article on "Emigration" in the *Knickerbocker* shows us that the subject was considered to be important enough. "In every-day conversation, in politics, and in business, how often do we hear of emigration!" the writer exclaims; and later he gives us the reason: "Emigrants now arrive by the hundreds of thousands annually."[77] But immigration was not yet a "problem."

[74] *Southern Literary Journal,* I, 161-68 (November, 1835).
[75] *Western Journal and Civilian,* II, 288-98 (September, 1849).
[76] This periodical was suspended January-June, 1838. To be treated in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.
[77] *Knickerbocker,* XVI, 470-74 (December, 1840).

Orestes Augustus Brownson, inveterate reviewer, and a thinker sometimes profound, was much concerned with social problems. "While wealth has increased in certain quarters," he writes in the *Democratic Review,* of which he was a contributing editor, "poverty has not proportionally diminished in others. . . . There exists unquestionably more relative poverty now than at any former period."[78] Some months later, writing in the same journal a review of Carlyle's *Past and Present,* he says: "Here we are come to such a pass in our own country that a portion—we will hope as yet not a large portion—of our population can get no work. . . . The fact is undeniable."[79] A later article in the *Democratic* points out that "Fortunes of $1,000,000 are now not rare, and some reach $20,000,000, while thousands of starving beggars throng the streets and crowd the public charities." The writer concludes:

> All labor now is for the benefit of the capitalists, and the mere right to continue to labor is but a poor satisfaction to the destitute. The true right which should be enforced is the right of the producer to the products of his labor.[80]

Aside from such special pleaders as the Fourieristic *Harbinger* and Owen's *Free Enquirer,* the most prominent journals on the labor side were Brownson's *Boston Quarterly Review* and the *Democratic Review.* The *North American* deprecated the labor agitation. In 1835 it said:

> So many appeals have been made of late to the prejudices of the people, and so much misconstruction and misrepresentation have been resorted to with the view of exciting discontent in the community, that we have been induced to compare the condition of the laboring classes in the United States with that of similar classes in some of the European countries.[81]

This was a fairer answer than appears upon the surface, for there is no doubt that much of the popular ferment upon the

[78] *Democratic Review,* XI, 260 (September, 1842).
[79] *Ibid.,* XIII, 23 (July, 1843).
[80] *Ibid.,* XXV, 385-400 (November, 1849).
[81] *North American Review,* XLI, 349-50 (October, 1835). Article by E. Washburne.

questions of poverty and the conditions of labor had been imported from England and France. The French socialists are often discussed. Carlyle's *Past and Present* has been mentioned as having been used as a basis for one of Brownson's articles. Among Americans, Albert Brisbane and Horace Greeley are reprobated and praised; H. C. Carey's *Essay on the Rate of Wages* and William E. Channing's *Lectures on the Elevation of the Laboring Portion of the Community* [82] are the subjects of a number of reviews. The *New York Review* makes its comment on Carey's *Essay* the occasion for a carefully reasoned attack on trades' unions, which "have been formed in every considerable town in the United States; and they threaten to bring on that struggle which has been so often seen in other countries, and which, to the impartial observer, must seem alike unnatural and ruinous—the struggle between labour and capital." And the writer concludes that "all who love their country should combine" against labor unions.[83] The *Southern Quarterly Review* joins the attack upon the *droit au travail* theory in favor of that of *laissez faire*.[84]

The growth of the New England factories was at the root of much of this agitation. A writer upon that phenomenon in the *Knickerbocker* asserts that "It is working a great change in the condition of society." [85] An interesting development of it in the periodical world was the appearance of magazines edited by factory employees, of which the most prominent was the *Lowell Offering* [86] (1840-45). This little literary magazine, edited and published by the girl operatives of the Lowell, Massachusetts, woolen mills, attracted international attention among students of social and economic problems.

82 See two-part article in *Democratic Review,* VII, 529-39 (June, 1840), and VIII, 51-66 (July, 1840).

83 *New York Review,* II, 17 (January, 1838).

84 *Southern Quarterly Review,* XVI, 138-60 (October, 1849).

85 *Knickerbocker,* XXX, 511 (December, 1847).

86 See article on the *Lowell Offering* in *Old South Leaflets,* No. 157, Vol. VII. It is taken from Mrs. Harriet H. Robinson's *Loom and Spindle* (New York, 1898), p. 22. Mrs. Robinson, then Harriet Jane Hanson, was chief editor of the *Offering,* which especially interested the Boston literary group.

FADS AND REFORMS

The magazines of the period also gave much attention to manners, customs, fads, popular manias, and trends of thinking and feeling among the people. Some of these have already been mentioned in appropriate places, but a group of them should have a special section in any review of the magazine materials of the time.

"Everything is now on the high-pressure principle," observed a *Knickerbocker* writer in 1835. "Wall Street is full of little steam locomotives, chattering of stocks, news, etc., whizzing, buzzing, and puffing, like the pipe of a Mississippi River steamboat." Instead of an epic, Americans build a railroad. Men seriously talk of flying machines. "Our colleges are but little more than machines that grind out a Bachelor of Arts in four years." [87] And later: "This is an age of Utility, popular education, and religion," machines being the phenomena of utility; public schools and small colleges, of popular education; and Sunday Schools and revivals, of religion.[88]

It was also an age of "isms," if the magazines are to be believed. One observer, writing in the *Knickerbocker Magazine,* remarks that

> Quack philosophers and quack philanthropists are as plenty as quack ministers and quack doctors. . . . Though the beach is strewed with the ribs of warning wrecks, we may see at this day squadrons of other quackeries on the broad bosom of public opinion boldly breasting the billows.

And Father Taylor is quoted: "Such is the iniquity of men that they suck in opinions as wild asses do the wind." [89] Horace Greeley was the object of attacks because of his connection with Fourierism, transcendentalism, spiritism, and so on.[90] A notable impulse was given to spiritism about the end of our period by

[87] *Knickerbocker,* V, 422-24 (May, 1835).
[88] *Ibid.,* VII, 49-58 (January, 1836).
[89] *Ibid.,* XVII, 362 (May, 1841).
[90] See letter of Feb. 7, 1841, from H. J. Raymond to R. W. Griswold in *Passages from the Correspondence of R. W. Griswold* (edited by Wm. Griswold, Cambridge, 1898), pp. 55-56.

the "Rochester Knockings," an exhibition of legerdemain which *Holden's* and other periodicals called a "ludicrous farce." [91]

Reformers were rampant. The *Knickerbocker* accuses them of extravagance, of "rancorous malice toward opponents, and of a "ready vocabulary of low-lived insult." [92] Next to abolitionism in prominence came the temperance crusade; advocates of one were usually supporters of the other, and William Lloyd Garrison was editor in 1828 of the first total abstinence paper of prominence. This was the *National Philanthropist,* founded in Boston in 1826 by the Rev. William Collier, later the New York *Genius of Temperance* (1830-33). Prior to that date, said the paper later, "nothing comparatively was heard on the subject of intemperance—it was seldom a theme for the essayist—the newspapers scarcely acknowledged its existence." Within two years the change had been remarkable: "Temperance Societies have been rapidly multiplied . . . a general interest has been taken in this subject by the conductors of the press." [93] In March, 1828, the number of temperance societies was estimated at somewhat less than a hundred.[94] Of course, a large proportion of press and people condemned the reform out of hand, and many treated it as a joke. A writer on "Moderation vs. Teetotalism" in the *Knickerbocker* advises: "*Observe* due moderation and the world will be happier. Fanaticism is the enemy of truth. . . . I for one have *drank moderately,* when it suited my feelings and caprice, for twenty years. I feel in no danger." [95] This provoked many replies, and the editor was compelled to insist upon his own temperance.[96] The *North American* sat at first in the seat of the scorners, but in 1833 professed conversion and published an article supporting the temperance societies.[97] "The attack on alcohol has proved highly successful," says a writer in the *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge.*

[91] *Holden's Dollar Magazine,* VI, 573 (September, 1850).
[92] *Knickerbocker,* XXIX, 2 (January, 1847).
[93] *National Philanthropist,* Prospectus to Vol. III (April 25, 1828).
[94] *Ibid.,* March 21, 1828. Quoted in W. P. and F. J. Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison* (New York, 1888), I, 94-95.
[95] *Knickerbocker,* XVIII, 28-36 (July, 1841).
[96] *Ibid.,* XVIII, 262 (September, 1841).
[97] *North American Review,* XXXVI, 188-204 (January, 1833). By Edward Everett.

"The war, indeed, is not over; the friends of temperance have yet much to accomplish." They had indeed; but this A. M. of U. & E. K. is looking for new worlds to conquer: "The next enemy to be subdued is tobacco . . . this vile and poisonous weed." [98]

The weed thus objurgated had both friends and enemies among magazine writers, however. In 1832 the *New-England Magazine*, then edited by the Buckinghams, called it an "offender against public health and decency"; [99] in 1835, after Benjamin had taken charge, the same magazine eulogized the beneficent qualities of cigars.[100] The first number of Atkinson's *Casket* contains an uncomfortable, not to say nauseous, piece extracted from the Lowell *Times* called "One Day and a Half in the Life of a Tobacco Chewer." One day would have been enough. Peter von Geist's "Experiences of a Tobacco Smoker" in the *Knickerbocker* were pleasanter.[101] The *Casket's* rival, the *Gentleman's*, did not like chewing, but delighted in smoking; Editor Burton's clubby paragraphs under the heading "Experiences of a Modern Philosopher" often speak of good wines, good cigars, good food, and good conversation. The *Mirror*, however, was an unyielding opponent of the sotweed. In 1834 it congratulated its readers that the

> vile practice of smoking is certainly much less common. . . . It is now rare to see a man of decent exterior smoking in the street. As, however, there are still a few who will not conform to the ordinary usages of the time, but persist in emitting their puffs of abomination in public, we recommend to our city authorities to follow the example of Boston and impose a fine on all who continue this incivilized practice. . . . There was at least one wise ordinance in the blue-code of Connecticut—that which prohibited the smoking of tobacco as a wicked and heathenish practice.[102]

It is true that the Boston atmosphere was untainted, except in sequestered nooks, by smoke imported from Virginia or Havana.

[98] *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*, I, 496 (July, 1835).
[99] *New-England Magazine*, II, 244 (March, 1832).
[100] *Ibid.*, IX, 132 (August, 1835).
[101] *Knickerbocker*, XXIV, 307-17 (October, 1844).
[102] *Mirror*, XI, 263 (Feb. 15, 1834).

SMOKERS' CIRCLE, ON BOSTON COMMON.

Forbidden by law to smoke on the streets of Boston, lovers of the weed were, however, permitted to indulge their vile practice, by special leniency of the mayor, in a specified corner of the Common. From a woodcut in *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion* for Aug. 9, 1851.

A large drawing in *Gleason's Pictorial* in 1851 portrays "Smoker's Circle, on Boston Common," with this explanation:

It is a well known fact that—while a man may enjoy the weed by inhaling the fragrant fumes of a cigar in any other city of the Union—in Boston, a *fine* is exacted from any person who presumes to smoke on the streets. Our worthy mayor, sympathizing with the oppressed consumer of the weed, has had a circle of seats arranged in a shady grove of our beautiful park; and here scores of persons resort each afternoon and evening to inhale the bewitching weed.[103]
[See illustration opposite page 476.]

Swearing, the display of obscene pictures, rudeness on the omnibuses and the tendency of the drivers of those vehicles to race with each other, the coming of cabs, whittling, and the care of the streets are occasionally referred to in the *Mirror* and *Knickerbocker,* the New York *arbitri morum.* One thing that worries the *Mirror* (and has worried all its successors) is the way the streets are torn up for improvement projects, until New York is a "city of ruins." But even more our editor is annoyed by the pigs. "The streets are swarming with them!" he exclaims in 1834. He counted thirty-seven of them in a half-mile walk in the city streets. They reside, he tells us, in the "upper part" of the city, but every day they come down to the markets to gain their livelihood; the indulgent editor advocates omnibuses to convey them back and forth every day so they will not get in the way of pedestrians.[104]

Bathing was also a topic of the times. The water-cure enthusiasts advocated a frequent use of water externally, and many of the magazines urged that practice in moderation. There had been some discussion of the matter in the previous periods, though one writer in the sedate *Monthly Anthology* had been considered to have overstepped the bounds of delicacy in his advice. "When I first heard that public Bathing Rooms were to be established in this city," wrote this temerarious reformer,

I applauded the project. . . . It was very apparent that scarcely any use was made of the tubs previously to be found in almost every family.

[103] *Gleason's Pictorial,* I, 240 (Aug. 9, 1851).
[104] *Mirror* XII, 127 (Oct. 18, 1834).

This was Boston, be it remembered. Disappointed in the lack of popularity experienced by the Bathing Rooms, our writer breaks into verse to make his reform attractive to the ladies:

> . . . Each blushing nymph
> Not only drank the genial lymph,
> But often steeped the external limb . . .
> Too long those beauties which escape
> Or die in an uncultured shape,
> You've left to cripple or to fade
> Without lustration's pious aid.[105]

But the *Mirror,* which returned to the subject repeatedly, must also be quoted:

> Bathing.——Again and again, and yet once again are we moved to exhort, entreat, urge the adoption of some means for the increase of public facilities in this most important of requisites to health, not less than to comfort. Of all the inhabitants of the globe . . . we Americans are, as a people, the least addicted to bathing; and among all the Americans we of New York have the least claim to the character of a self-washing race. . . . Here the bath is merely a summer luxury for a vast majority of the citizens, enjoyed perhaps once a week during the hottest weather, and it may be some half dozen times during the rest of the year. How many houses are there in this city furnished with bathing rooms? . . .[106]

But the ladies' books especially were inclined to be cautious in this matter. Says one of them:

> Nature indicates the season just arrived [it was December] as the one when frequent ablutions are conducive to health. . . . It is quite certain that the practice, in extremely cold weather, of leaping from a warm bed and suddenly extracting all the caloric by cold water has been ruinous to multitudes of delicately organized ladies.[107]

The perennial topic of dress was also prominent. Fashion plates showing, for the most part, exaggerated styles were

[105] *Monthly Anthology.* I, 549 (October, 1804).
[106] *Mirror,* XII, 31 (July 26, 1834).
[107] *Christian Parlor Book,* VIII, 246 (December, 1852).

almost omnipresent in the general magazines, along with descriptions of the costumes. At the beginning of our period the *Mirror* was congratulatory: "Both male and female dress, we think, has never been constructed upon a more rational plan, throughout Christendom generally, than for the past ten years."[108] But it objects to having "the sidewalks obstructed and the prospect obscured by the umbrageous rims" of the ladies' wide hats;[109] and it conducted a campaign against tight lacing. It even tempts the Muse in regard to the matter in a "Song of the Corset":

> The beautiful girls, with their sunbright curls,
> Submit to my pressure sly,
> Till the hectic streak and the sunken cheek
> Proclaim the destroyer nigh! . . .
> Oh, she soon shall feel that my suicide steel
> Must stifle her panting breath!
> That the sable pall must o'ershadow all
> In CONSUMPTION *and pain and death!*[110]

The *Mirror* also disapproves the revival of hoops in 1839.[111] Sprague's *American Literary Magazine* printed much on the subject of manners and dress: it advised the men to "Eschew all huge breast pins, striped pantaloons, fancy-colored gloves, figured handkerchiefs and red vests."[112]

Beards became a political issue for a time in the early forties. For several decades before that they had been almost unknown. Joseph Palmer, the transcendentalist, "expressed himself" by wearing a long beard, which caused no small excitement wherever he went; finally, he injured some representative of the established order who attempted to cut the unusual appendage off by duress, and was thrown into jail. If he had been a martyr to some great religious faith instead of to the sanctity of his beard, he might now be celebrated rather than forgotten. Philobarbus, in the *Southern Literary Messenger,* commented in 1842 upon

[108] *Mirror,* V, 7 (July 14, 1827).
[109] *Ibid.,* V, 271 (March 1, 1828).
[110] *Ibid.,* XI, 111 (Oct. 5, 1833).
[111] *Ibid.,* XVI, 239 (Jan. 19, 1839).
[112] *American Literary Magazine,* III, 255 (October, 1848).

"the temporary obscuration of beards for nearly a century past —and their wonderful resuscitation at the present time." [113] The secretary of the navy, however, considered whiskers of certain styles and lengths in contravention of discipline, and issued a famous "Whisker Order" bringing them within proper limits, thus almost causing open mutiny in the United States Navy. Beards continued to grow in spite of all obstacles, official and tonsorial; the Mexican War appears to have helped the fad along.[114]

A more important phenomenon of the times was what was commonly called "puffing"—a practice which, after yielding to a certain discipline, came in later years under the head of advertising. The puffing most frequently referred to in the forties was of three kinds: commercial, political, and literary. "The art of puffing is the art of all arts at the present day," claimed C. F. Briggs in *Holden's*. "Nothing will sell which has not first been puffed into notice." [115] Later he remarked, "The literature of advertising is getting to be an important branch of the *belles-lettres*." [116] The *Democratic Review* rails against "the system of inordinate puffing" of candidates for office, "especially by the partisan journals." [117] The log-rolling of the literary critics has already been mentioned. Timothy Flint declares that puffing "is the engine, that influences, and procures the announcement of the oracle," and adds his observation that "Some authors have an inconceivable industry to labor for puffing"; [118] while Evert A. Duyckinck, who should know, says that the spirit of puffery is "a besetting sin of our literature." [119]

Whether puffery was responsible for the interest in Sylvester Graham's advocacy of the use of unbolted flour for bread-making or not, certain it is that it caught the popular attention. There were those who refused it, however; one writer in the *Knickerbocker* remarked indignantly, "Graham bread is as old as the hills and was known for ages before the clan of Graham existed.

[113] *Southern Literary Messenger*, VIII, 129 (February, 1842).
[114] See *Knickerbocker*, "On Beards," an 1850 series.
[115] *Holden's Dollar Magazine*, II, 446 (July, 1848).
[116] *Ibid.*, II, 511 (August, 1848).
[117] *Democratic Review*, XXX, 362 (April, 1852).
[118] *Western Monthly Review*, II, 483 (February, 1829).
[119] *American Whig Review*, I, 148 (February, 1845).

To some constitutions it is most injurious."[120] And Cornelius Mathews in the *New York Review* says the Grahamites think their new gospel is going to save the world: "It is to be the great auxiliary in spreading Christianity over the earth. The fiend Infidelity is to be put out of the way by nothing less than spare diet and a course of vegetables."[121] But cavillers could not check the crusaders for the new health food, and its "inventor" was even celebrated in song:

> Immortal Graham! As the ages roll,
> And changing Nature decks thy lowly bed,
> Thy fame shall spread abroad from pole to pole,
> And Myriad throats take down thy Graham bread![122]

Grahamism even had a magazine—the *Graham Journal of Health and Longevity* (1837-39).[123]

Another hero was Isaac Pitman. "The time rapidly approaches," said the reformatory *Harbinger*, "when no language in praise of Phonography will appear extravagant and no estimate of its importance to mankind exaggerated."[124]

Dances also partook of the general fever for change and novelty. In 1839 the *Mirror* told its readers that the waltz was "fast absorbing the favorite old dances";[125] five years later the polka was enjoying a somewhat scandalous popularity. "After having overrun Paris, the Polka will overrun the world," prophesied the *New World* in an article on "The Physiology of the Polka."[126]

THE WORLD OF SPORT

Some sports had their own periodicals. Racing had the *American Turf Register*, founded and for ten years edited by John S. Skinner, who was also the founder of the first American agricultural journal of importance. The *Turf Register* was be-

120 *Knickerbocker*, XVIII, 28-36 (July, 1841).
121 *New York Review*, I, 346 (October, 1837).
122 *Knickerbocker*, XXXIX, 278 (March, 1852).
123 Published first in Boston and then in New York, in three volumes.
124 *Harbinger*, I, 63 (July 5, 1845).
125 *Mirror*, XVI, 263 (Feb. 9, 1839).
126 *New World*, IX, 712 (Dec. 7, 1844).

gun in September, 1829, in Baltimore; Gideon B. Smith bought it six years later. In February, 1839, it was sold to the genial William T. Porter, who edited it until its suspension in 1844. "It was the first of its race ever bred in the United States," wrote Skinner to the new purchaser in 1839. "It had but one sire and no dam; when it was foaled it was not certain whether it would find food or pasture."[127] According to the *Knickerbocker,* it had no "superior in *any* country, for various merits, sporting, literary and pictorial."[128] That eccentric character Henry William Herbert wrote for it under the *nom de plume* of "Frank Forester." Porter was familiarly known on account of his height of six feet as "York's tall son," and was one of the most popular journalists of the time. When he bought the *Turf Register,* he was already editor and publisher of the *Spirit of the Times,* which he had founded December 10, 1831, and which is said to have been the first all-round sporting journal in the United States. A few months after he began the *Spirit of the Times,* he had to dispose of it to C. J. B. Fisher, who merged it with the *Traveller.* Meanwhile Porter went to work, after a time, on the *New-Yorker,* whose editor, Horace Greeley, had been a typesetter on the *Spirit.* In 1835 Porter repurchased the combined *Traveller and Spirit of the Times,* restored the original name, and conducted the journal with great success throughout the remainder of this period.[129] The subtitle of his journal read: "A Gazette of the Literary, Fashionable and Sporting World," and it maintained as broad a scope as it thus outlined. Originally a heavy borrower of British writings, the *Spirit* became, before the end of our period, wholly original. Besides reporting

[127] Francis Brinley, *Life of William T. Porter* (New York, 1860), p. 63.

[128] *Knickerbocker,* XVII, 262 (March, 1841).

[129] In 1856 the *Spirit of the Times* was sold to George Wilkes, founder of the *Police Gazette,* who had been Porter's assistant for six years. Wilkes changed the name to *Porter's Spirit of the Times,* Porter staying with the journal as an associate editor until his death two years later. The first series continued to June 22, 1861, the twentieth number of the thirty-first annual volume. In the meantime the *Spirit of the Times and Sportsman* was begun Sept. 10, 1859. This was sometimes called "Wilkes' Spirit of the Times." Aug. 30, 1873, it abandoned its own numbering (Sept. 10, 1859 – Aug. 30, 1873, Vols. I-XXIX, No. 3), and computing the time from the founding of the original *Spirit* in semiannual volumes, began Sept. 6, 1873, with Vol. LXXXVI, No. 4; it then ran to Dec. 13, 1902 (CXLIV, No. 23), when it was combined with the *Horseman.* It had a successor in the *Sports of the Times* (1902-12).

all the race meetings, it published music, engravings of horses and actresses, news of the theater, humor, and outdoor sketches. Thomas B. Thorpe, "Frank Forester," and Albert Pike were among its contributors.[129a] "In his own way, Porter had no rival in the press of our country," said the *Mirror*. "Inimitable pen, playful fancy, heart all kindness and sincerity, an able and skilful caterer to public taste."[130] Pike wrote of him, upon his death: "Where in all the world was there so pure, so manly, so generous, so unselfish, so loving a soul? . . . true, generous, unselfish gentleman."[131] Porter undoubtedly did much to give American sports a respectable standing.

Not so much may be said for the *National Police Gazette*, which began in 1845 in New York. The *Police Gazette*, however, was not at first so much a sporting paper as a journal of crime. Founded by the pugnacious George Wilkes and Enoch E. Camp, a lawyer, it attained a circulation of fifteen thousand in a few weeks through the attraction of "a most interesting record of horrid murders, outrageous robberies, bold forgeries, astounding burglaries, hideous rapes, vulgar seductions, and recent exploits of pickpockets and hotel thieves."[132] The *Gazette's* warfare with the New York criminal class and its protectors provoked more than one mob attack on its offices.

There is singularly little in the general magazines about sports before the advent of the athletic clubs many years later. A

[129a] For others, see Introduction to William T. Porter, *The Big Bear of Arkansas and Other Tales* (Philadelphia, 1845).

[130] *Mirror*, XV, 223 (Jan. 6, 1838).

[131] Brinley, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

[132] Quoted in *Collier's*, LXXXI, 28 (March 10, 1928). See this article and a sequel in *Collier's* for March 24, 1928, for further details about the *Police Gazette*. It was sold in 1857 to George W. Matsell, an ex-chief of police. In 1872 Herbert R. Mooney became editor, and he was succeeded by Richard Kyle Fox in 1877. Fox edited it for over thirty years and grew wealthy upon it. A similarly morbid taste had been invoked by the *Terrific Register* of Baltimore, advertised in 1833 as containing "accounts of barbarities inflicted by savage hordes, cruel punishments with which crime has been visited, barbarous murders, atrocious assassinations, diabolical cruelties, bloody duels, and sanguinary conflicts, daring villainies, frauds, plots, conspiracies and rebellions, remarkable robberies, piracies, executions, and persecutions for conscience' sake, well authenticated stories of apparitions and strange and fearful superstitions, disastrous accidents, perilous enterprises and miraculous escapes by sea and land, awful visitations, and singular interpositions, accounts of plague, famine, fire, earthquake, and other special chastisements of Providence." (Uhler, *op. cit.*, p. 39.) This was evidently an imitation of the English publication of the same name which is sometimes ascribed to George Borrow.

place was found to attack prize-fighting, however. The *Mirror* desired to record its

> regret and alarm at finding reason to believe that the detestable practice of prize-fighting threatens to take root within the soil of our native land. Instances have already occurred within the immediate vicinity of New-York. . . . [This] has hitherto been an infamy of the non-existence of which among us we could boast. . . . May the time never come when it shall be added to the list of our faults and vices.[133]

THE "WOMAN QUESTION"

A period in which reform was rife was sure to occupy itself more or less with the "woman question." The participation of women in the antislavery crusade, and the resulting prominence of such women as the Grimké sisters and Lucretia Mott, together with the lecturing of Fanny Wright, and later that of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Elizabeth Oakes Smith, and the writing of Margaret Fuller and a large number of other woman authors, all combined to bring women and their possibilities for work outside the domestic circle into public notice. Finally the first woman's rights convention was held in 1848, and the issue was joined. Sophia Ripley, writing in the *Dial* in 1841, the year after the woman delegates were turned away from the World's Antislavery Convention in London, said:

> There have been no topics for the last two years more generally talked of than women, and "the sphere of women." In society, everywhere, we hear the same oft-repeated things said upon them by those who have little perception of the difficulties of the subject; and even the clergy have frequently flattered "the feebler sex" by proclaiming to them from the pulpit what lovely beings they may become if they will only be good, quiet, and gentle, and attend exclusively to their domestic duties, and the cultivation of religious feelings, which the other sex kindly relinquish to them as their inheritance. Such preaching is very popular.[134]

This puts the matter very well, as any reader of the banal literature of the "woman question" will admit. In July, 1843, Mar-

[133] *Mirror*, XII, 287 (March 7, 1835).
[134] *Dial*, I, 362 (January, 1841).

WOMEN CONTRIBUTORS TO "GRAHAM'S MAGAZINE"

LYDIA H. SIGOURNEY FRANCES SARGENT OSGOOD

CATHERINE M. SEDGWICK

EMMA C. EMBURY ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH

From an engraving used as frontispiece to Vol. XXII of *Graham's*, 1843.

garet Fuller wrote for the *Dial* a contribution to the controversy which was anything but banal. It was called "The Great Lawsuit," and, as a later writer pointed out, it "stated with transcendent force the arguments which formed the basis for the first "Woman's Rights Convention in 1848." This commentator, writing in Conway's *Dial* of 1860, declared further that "Nothing has since been added to it; nothing can be taken away from it."[135] Miss Fuller's *Woman in the Nineteenth Century,* published in 1844, was very widely reviewed and rather generally, it must be admitted, condemned. The *Broadway Journal,* for example, takes the book up three times in February and March, 1845, and ends by quoting scripture, "Her desire shall be unto her husband and he shall rule over her," and adding flatly that "no unmarried woman has any right to say anything on the subject."[136]

Very different from Miss Fuller's writings on this subject were those of President Thomas R. Dew, of William and Mary College. His serial dissertation on "The Characteristic Differences between the Sexes, and the Position and Influence of Woman in Society," which appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1835, is conservative enough to suit any defender of the old order.

That good women should wish to vote seemed shocking to many. "The eternal wrangling of discordant opinions about men and offices," said the *Mirror,*

> and the petty details of elections and caucuses can have little charm for the refined taste or polished judgment, and lend no charm to the intercourse of the domestic circle. . . . No, there can be no excuse for a female deserting her allotted privacy and volunteering to encounter gladiators in the political arena.[137]

The *Democratic Review* agreed that "The highest dignity of woman is in the domestic vineyard. Let not the women of America clamor for that which is opposed to the decrees of Nature and Providence."[138] The women's periodicals were generally

[135] *Dial* (Cincinnati), I, 286 (May, 1860).
[136] *Broadway Journal,* I, 182-83 (March 22, 1845. See also Feb. 15 and March 8).
[137] *Mirror,* VIII, 95 (Sept. 25, 1830).
[138] *Democratic Review,* XLIII, 175-84 (April, 1859).

opposed to woman suffrage. H. F. Harrington in a two-part article on "Female Education" in the *Ladies' Companion* combats Mill and J. Q. Adams on political rights for women; he works himself up to something of a rhetorical climax in which he hears a grand chorus of women shouting "from pine-clad Maine to the farthest Louisiana bayou: 'Let the men take care of politics; we will take care of our children!'"[139] Gentle Lydia Maria Child contributed a story called "Home and Politics" to Mrs. Kirkland's *Union Magazine* to show how politics ruin domestic felicity:[140] the father, called away to a political meeting, speaks harshly to his child and the child dies; then the wife goes insane when the husband loses the election. Moral: Keep politics out of the "home circle." The *Mirror* was inclined to poke fun at women's political ambitions. In an article in that journal called "Rights of Woman," one "Quis" pictures Miss Speaker presiding over the House while seated in her rocking chair and vigorously knitting.[141] A *Female Advocate* was, however, published weekly in New York in 1832-33.

But the *Mirror* gives the ladies credit for being "the cherishers and preservers of literature and the arts."[142] Moreover, the same periodical vouches for their editorial ability. In 1828 it said:

> Much as our gallantry induced us to praise the novel attempts of ladies assuming the responsibility of editors, we are free to confess we were not prepared for such a display of talent and judgment as they have exhibited. There is, indeed, a splendid galaxy of female literati—or shall we say literata [one might suggest literatæ]—in our country. The productions of Mesdames Calvin, Dumont, Hale, Muzzy, Sedgwick, Sigourney, Thayre, Ware and others will add interest to any page they adorn. Boston is the favourite seat of the lady-muses.[143]

And Mrs. Stephens' *Portland Magazine,* while granting that "the privilege of deep research is man's right; with it we have

[139] *Ladies' Companion,* IX, 296 (October, 1838).
[140] *Union Magazine,* III, 63-68 (August, 1848).
[141] *Mirror,* 3d Series, IV, 314 (Aug. 22, 1846).
[142] *Ibid.,* X, 79 (Sept. 8, 1832).
[143] *Ibid.,* VI, 23 (July 26, 1828).

no wish to interfere," adds: "But poetry, fiction, and the lighter branches of the sciences are woman's appropriate sphere, as much as the flower-garden, the drawing-room, and the nursery." [144] A writer in the *American Whig Review,* however, is very sure that women cannot write the best poetry: poetical composition unqueens, unsexes her. "Nature, happily careful of her fairest work, has fenced her with the crystal sphere of domestic life from the stir, the thrill, the athletic contest of the outer world." [145]

But in "athletic contest" woman was apparently soon to have some part, or at least she was going to be allowed some physical exercise to combat that "fastidious delicacy . . . which bids fair to make mere hot-house plants of them all, fit only to be looked at, and to give trouble." [146] The *Mirror* advocated this reform throughout the early thirties. The *Casket* in 1832 printed some woodcuts illustrating calisthenics for women: the woman going through the exercises is laced tightly and wears long skirts and pantalettes.[147] (See illustration on page 486.) But Henry H. Poter's *Journal of Health* speaks out boldly in its first number: "The bodily exercises of the two sexes ought, in fact, to be the same." [148]

The magazines were greatly concerned with that "subject long neglected but now beginning to attract a proper share of attention—Female Education." [149] Emma Willard's Troy Female Seminary and Mary Lyon's Mt. Holyoke Seminary were much discussed. Miss Sedgwick was one of several critics of the boarding school system when she wrote her article for the *Knickerbocker* on "The Education of Young Ladies" in 1835.[150] The *Democratic Review* believed the training of American women to be false and undemocratic, based upon "a silly notion of 'gentility.' " [151]

144 *Portland Magazine,* I, 1 (October, 1834).
145 *American Whig Review,* IV, 416-26 (October, 1846).
146 *Mirror,* XI, 31 (July 27, 1833).
147 *Casket,* VI, 186-87 (April, 1832).
148 *Journal of Health,* I, 15 (Sept. 9, 1829).
149 *Southern Literary Messenger,* II, 522 (July, 1836). See also VI, 451-56 (June, 1840).
150 *Knickerbocker,* VI, 381-87 (November, 1835).
151 *Democratic Review,* VI, 127-42 (August, 1839).

may be regarded as among the most efficient means of correcting that weakness of the muscles of one side, which leads to lateral curvature of the spine. As preventive means, these exercises, in moderation, may be directed by every teacher of calisthenics and gymnastics. As curative means—the disease having actually begun, they ought not to be had recourse to without the counsel and cautionary advice of the family physician.

First Exercise.—"The pupil, placed at the balance,* the stick at the height of the breast, must take hold of it, both hands facing the shoulders, the nails outward; she must bend the knees gently till they almost touch the ground, rise in the same manner, change hands, the nails inward, repeating the same exercise several times.

* The balance is a moveable instrument, supported by means of a hook, strongly fixed in the ceiling of a room from which two cords are suspended, and at the extremities of which is fixed a stick, made of a very dry piece of

left bent; then return to her position, making the same movement, and placing the right foot before, and repeat the same exercise as with the right, and then return to her place: the same must be done with both together.

Fourth Exercise.—The pupil, always placed in the same manner, must push the stick forward, extending the arms, and letting herself lean forward, the arms bent, the knees stretched, and the toes on a line; she must then raise herself by the strength of the arms and feet, letting herself descend backward, with the arms and knees stretched, and the heels on a line, raise herself in the same manner and take her position.

Fifth Exercise.—The pupil, placed with the chest against the stick of the balance, the hands resting upon it, must set two steps forward, extending the arms, bring the heels upon a line, raise the arms high, stretched their full length, and the chest thrown out, the shoulders consi-

Sixth Exercise.—The stick at the height of the head, the pupil must take hold of it with both hands, drawing backward the whole length of the cords, the arms extended, and the body resting on the toes; she must then spring forward as far as possible, the arms and knees bent, descend to the ground, the heels on a line, the arms raised high, and the chest thrown out; afterwards bend the arms, and return to her place, making the same movements. See *Plate, fig.* 1.

Seventh Exercise.—The pupil, placed at one of the extremities of the balance, the feet placed under it, the hands crossed, the knees bent, the heels on a line, must support her body by the

CALISTHENICS IN CORSET AND PANTELETTES

From the *Casket* for April, 1832.

EDUCATIONAL TOPICS AND JOURNALS

"No subjects engage public attention more at the present time than the diffusion of knowledge and the instruction of youth," declared the *New York Mirror* in 1830. "You cannot open a review or a magazine, but suggestions on education greet your eye. . . . The newspapers now vie with each other in the attempt to exhaust the commonplaces on this engrossing subject." [152] Commonplaces, indeed! What a staggering quantity of high-sounding, pseudo-philosophical utterances upon the value of education appeared in what a lot of assorted magazines in this period! The *Southern Literary Messenger,* too, expressed its delight fifteen years later in the "lively interest in the great cause of education that now seems to be spreading throughout our country"; [153] but surely the expression of that interest in the general magazines was, in nine cases out of ten, more vaguely inspirational than definitely practical throughout our whole period. The *Messenger, Mirror,* and *Knickerbocker,* however, printed some public school statistics which have a certain value; they show a very small proportion of the children in attendance upon such schools.[154] Southern periodicals were interested in an effort toward legislative aid for free schools.[155] Elizabeth Peabody's book about Bronson Alcott's educational experiments, called *A Record of a School* and published in 1834, was widely reviewed. There was "an unexampled hue and cry about the education of the operative classes," [156] about 1830. The *New York Review* descanted upon the low grade of teachers of the common schools, and quoted from E. C. Wines's *Hints on a System of Popular Education:*

The multitudes [of teachers], at least in some states, are made up of thriftless adventurers, of every grade, too lazy to work, too poor to live without it, and much more fit to be peddling wooden nutmegs, or making hickory hams, than to undertake the task of

[152] *Mirror,* VII, 351 (May 8, 1830).
[153] *Southern Literary Messenger,* XI, 603 (October, 1845).
[154] *Ibid.,* IX, 292-302 (May, 1853) and II, 17-24 (December, 1835); *Mirror,* VI, 247 (Feb. 14, 1829); *Knickerbocker,* VI, 510-17 (December, 1835).
[155] *Southern Literary Messenger,* XI, 603 (October, 1845); *Southern Literary Journal,* I, 177-86 (November, 1855).
[156] *Mirror,* VIII, 7 (July 10, 1830).

training the youth of a nation to the knowledge and love of their duty as citizens and men.[157]

Colleges received some attention. The *North American* had a number of careful articles devoted to Harvard problems and changes: the *New Englander* did much the same for Yale, and the *Messenger* for the Virginia colleges. Small enrollments, small faculties, and small libraries were characteristic of most collegiate institutions. The *North American,* pointing out that in 1840 there were 173 colleges with 16,233 students in the United States, commented upon the "scanty endowments and insufficient means" which crippled their work, and hoped for fewer and stronger schools.[158] The *Knickerbocker* in 1837 advocated seminaries for the instruction of teachers,[159] and Mrs. Hale in *Godey's* returned again and again to her campaign for the training of "female teachers." Drinking and gambling in the colleges occupied much of the attention of a writer upon "College Instruction and Discipline"[160] in the *American Quarterly Review* in 1831.

There were some college periodicals published, most of them briefly. The *Harvard Register* ran for a year from March, 1827; while its successor, the *Collegian,* published sixteen issues from September, 1829, numbering young O. W. Holmes among its contributors. *Harvardiana* was begun in 1835; James Russell Lowell was one of its editors in 1838 and probably the time he gave to it had something to do with his disciplinary "rustication" imposed "on account of continued neglect of his college duties."[161] *Harvardiana* ended that same year. The *Yale Literary Magazine,*[162] the earliest of the long-lived college monthlies, was begun in February, 1836; William M. Evarts, Sylvester Judd, C. J. Stillé, J. P. Thompson, and George H. Colton were among the contributors to the early volumes. The

157 *New York Review,* III, 187 (July, 1838).
158 *North American Review,* LV, 307 (October, 1842).
159 *Knickerbocker,* X, 375 (November, 1837).
160 *American Quarterly Review,* IX, 283-314 (June, 1831).
161 H. E. Scudder, *James Russell Lowell* (Boston, 1901), I, 47.
162 T. R. Lounsbury, E. R. Sill, D. G. Mitchell, and William Beebee are among the famous names later connected with the editorship. A sixtieth anniversary number was published April, 1896.

Nassau Monthly, of Princeton, later the *Nassau Literary Magazine,* and the *Rutgers Literary Miscellany* were both founded in 1842. Further south, University of Virginia students issued the weekly *Virginia Literary Museum,* their first periodical, for a year from June 17, 1829.[163]

Another educational agency was the lyceum. Begun locally at Milbury, Massachusetts, under the leadership of Josiah Holbrook, it spread rapidly, and soon altered its original purpose of supplementing the work of the schools by a library and a museum of mineralogical specimens, and became an institution for the promotion of lectures. The local societies were organized into state lyceums; the state organizations were welded into an American Lyceum, which held its first national convention in 1831 at New York; and international relations were established which were to lead to a Universal Lyceum. By 1830 the movement had spread both to the South and West. The *Messenger* had occasional references to its activities in the South, and in 1831 the *Illinois Magazine* notes that "Lyceums are established and flourishing at three important points [in the West] already, namely, Cincinnati, Nashville and Detroit."[164]

Holbrook established an organ for the movement in his weekly *Family Lyceum* at Boston in 1832. It was devoted largely to the popularization of science, and was united with *Scientific Tracts,* under the care of Dr. J. V. C. Smith, at the end of 1834. Holbrook later edited the *Self-Instructor and Journal of the Universal Lyceum* (1842-43) in New York. The *American Annals of Education* and Benjamin's *American Monthly Magazine* published the proceedings of the American Lyceum.

The popularity of lyceum lectures is frequently referred to in the general magazines. "There is a novel mode," says the *New-Yorker,*

in which the literary and scientific mind has of late chosen to manifest itself to the people, which has met with extraordinary success

[163] See *Publications of the Southern Historical Society,* VI, fig 1, for an article on the *Museum.* One of its most valuable contributions was a list of Americanisms published serially from Dec. 16, 1829.

[164] *Illinois Monthly,* I, 314 (April, 1831).

among us: we refer to that of oral lectures. The halls have been crowded during the past winter, and both private and public courses have been attended with intelligent and fashionable audiences.[165]

This was in 1839; in that year we find the *Mirror* listing the speakers of the New York Lyceum as follows: Caleb Cushing, Alexander H. Everett, Orville Dewey, M. M. Noah, William L. Stone, John O. Sargent, Horace Mann, James H. Raymond, John Neal, Samuel L. Southard, and Rembrandt Peale.[166] A little later Emerson, Sumner, Phillips, Whipple, Lowell, and most of the other men of literary and political prominence did lyceum work. W. A. Jones, the *Arcturus* critic, was rather severe against the lectures in 1841. He prefers more solid instruction and less of "flourishes and tricks of metaphor, and arts of elocution." He charges that "We generally find superficial information, a crude view of the subject—the thrown off ornaments of greater intellects—stereotyped prejudice, a boastful arrogance, and a curious medley of styles." But he admits that lectures have become "a very important part of modern literature," though "many attend lectures now as they attend the opera, for the sake of the fashion."[167]

All this strong interest in education furnished support for a number of special educational periodicals. Indeed, over sixty papers and magazines devoted chiefly to discussions of education in its various aspects were begun in the years 1825-50,[168] though only about a dozen of them lasted more than three years. A considerable number were especially designed for the teacher in the common schools. In 1838, with the founding of the *Ohio Common School Director* (1838-39) at Columbus and the Detroit *Journal of Education* (1838-40), both of them edited by State Superintendents, a fashion of state school journals was begun, some of them published by state authority and others by state teachers' associations. Michigan, Ohio, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, and Maine had educational organs so published in our period.

165 *New-Yorker*, VII, 13 (March 23, 1839).
166 *Mirror*, XVII, 191 (Dec. 7, 1839).
167 *Arcturus*, I, 261-68 (April, 1841).
168 See S. E. Davis, *Educational Periodicals During the Nineteenth Century* (Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1919, No. 28), pp. 92-95.

The most important periodicals devoted to education from 1825 to 1850 may be listed here. William Russell's *American Journal of Education*[169] (1826-30), of Boston, is one of the most valuable of them all; it was continued as the *American Annals of Education*[170] (1830-39), W. C. Woodbridge, editor. The *American Quarterly Register* (July 1827–May 1843), published by the American Education Society at Andover and edited by Bela B. Edwards and others,[171] was interested chiefly in the education of candidates for the ministry and mission fields, but touches upon the more general field. The *Common School Assistant* (1836-40), of Albany, a very well printed monthly, was edited by J. Orville Taylor, and gave special attenton to the educational news from the State of New York. The *Common School Advocate* (1837-41) was the first western educational journal to outlast twelve months; it was begun at Madison, Indiana, but was later moved to Cincinnati. More important but briefer in file is the *Western Academician and Journal of Education and Science* (1837-38), edited at Cincinnati by that pioneer in educational journalism, John W. Pickett. It was published by the Western Literary Institute, and had William H. McGuffey, compiler of the famous readers, Alexander Kinmont, and other western educational leaders as contributors. Henry Barnard's *Connecticut Common School Journal*[172] (1838-66), of Hartford, was one of the most famous school periodicals of the time; and the same may be said of the Boston *Common School Journal*,[173] a semimonthly which was begun the same year as Barnard's periodical by Horace Mann, secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. William B. Fowle succeeded Mann as editor in 1849, and conducted the journal until it suspended at the end of 1852. The *District School Journal for the State of New York*[174] (1840-52) was subsidized by the state. Another

169 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 541-43.

170 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 541-43.

171 Elias Cornelius, William Cogswell, and Samuel Hopkins Riddel.

172 Treated in a separate sketch on pp. 694-95.

173 Semimonthly, twenty-four numbers to a volume. Fowle was publisher 1842-48. Large octavo of sixteen pages, partly eclectic.

174 Published at Geneva, N. Y., in 1840-41. Editors: Francis Dwight, 1840-45; S. S. Randall, 1846-47; W. H. Campbell, 1848-49; S. S. Randall, 1850; Edward Cooper, 1851-52. First number, March, 1840; last number, April, 1852. Absorbed

of Henry Barnard's periodicals was the *Journal of the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction*[175] (1845-49), Barnard having left Connecticut to become, for the time, commissioner of schools in the neighboring commonwealth. Finally, the *Massachusetts Teacher*[176] (1848-74) is to be mentioned; it was the first monthly edited by a board appointed by a state teachers' association.

JUVENILES

More or less educational were the juvenile periodicals. In 1829 the *Mirror* remarked, "The mania for periodicals has extended itself to children."[177] There was great variety in the sizes, shapes, quality, and purposes of these publications, and most of them have, of course, been long forgotten. Many were Sunday-School papers. A few of those of more general scope deserve special mention here. Nathaniel Willis began the *Youth's Companion*[178] (Boston, 1827-1929) and continued as its editor for thirty years. It is one of a few most important American juveniles. Begun a few months earlier in the same city was Putnam and Hunt's *Juvenile Miscellany*[179] (1826-29). Samuel G. Goodrich ("Peter Parley") founded *Parley's Magazine*[180] in 1833, in New York, but after about a year he was forced to sell it on account of ill health. Eleven years later it was merged with *Merry's Museum for Boys and Girls*,[181] which Goodrich had begun in 1841 and which continued into the seventies. Goodrich's periodicals were instructive and obtrusively moral; their attractiveness was based chiefly upon their many woodcuts. Eliza L. Follen's *Child's Friend*[182] (1843-49) was another Boston

New York Journal of Education, May, 1851, changing title to *District School Journal of Education of the State of New York*.

175 Three volumes in irregular arrangement, November, 1845 – January, 1849.

176 To be treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

177 *Mirror*, VI, 319 (April 11, 1829).

178 To be treated more fully in a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

179 Four duodecimo volumes equally divided between two series; three bimonthly numbers to a volume. September, 1826 – January, 1829.

180 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 622-23.

181 Treated more fully in a separate sketch on pp. 713-15.

182 Subtitle: *Designed for Families and Sunday Schools.* Leonard C. Bowles, publisher. October, 1843 – September, 1849 (I-XII). The last two volumes compose a "Second Series." Duodecimo.

juvenile of longer life than most. Boston also sent forth the *Boys' and Girls' Magazine and Fireside Companion,* which "Mark Forrester" founded in 1848. This too was illustrated by woodcuts, and dealt much with travel. The pictures were sometimes colored, and frequently portrayed natural history subjects. In 1851 the title was changed to *Forrester's Boys' and Girls' Companion,* and the Rev. Henry V. Degan, "Francis Forrester," N. A. Calkins, and W. T. Adams were associated in the editorship until its end in 1857.

CHAPTER X

EDITORS, CONTRIBUTORS AND MANAGEMENT

THE RISE OF THE MAGAZINIST

THE special class magazines which were published increasingly from 1830 onward found their contributors chiefly in the specialized fields cultivated by the respective periodicals. Doctors took time from professional duties to write the articles for the medical journals; farmers and other specialists furnished the material which filled the agricultural papers; religious journals depended largely upon the clergy; and so on. But what of the more general magazines? Whence came their contributors? We have seen that in earlier periods, professional and business men employed hours snatched from more exciting pursuits to prepare, with whatever care and skill and talent they could command, such original papers as the magazines found to print. In the period now under consideration, however, a more or less distinct class of writers for magazines—specialists in catering to a growing magazine public—arose to supply the general magazines, the family weeklies, and the women's journals with their contents. This did not come about suddenly, of course, but it was notable by the forties.

It was in 1835, shortly before the dawning of the Graham-Godey era of better pay for magazinists that Park Benjamin complained in the valedictory of the *New-England Magazine* that

> With the exception of those whom Fortune has placed beyond the necessity of exertion, there are no authors by profession [in America]. The efforts of American writers are, for the most part, made in hours of leisure, set aside from business.[1]

This statement does not take into consideration the editors of magazines and newspapers, who were also frequently the owners

[1] *New-England Magazine*, IX, 479-80 (December, 1835).

of their periodicals. The *Southern Literary Messenger,* bent upon the grateful duty of giving the *New York Mirror* a friendly "puff" in 1838, remarked that when that paper was established in 1823 "there were not ten men in the United States who lived by their pens. At the time we write, their name is 'Legion.'" [2] All that can be said to this is that it must have been a very small legion; the editor was surely deceived, by the number of New York writers who appeared ambitiously here and there, into thinking that the writer's trade was more profitable north of the Mason-Dixon boundary than it really was. The editor of *Brother Jonathan,* who had a better opportunity to know the situation, recalls that "somebody—we think it was Mr. Neal" had not long before "recorded the fact that the man who depends upon literature for a living is little better than a fool"; and he doubts whether his spokesman had put the matter strongly enough.[3]

This was in 1842. Very soon after that the influence of the liberal pay offered by George R. Graham and Louis A. Godey to contributors to their respective magazines began to have its effect. One of the chief writers whom this policy drew out was Nathaniel Parker Willis, who may be called the first great American magazinist. His work in *Graham's, Godey's,* the *Mirror,* the *Ladies' Companion,* and many other periodicals was very popular. He achieved a lightness, a variety, and a certain charm of style which delighted readers of magazines in an age in which pretentious heaviness and polysyllabic gloom were still all too common. "The magazines' object is principally to cater to the amusement of vacant hours," observed Margaret Fuller in 1846, "and as there is not a great deal of wit and light talent in this country they do not even this to great advantage." [4] But Willis did do it, and though his tasty desserts sometimes frothed to the top and ran over somewhat disgustingly, they were devoured with relish by most readers. Sketches, tales, travel articles, lyric and narrative poetry, all flowed from his pen with the same facility. He was equally at ease in dealing with the

[2] *Southern Literary Messenger,* IV, 664 (October, 1838).
[3] *Brother Jonathan,* I, 296 (March 12, 1842).
[4] *Mirror,* 3d Series, IV, 375 (Sept. 19, 1846). *Quoted from Papers on Literature and Art.*

sublime and the ridiculous. His productivity was remarkable. "Few things in this world are smoother than our right arm," he wrote in the *Mirror,* and explained that it was "polished with quill-chasing." [5] For some people Willis was *the* man of letters; and there is a story of a New York business man who inquired of a friend who "this man Go-eeth" of whom he had been reading might be, and after Goethe's literary activities had been explained to him, concluded that the subject of his inquiry "must be the N. P. Willis of Germany." A later and better critic described Willis as "something between a remembrance of the Count d'Orsay and an anticipation of Oscar Wilde." [6] He had his enemies who satirized his manners of a dandy, his excellent opinion of himself, and his superficiality. James Heath in the *Southern Literary Messenger* said he was "like the peacock in his stately strut," and "evidently so much in love with himself that any arrow which we could speed will not ruffle his plumage." [7] It may be that some of the attacks upon him were due to jealousy of a success which made him the most highly paid magazinist of his time. If so, he could afford to disregard the arrows of his rivals, and to go on writing such things as this rather Shandean passage which introduces one of his more humorous tales:

I have a passion for fat women. If there is anything I hate in life, it is what dainty people call a *spirituelle.* Motion—rapid motion—a smart, quick, squirrel-like step, a pert, voluble tone—in short, a lively girl—is my exquisite horror! I would as lief have a *diable petit* dancing his infernal hornpipe on my cerebellum as to be in the room with one. . . .

Albina McLush was divine. She was like the description of the Persian beauty by Hafiz: "her heart is full of passion and her eyes are full of sleep." . . . Miss McLush was tall, and her shape, of its kind, was perfect. It was not a *fleshy* one, exactly, but she was large and full. Her skin was clear, fine-grained, and transparent: her temples and forehead perfectly rounded and polished, and her lips and chin swelling into a tempting pout, like the cleft of a bursted apricot. And then her eyes—large, liquid, and sleepy—they lan-

[5] *New Mirror,* II, 32 (Oct. 14, 1843).
[6] Oliver Wendell Holmes, *A Mortal Antipathy* (Riverside ed., Boston, 1885), p. 4.
[7] *Southern Literary Messenger,* V, 696 (October, 1839).

"MI BOY," AND "THE BRIGADIER."

"Hereafter both Editors will devote all their time exclusively to the MIRROR."

Prospectus of the New Mirror.

NATHANIEL PARKER WILLIS IN A CONTEMPORARY CARTOON

His companion is "General" George Pope Morris. The cartoon was published in the rival *Broadway Journal* for January 25, 1845, shortly after the *New-York Mirror* became a daily with a weekly edition. See pages 328-30.

guished beneath their long black fringes as if they had no business with daylight—like two magnificent dreams surprised in their jet embryos by some bird-nesting cherub. Oh! it was lovely to look into them.

She sat, usually, upon a *fauteuil,* with her large, full arm embedded in the cushion, sometimes for hours without stirring. I have seen the wind lift the masses of dark hair from her shoulders when it seemed the coming to life of a marble Hebe—she had been motionless so long. She was a model for a goddess of sleep, as she sat with her eyes half closed, lifting up their superb lids slowly as you spoke to her, and dropping them again with the deliberate motion of a cloud, when she had murmured out her syllable of assent. Her figure, in a sitting posture, presented a gentle declivity from the curve of her neck to the instep of her small round foot lying on its side upon the ottoman. I remember a fellow's bringing her a plate of fruit one evening. He was one of your lively men—a horrid monster all right angles and activity. Having never been accustomed to hold her own plate, she had not well extricated her fingers from her handkerchief before he set it down on her lap. As it began slowly to slide toward her feet, her hands relapsed into the muslin folds, and she fixed her eye upon it with a kind of indolent surprise, drooping her lids gradually, till as the fruit scattered over the ottoman, they closed entirely, and a liquid jet line was alone visible through the heavy lashes. There was an imperial indifference in it worthy of Juno. . . .

Such supreme indolence was irresistible. I gave in—I—who never before could summon energy to sigh—I—to whom a declaration was but a synonym for perspiration—I—who had only thought of love as a nervous complaint, and of women but to pray for a good deliverance—I—Yes—I—knocked under. Albina McLush! Thou wert too exquisitely lazy. Human sensibilities cannot hold out forever! [8]

There were other prominent magazinists in the forties—men and women who were represented from time to time in most of the important magazines and who made their living mainly from the magazines. Among these were Edgar Allan Poe, who contributed to more than thirty different magazines and had editorial connection with five. John Neal, whom the *Knickerbocker*

[8] *American Monthly Magazine,* II, 290-92 (July, 1830). Reprinted in Willis, *Fun-Jottings* (New York, 1853), pp. 352-54.

was wont to insult by calling him "Crazy Neal," [9] was writing furiously for the magazines at this time. Park Benjamin, like Poe, edited five literary periodicals at different times, and wrote for many others. Two other New Yorkers, Charles Fenno Hoffman and Charles F. Briggs, were also busy magazinists, though their names are not found upon contributors' lists as often as those mentioned above. T. S. Arthur, of Philadelphia, however, was an indefatigable contributor, and the hundred volumes he left behind him at his death were, many of them, filled with his magazine writings. In the South, William Gilmore Simms was the preëminent magazinist, and his contributions overflowed into the northern periodicals. Samuel Francis Smith, author of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," was able to write in the fifties: "Few magazines of a literary character have been published, whether now living or dead, which have not had more or less aid from my pen." [10]

Among the women writers, Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney was omnipresent in the magazines. In her literary life of exactly half a century, she contributed to three hundred different publications. At the end of her life she wrote: "I think now with amazement, and almost incredulity, of the number of articles I was induced by the urgency of editors to furnish. Before I ceased to keep a regular catalogue they had amounted to more than two thousand." [11] Mrs. E. F. Ellet began with translations from the German and other languages, then supplemented these with biographical and critical articles, and later became one of the most popular contributors of serial fiction to the women's periodicals and literary weeklies. Mrs. Ann S. Stephens was an extraordinarily prolific producer of serials in the magazine field. Mrs. Emma C. Embury, Miss Hannah F. Gould, and Mrs. Frances Sargent Osgood were regular contributors to many of the women's magazines. Alice and Phoebe Cary, called by Whittier "those sweet singers of the West," [12] began their long

[9] *Knickerbocker,* XX, 104 (July, 1842). "He has contributed more spoiled paper to line trunks and singe fowls than any other writer in the United States," said this magazine of Neal in June, 1842 (XIX, 597).

[10] Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature,* II, 852.

[11] Mrs. Sigourney, *Letters of Life* (Boston, 1866), p. 366.

[12] *Passages from the Correspondence of R. W. Griswold* (Cambridge, 1898), p. 267. Letter of Whittier, June 21, 1850.

careers as fecund magazinists in the forties. "We write with great facility," Alice confided to Rufus Griswold, "often producing two or three poems in a day."[13] All these and others who might be mentioned contributed to much the same group of magazines, with the result that the tables of contents of the general magazines, and especially of those designed chiefly for women, presented remarkable similarities. This did not seem a bad arrangement: Mrs. Kirkland's *Union Magazine,* when it began in 1847, announced that its "list of contributors will present nearly the same names as the other monthlies."[14]

Other magazines, in a search for either novelty or economy, introduced prize competitions among the writers. Colonel Morris, of the *Mirror,* claimed to have originated this device.[15] Poe, it will be remembered, began his career as an author of tales by winning such a contest fostered by the *Baltimore Saturday Visiter,* and one of the causes of his quarrel with Burton was a question of honesty in connection with the prizes offered by the *Gentleman's Magazine* for contributions.[16] The *Casket* offered many prizes, as did most of the women's periodicals and literary weeklies.

And yet, in spite of this activity, the *Democratic Review* could say as late as 1845, "We have not yet caught the true magazine spirit."[17] If by the true magazine spirit be meant the ability to present important content in an attractive form, the *Review's* criticism was clearly justifiable. True, there was much admirable magazine work in such periodicals as *Arcturus,* the *Dial,* the *Literary World,* the *Knickerbocker,* and sometimes in the *Mirror, Graham's,* and other magazines; but, on the whole, articles on important subjects were stilted and heavy, and the lighter writing was too frequently inclined to be sentimental and jejune.

No critics realized the shortcomings of magazine writers more definitely than did the editors themselves. They filled not a few pages with comment on the faults of the writing of the day,

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 240. Letter dated July 3, 1848.
[14] *Union Magazine,* I, 2 (July, 1847).
[15] *Mirror,* XVII, 271 (Feb. 28, 1830). But see p. 15 *supra.*
[16] George E. Woodberry, *Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1885), p. 126.
[17] *Democratic Review,* XVI, 455 (May, 1845).

which range from the heavy indignation of the *Democratic Review* against the sketches and tales of the "parlor magazines":

> dilute, emasculate, and robbed of what point they might otherwise possess by the constant and strained endeavors of their authors to keep within certain limits prescribed by false notions of refinement and delicacy,[18]

to the more playful but no less barbed shafts of the *New-England Magazine* in its department of notes to correspondents:

> Trusty and well-beloved correspondents,—
>
> We greet you all. While we wish you length of days, we deprecate your length of articles. . . . Sweet bardlings! spare us, we beseech you! . . . Ye may be pretty birds, but ye are not birds of song. "Harp of the Hills!" Prythee! Hang thyself on the willow, or upon any other tree which may be more convenient.[19]

Naturally enough these unkind cuts sometimes elicited replies; the editor dutifully prints one of them which is expressed in workmanlike balanced sentences:

> Your impertinence is equalled only by your ignorance; your wit is as mean as your capacity is questionable; and the profundity of your self-conceit is in ludicrous contrast with the shallowness of your intellect.[20]

All of which goes to show that the editor's problem was not easy, and that if he printed "dilute, emasculate" material, he refused some which, in his opinion at least, was even worse. A mere glance at the names which adorn the tables of contents of the ladies books is enough to establish the sentimentalism of the "pretty birds." Here are Violets, Roses, Pansies, Ferns, Geraniums enough for an old-fashioned bouquet, and Edna Mays, Clara Veres, Elaines and such like in abundance. It is interesting to note that Emily Chubbuck was unable to get her verses published in the magazines until Willis advised her to sign the name

[18] *Democratic Review*, XXX, 77 (January, 1852).
[19] *New-England Magazine*, VIII, 233 (March, 1835).
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 314.

"Fanny Forester" to her verses, after which they were printed readily.[21]

The fine writing in which these Ferns and Myrtles, as well as many a male compeer who brutally signed William and Thomas So-and-so, filled their pages is useful today chiefly as a warning to tyros. Take the following from a story in *Graham's:*

"Oh, Ellen! is not this a most enchanting prospect! How lovingly those little islands rest their grassy heads upon the tranquil bosom of the deep blue waters! And those distant sails—how like beings of life and thought they seem, gliding so gracefully over its glassy surface. Indeed when one views this noble edifice—these cultivated gardens—this lovely prospect—and inhales the cool sea-breeze wafted from the bosom of the mighty ocean—instead of the abode of the poor, helpless, and forsaken, he would suppose it the resting place of some of the great from yon proud city; who, weary of its noise and din, had retired hither to enjoy in sweet respose the accumulated wealth of years."

"It is, indeed, a lovely prospect," said her companion.[22]

Of course, it must not be thought that all magazine writing of the time was of this character. Much excellent prose was produced in America in the years from 1825 to 1850, and a large proportion of it was printed first in the magazines; but no survey of what the magazines were doing in that period can leave out of consideration the large body of vapid and sentimental writing.

THE RIGHTS OF AUTHORS

Ownership of magazine contents was not very well defined. "It has often been a subject of complaint," observed the *Mirror,* "that editors in this country are in the constant habit of copying articles without giving credit to the journals from which they are extracted."[23] Reprinting magazine poems, tales, and articles in the newspapers was a very general practice; the papers used

[21] Mary Alice Wyman, *Selections from the Autobiography of Elizabeth Oakes Smith* (Lewiston, Maine, 1824), p. 103.

[22] *Graham's,* XXXVI (January, 1850). From "The Revealings of a Heart," by D. T. Kilbourne.

[23] *Mirror,* VI, 15 (July 19, 1828).

much literary material, and the scissors were always kept sharp. Poe's "The Raven" was first published in the *Evening Mirror,* though it had been sold to the *Whig Review:* the *Mirror* had merely clipped it from advance sheets which the *Review* had furnished. Magazines ordinarily liked to be clipped by the newspapers, providing credit was given: it was considered good advertising. When *Graham's* and *Godey's* began in 1845 to copyright their contents, a cry of rage ascended from some of the papers which saw two of their best sources of literary material thus cut off. "Some of the city papers object to the copyrighting of magazines," replied *Graham's.* "But why should we pay four or five hundred dollars for a single number without having the advantage of the outlay?"[24] From this time on, restrictions upon the practice of appropriating magazine contents, with or without credit, increased.

Rights of the author himself in the product of his pen were little recognized, when once he had turned his manuscript over to the editor. The practice of anonymity was still very general, especially in the more dignified magazines. The reviews seldom broke over into what they deemed vulgar signing of articles. The general magazines usually compromised the matter, attaching names when the names were famous, and leaving the remainder unsigned or initialled. But more and more the signing custom grew, fostered by the women's magazines and the literary weeklies in particular.

Inevitably connected with the persistent practice of anonymity was the reign of editorial tyranny over authors. The *Mirror* lays down the law as follows:

> To correct the imperfections and eccentricities of the productions of anonymous correspondents or to reject their pieces altogether, is what we conceive to be the prerogative of an editor. . . . If we have sometimes failed in these attempts, as perhaps we have, we alone are the sufferers in reputation. Our anonymous correspondents are not responsible. . . . A writer in Blackwood's [is quoted anent this editorial responsibility:] ". . . If he chooses to accept voluntary contributions from friends or strangers, it is his bounden duty to

[24] *Graham's,* XXVI, 239 (May, 1845).

see that such free-will offerings are properly prepared, according to the established rules of art." [25]

This editorial liberty was frequently extended, moreover, to signed contributions. A conspicuous example of editorial outrage upon a contributor's rights was the action of the editor of *Holden's* in adding final chapters of his own to A. J. H. Duganne's serial story, *The Atheist*. The author had refused to furnish further chapters until he was paid for those already printed, and the editor pieced it out himself.[26] Another notable instance—in this case rather delicious than outrageous—is the editing out of Emerson's peculiarities by his dear friends, Margaret Fuller and George Ripley, of the *Dial*.[27]

PAYMENT OF CONTRIBUTORS

Nor were contributors' feelings always soothed by the application of the salve of generous remuneration; indeed, fair payment was rare before 1842. By way of generalization, it may be said to be one of the proper functions of magazines financially to encourage the growth of a literary class in America, and thereby the growth of American literature. The genius starving in a garret may produce his work fit for immortality careless alike of reward and public, but a great and representative structure of writing that is to interpret a varied national life requires a sound economic basis. Unfortunately, the magazines did their part in providing this basis very badly up to the date just mentioned, at least; but they were themselves engaged in a struggle for very existence, and could not pay adequately from empty exchequers. Moreover, the best English writings were to be had for the trouble of taking them out of magazines unprotected by any copyright agreement. Willis, projecting his *Corsair*, said frankly:

As to the original American production, we shall, as the publishers do, take what we can get for nothing (that is good), holding,

[25] *Mirror*, VII, 167 (Nov. 28, 1829).
[26] *Holden's Dollar Magazine*, IV, 573 (September, 1849).
[27] T. W. Higginson. *Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (Boston, 1885), pp. 157-58.

as the publishers do, that while we can get Boz and Bulwer for a thank-ye or less, it is not pocket-wise to pay much for Halleck and Irving.[28]

The *North American Review* continued to pay its dollar a page throughout the period 1825-50. The *Democratic Review* varied somewhat, but its common rate seems to have been two dollars for a page much larger than the *North American's;* and it was "sadly dilatory about payment." [29] The *Whig Review* also paid two dollars for a large page, and the two leading scientific journals of the time—Silliman's *Journal of Science* and the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*—both paid for at least a part of their original papers.[30] Buckingham's *New-England Magazine* in an address "To Contributors" in June, 1835, says: "The remuneration which we have been enabled to extend is not, we are deeply conscious, commensurate with your deserts; but the terms of one dollar by the page of prose and double the sum for poetry is all that the magazine can afford." [31] And in that magazine's last number—December of the same year—Park Benjamin laments editorially that American periodical literature cannot be compared with that of England, giving as the chief reason the failure of American periodicals to pay their contributors.[32] The *Southern Literary Messenger,* which had been founded "to foster and encourage native genius," had insufficient funds to fulfill that noble aim. Its publisher offered Griswold a dollar and a half per page of small type, and two dollars for a page of still smaller, and added, "You will be obliged to suffer me to take my own time to pay you this pittance." [33] Two years later he paid Elizabeth Oakes Smith fifty dollars for her long poem, "The Sinless Child." [34] The *Knickerbocker* claimed in

28 Henry A. Beers, *Nathaniel Parker Willis* (Boston, 1885), p. 240.

29 See footnote, p. 680. Also *Literary World,* I, 221 (April 10, 1847), which says that the *Democratic* and the *Whig Review* each pay two dollars a page, which is "about equal to the *North American's* one."

30 See *American Journal of Science,* Prefaces to Vols. VI and XVI; and *American Journal of the Medical Sciences,* "advertisement" to Vol. I.

31 *New-England Magazine,* VIII, 492 (June, 1835).

32 *New-England Magazine,* IX, 479-80 (December, 1835). See also *Mirror,* XIII. 183 (Dec. 5, 1835).

33 Griswold, *op. cit.,* p. 38. Letter dated June 9, 1840.

34 *Selections from the Autobiography of Elizabeth Oakes Smith,* p. 99.

1834 to "pay five dollars a page for such contributions as we consider best." [35] To some others it undoubtedly paid nothing.

John Neal wrote in his *Wandering Recollections:*

> I had suffered so much by the eleemosynary magazines and newspapers, which promised little, and paid less, that, for a long while, I had a stereotyped answer for all new enterprises—"Instead of sending you my contributions, and leaving you to say how much they are worth, you may send me what you please, and I will say how much your money is worth."

This may have been a good protective measure, but it may be doubted whether Neal used it much.[36]

But in 1842 came better times for the magazinists. "The burst on author-land of Graham's and Godey's liberal prices was like a sunrise without a dawn," [37] said Willis later. The sun in question was really George R. Graham. He seems to have had no fixed rate, but to have paid from four to twelve dollars a page for prose, and ten to fifty dollars a poem, with much more to his most famous contributors. The *Graham* page, which became a kind of standard of measurement, was a very large one, containing about a thousand words. Thus Graham's payment for a five-thousand-word article was from twenty to sixty dollars, which, considered in proportion to the cost of living at the time, was liberal—almost a "living wage" indeed. It will be worth the effort to review Graham's payments to some of his leading contributors.

Lowell at first received ten dollars a poem from *Graham's,* in 1842; [38] but three years later he was getting thirty,[39] and the honorarium continued to grow with the poet's reputation. Longfellow's scale was an interesting one. Park Benjamin wrote to Graham in 1841: "Would you like to have an occasional poem from Professor Longfellow? I think I could get him to write

[35] *Knickerbocker,* III, 55 (January, 1834).

[36] John Neal, *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life* (Boston, 1869), p. 351.

[37] Beers, *op. cit.,* p. 260.

[38] *Letters of James Russell Lowell* (New York, 1894, C. E. Norton, ed.), I, 70. To Loring, Sept. 20, 1842.

[39] *Ibid.,* I, 84. To Briggs, Jan. 16, 1845.

for you at $20. He asks $25." [40] But it was not long until Graham was paying the professor fifty dollars a poem. Hawthorne was offered five dollars a page in 1842.[41] Cooper received from *Graham's* eighteen hundred dollars for *The Islets of the Gulf,* one of the author's poorest novels, which made about two hundred and fifty pages of the magazine, and was later published under the title of *Jack Tier.* Graham also paid Cooper a thousand dollars for a series of biographies of naval commanders aggregating about a hundred pages, later complaining that Cooper's work never brought him a new subscriber.[42] He had no right to complain, for he was paying a famous writer seven to ten dollars a thousand words for a name to print on his cover, and the advertising was cheap.

The experience of Nathaniel Parker Willis shows how the Graham example was building up the scale of payment among other magazines. Willis, who could tour Europe in comfort on five hundred dollars a year, and win fame and a wife in doing it, was by 1842 receiving three times that amount per year from four magazines for which he wrote short but sweet sketches monthly—*Graham's, Godey's,* the *Mirror,* and Snowden's *Ladies' Companion.*[43]

Edgar Allan Poe seems to have been low on the Graham schedule, receiving only four or five dollars a page for prose,[44]

[40] Griswold, *op. cit.,* p. 100. Letter dated Oct. 19, 1841.

[41] F. B. Sanborn, *Hawthorne and His Friends* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1908), p. 31. Letter of Mrs. Hawthorne, dated Jan. 9, 1843.

[42] *Graham's,* XLIII, 552 (November, 1853).

[43] Griswold, *op. cit.,* p. 127, letter of J. H. Mancur, dated Nov. 28, 1842, quoting Hamilton, editor of the *Ladies' Companion.* Willis was writing for all but the first as Mancur penned his letter, and Graham was about to engage him. The articles were about three thousand words in length, so the rate figures about eleven dollars a Graham page. Willis's biographer, quoting Charles T. Congdon's *Reminiscences* (New York, 1883), p. 127, places the figures too high. (Beers, *op. cit.,* p. 261). They make it a hundred dollars an article, which would be $4,800 a year.

[44] See letter to George Roberts, *Works,* Harrison, ed., XVII, 113, dated June 4, 1842, in which Poe computes the Graham rate at four dollars. Writing to "Annie" shortly before his death, he says, "The least price I get is $5 per 'Graham page.'" (*Ibid.,* p. 329.) See also the very definite statement on the subject in *Graham's,* XXXVI, 225 (March, 1850). Poe sold Graham "The Gold-Bug" for fifty-two dollars, his own price, which, since the story runs to thirteen thousand words, would have made about thirteen *Graham* pages at four dollars a page. The story, as it happens, was not published by *Graham's,* but withdrawn to be entered in the *Dollar Magazine's* prize competition, thereby winning a prize of a hundred dollars. We find Poe in 1842 writing George Roberts, of Boston, to whom he tried (unsuccessfully, as it proved) to sell "Marie Rôget" for fifty dollars; this would have

as compared with about eleven dollars for Willis. He had been getting three dollars a page from *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*.[45] It is possible to compute with assurance of substantial accuracy, that Poe's receipts from his contributions to magazines in the year 1843, during which he had no editorial connections, amounted to about three hundred dollars. As for his poetry, Poe was evidently accustomed to receiving up to fifty dollars by the end of his life, if one may judge by an undated letter written to Griswold asking for that ill friend's good offices in disposing of "Annabelle Lee" to Graham or Godey for "say fifty dollars."[46] Certainly he received much less for some of his poems. He is said to have received but ten dollars for "The Raven" from the *Whig Review*.[47]

The experience of one other *Graham* contributor may be mentioned. Graham wrote to Frances Sargent Osgood in 1843 offering her twenty-five dollars a story and ten dollars a poem, "one or the other monthly," in 1843;[48] while Peterson, the third Philadelphia publisher in importance, told her in 1844 that though she and Mrs. Stephens were "above all rule," two dollars a page and five dollars a poem were his rates for all the others.[49]

In demonstrating the practicability of reasonable payments for writers for periodicals, George R. Graham performed a real service to American literature. His magazine quickly attained great popularity; his liberality was profitable. Moreover, he advertised his good prices, thus helping to spread the gospel abroad. "We have spent as high as fifteen hundred dollars on a single number for authorship alone," he declared in 1853. This

been at the rate of less than two dollars and a half per *Graham* page. Poe was surely right in insisting it was worth double that (*Ibid.*, XVII, 113). Lowell offered Poe ten dollars an article, which may be considered as about three dollars a page, for the *Pioneer* in 1842, and hoped soon to be able to pay more (*Ibid.*, XVII, 121). The *Flag of Our Union*, a Boston story weekly, which Poe complains was "not very respectable," but which was really not so bad, bought a number of articles and stories, paying "five dollars a *Graham* page," and five dollars a sonnet (*Ibid.*, XVII, 331). The monthly *Examiner*, of Pittsburgh, offered four dollars a page (*Ibid.*, XVII, 79).

[45] Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

[46] *Works*, Harrison, ed., VII, 347.

[47] Mary E. Phillips, *Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1926), I, 771.

[48] Griswold, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

"is more than twice the sum that has ever been paid by any other magazine in America; while for years our minimum rate of cost, in relationship to the item of authorship alone, was eight hundred dollars per number." [50] As he published about sixty pages a month, the average (for publicity purposes) appears as thirteen dollars a page. The actual figure was probably about half that. In another editorial statement about the same time, we read: *"Graham's* for the last ten years has paid *over* eighty thousand dollars *to American writers alone."* [51] But Graham's boast that he "introduced a new era into magazine history" [52] is scarcely to be gainsaid.

Other Philadelphia magazines were, as has been noted, strongly affected by Graham's policy. *Godey's* came to pay well for the writers it wanted; and in the confidential editorial notes which Papa Godey was fond of inserting now and again, he boasts repeatedly of the large amounts paid American writers. Thus he speaks, in the third person, in 1850: "Since the time when he called to his aid, by the offer of a liberal compensation, the best American writers and artists, he has paid them not less than two hundred thousand dollars." [53] This is too indefinite to help us much. But that Godey was regarded with Graham as a generous employer is plain enough. When Willis quit general contributions to confine himself to the *Mirror,* he wrote the following characteristic lines in his "Adieu to the Magazines":

Adieu to the third sign of the zodiac! Adieu, O Gemini! Adieu, *Godey* and *Graham!* Most liberal of paymasters—most gentle of taskmasters—Pashaws of innumerable tales, adieu! adieu! adieu! We have learned to love you in our captivity . . . Pleasant has been our correspondence! Pleasant the occasional meetings in your city of Phil-gemini—Philadelphia—Phil-Graham-and-Godey (synonyms not down in Crabbe).[54]

[50] *Graham's,* XLIII, 554 (November, 1853). Twelve years before, Graham had mentioned four or five hundred dollars per number as the high figure for contributions.

[51] *Ibid.,* XLI, 556 (November, 1852). A few months later the figure was given as $87,000 (XLII, 222. February, 1853).

[52] *Ibid.,* XIX, 308 (December, 1841).

[53] *Godey's,* XL, 88 (February, 1850).

[54] *New Mirror,* II, 192 (Dec. 23, 1843). Quoted in *Godey's,* XXXI, 228 (November, 1845).

It is to be noted, however, that *Godey's* stood out clearly against any payments at all to unknowns. In the thirties it spoke sharply and more than once to new writers who expected payment. "The mere insertion of their articles in the *Lady's Book* is quite a compensation in itself." Nor was this position abandoned. "We are getting rather tired," Godey wrote in 1868,

> of reading manuscripts sent to us for pay that are not worthy of a place in the smallest and most remote country paper in the confines of civilization. The most insulting, we cannot help using the word, are those who ask to be paid for their first efforts, while all the money they could raise would not induce us to publish their stories.[55]

W. G. Simms wrote in his own magazine in 1845 that "Of all the American magazines there is not one which pays all its contributors." [56]

Sartain's, another Philadelphian, spent sixteen thousand in its last three years for original literary contributions, and failed.[57] This was about two-thirds the Graham rate of expenditure for that purpose.

The *Boston Miscellany* was one magazine outside of Philadelphia which paid contributors well, or attempted to. This was the magazine edited by Nathan Hale, Jr., with the assistance of his brother, Edward Everett Hale. Lowell expected fifteen dollars a poem from it,[58] and it offered Mrs. Stowe twenty dollars apiece for three-page articles ten years before the days of Uncle Tom. "Is he to be depended upon?" wrote Mrs. Stowe to her husband. "If so, it is the best offer I have received yet." [59]

The *Knickerbocker Magazine's* rates were less uniform, varying from nothing at all to Irving's two thousand a year for papers later included in *Wolfert's Roost,* in 1839 to 1841, and Long-

[55] *Godey's* LXXVII, 547 (December, 1868).

[56] *Southern and Western Magazine,* II, 356 (November, 1845).

[57] *Graham's,* XLIII, 222 (February, 1853). See also John Sartain, *Recollections of a Very Old Man* (New York, 1899), pp. 220-21.

[58] *Letters of James Russell Lowell,* I, 70. He also anticipated fifteen dollars an article from the *Democratic Review.* Graham's rate to him at that time was four or five dollars a page, or about half a cent a word. (*Ibid.,* I, 66). This was just after the publication of his first volume of poems. He later got ten dollars a month as regular editorial contributor to the *Pennsylvania Freeman.* We have seen how his scale mounted at the Graham market.

[59] Annie Fields, *Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Boston, 1897), p. 104.

fellow's fifty dollars a poem. Calculating upon the basis of Irving's contract with the *Knickerbocker,* one might consider him the best-paid magazinist of his times if it were not for the revelation of his biographer that he found it very difficult to collect his salary.[60] The *Knickerbocker* was much inclined to discount the Graham and Godey statements in regard to their payments to authors, and made this boast of its own in 1842:

> There is no magazine in America that has paid so large sums to distinguished native writers as the *Knickerbocker*. . . . Annual sums have heretofore been paid for literary material greater than the most liberal estimate we have seen of any annual literary payment by our widely-circulated contemporaries. To the first poet in America [doubtless Longfellow] we have repeatedly paid fifty dollars for a single poem not exceeding, in any instance, two pages in length; and the cost of prose papers from sources of kindred eminence has in many instances exceeded fifteen dollars a page. . . . We should add, however, that we have had no lack at any period of excellent articles for our work at moderate prices; while many of our more popular papers have been entirely gratuitous, unless indeed the writers consider the honorable reputation which they have established in these pages as some reward.[61]

We may add the statement of Richard Henry Stoddard, who evidently belonged to the magazine's great unpaid: "There was no money in the *Knickerbocker*—certainly none for its contributors."[62] In spite of its protestations to the contrary, we must conclude that the *Knickerbocker* paid less liberally than *Graham's* and *Godey's.*

It should not, indeed, be understood that adequate payment to contributors was the rule after 1842. It was not. Charles Astor Bristed, himself an American magazinist, in a severe but acute discussion of American periodicals in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1848, stated the truth when he said: "In examining the causes of the inferiority of American periodical literature the most readily assignable and generally applicable is that its con-

[60] P. I. Irving, *Life of Irving* (New York, 1863), III, 148.
[61] *Knickerbocker,* XXIII, 198 (February, 1844).
[62] Stoddard, *Recollections* (New York, 1903), p. 49.

tributors are mostly unpaid." [63] In the same year Richard Henry Dana, Sr., wrote to an admirer:

> You may think it strange I have published so little. Had I been tolerably successful in a pecuniary way, I should have been a voluminous writer by this time. But having a family to support, and finding that I was writing myself into debt so discouraged me that I had no heart for the work.[64]

SALARIES OF EDITORS

Data with regard to editorial salaries are not very plentiful. Poe began as assistant editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger* at ten dollars a week; when he became editor-in-chief he was paid extra for contributions at first, and then raised to fifteen dollars a week; finally he states that he is promised twenty a week after November, 1836.[65] In 1839, W. E. Burton offered him ten dollars a week as an editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, promising him that the work would not occupy him more than two hours a day—a sum increased by fifty per cent when he entered Graham's employ, with extra pay for stories and poems.[66] Griswold became an editor of *Graham's* in 1842 at a thousand dollars a year. Bayard Taylor was offered the editorship of *Graham's* in 1848 at the same salary.[67] In 1848 Simms became editor of the *Southern Quarterly* at the same figure, and his biographer says this salary "may have been" increased the next year to fifteen hundred.[68] Most reviews, however, both secular and religious, paid little or nothing to their editors. Silliman, for example, wrote in 1847 that his *Journal* "has been far from paying a reasonable compensation; often it has paid nothing, and at present it does little more than pay its bills." [69]

[63] *Edinburgh Review*, LXIII, 106 (January, 1848). Also in Bristed, *Pieces of a Broken-Down Critic* (Baden-Baden, 1858), III, 19.

[64] J. G. Wilson, *Bryant and His Friends* (New York, 1886), p. 188.

[65] Poe's *Works*, Harrison, ed., XVII, pp. 17, 25, 27, 31, 36. Poe's predecessor, James E. Heath, had indulged "no hope or expectation of reward." *Messenger*, I, 461 (May, 1835).

[66] *Works*, XVII, 46. Letter from Burton dated May 10, 1839. Hervey Allen, *Israfel* (New York, 1927), p. 484, footnote.

[67] A. H. Smyth, *Life of Bayard Taylor* (American Men of Letters series. Boston, 1896), p. 68.

[68] W. P. Trent, *Life of W. G. Simms* (Boston, 1892), pp. 163, 212.

[69] *American Journal of Science*, L, xiv. Preface to 1847 volume.

All these payments are to be regarded in the light of living costs of the period. When the leading educational periodical of the times could celebrate a salary of thirteen dollars a month and board as the highest ever paid "a female teacher" in Connecticut, and add that eight dollars was the common salary for males and half of that for females,[70] then the *North American Review's* dollar a page seems larger. The Governor of Connecticut received less in salary than Nathaniel Parker Willis did in receipts from three of his magazines in 1842.[71] Poe's magazine receipts for 1843, which have been estimated above at three hundred dollars, would have come near to providing the yearly expenses of two undergraduates at Yale.[72] The salary of a college professor was about twice the amount of this income.[73]

CIRCULATION PROBLEMS

The variation in subscription rates was greater than in previous periods. The rise of class journals of various size and frequency, the craze for cheap literature with its companion cult of "useful knowledge," the persistence of the founders of local literary weeklies, and the growth of the club system were among the factors which combined against the standardizing of a magazine subscription price. From Silliman's *Journal of Science* and the weekly eclectics like *Littell's* and the *Albion,* which sold for six dollars a year, to the *Ladies' Wreath,* "king of the dollar magazines," which sent a club of twenty copies to one address for thirteen dollars, they ran the gamut. *Knickerbocker,* the *Southern Literary Messenger,* and the *Democratic* were each five dollars a year; and that was the usual price of the reviews, though the *Dial,* the *Boston Quarterly,* and some others sold for three. Three dollars a year came the nearest to being a standard rate: that was the subscription price of the leading women's magazines, of the *New World* and *Brother*

[70] *American Annals of Education,* VIII, 285 (June, 1838).

[71] The salary in question was $1,100. See Theodore Dwight, *History of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1841).

[72] The *Catalogue* of Yale College for 1843 estimates annual expenses at $140 to $210. "To a majority of students the cost of board is less than two dollars a week, each."

[73] Francis I. Moats, *Educational Policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church Prior to 1860* (University of Iowa dissertation, 1926), p. 142.

Jonathan, of *Graham's* and many others. The number of dollar magazines is surprisingly large, however. The *Mirror,* commenting on the high rate of mortality among magazines, says: "And no wonder, when everyone is for issuing a paper at a price which puts remuneration entirely out of the question."[74]

Nor were circulations large. They ranged from a few hundred on the books of many of the religious quarterlies, as well as on those of the *Dial,* up to Godey's forty thousand in 1849—"an edition unprecedented in this or any other country."[75] The census figures of 1850 would indicate an average list of 7,400 for the monthlies: that is probably too high.[76] The *North American* had about three thousand in 1826,[77] and it is doubtful if this circulation increased much by 1850. Silliman's *Journal of Science* "never reached one thousand paying subscriptions."[78] The absence of statements about circulations is an indication that there was not much to boast of.

And how wearisomely reiterated are the dunning notices to delinquent subscribers! Some publishers try to break the monotony of such pleas by variety and wit in their expression. Godey writes: "We are frequently asked for our autograph. There is one certain way of procuring it: Remit us three dollars, and we will send it, affixed to a receipt, in our most flourishing style."[79] The Reverend Timothy Flint writes an address "To Our Delinquent Subscribers" in the penultimate number of his *Western Monthly Review:*

> Beloved, I so call you, because it is my vocation, and a habit. But there would be more sincerity in the phrase, if you had all paid me. . . . As for the patronage of which you talk, whip me those patrons, who do not pay. I would none of them. You owe me among you $3000. I hope, that your opulence is such, that it seems a trifling matter to you. The withholding your individual subscriptions may be a trifle and a sport to you; but the deficit of the sum total is death to me.[80]

[74] *Mirror,* VI, 151 (Nov. 15, 1828).
[75] *Godey's,* XXXVIII, 439 (June, 1849).
[76] *Compendium of the Seventh Census,* pp. 155-56.
[77] *North American Review,* C, 800 (May, 1915).
[78] *American Journal of Science,* L, p. xiv. Preface to 1847 volume.
[79] *Godey's,* XLIV, 232 (March, 1852).
[80] *Western Monthly Review,* III, 559 (April, 1830).

Flint was in the habit of omitting one month after the end of each volume in order to allow him time to collect his subscription accounts. He makes special offers to stimulate collections, and duns are frequent in his review. The *Southern Literary Messenger* thought to prevent losses of accounts by refusing to discontinue subscriptions upon which there was anything owing,[81] a policy common among newspapers. Later the *Messenger* went to the other extreme and declared, "We shall erase every subscriber's name from our books who owes us fifteen dollars or over," and it threatens to publish the names of delinquents. At this time it had four thousand dollars in subscription accounts on its books. But that Editor White could not bring himself to cut off the names of delinquents as he had promised is shown by a notice five years later which declares that some subscribers are still in arrears "ever since the magazine began." [82] Clark of the *Knickerbocker* also threatened to publish the names of his delinquents; [83] such threats, common as they were, were usually insincere, though the *Ladies' Companion* actually made good in 1842, publishing both names and amounts. Others stimulated subscription payments by publishing the names of those who paid, with the amounts. Judge Hall, in his *Western Monthly,* complains that his collection costs are greater than the expenses of printing his magazine.[84] Horace Greeley lamented that the harder he worked and the larger the list of subscribers to his *New-Yorker* became, the more money he lost.[85] And many a magazine in its swan-song laid the responsibility for its death upon its own well-wishing but non-paying subscribers.[86]

Another handicap weight imposed upon the circulation departments of many magazines was the exchange list. *Godey's,* for example, carried fifteen hundred country newspapers on its exchange list [87] for the sake of the reading notices which the editors were expected to give it. In the case of *Godey's* this advertising

81 *Southern Literary Messenger,* December, 1838, cover.
82 *Ibid.,* IX, 1 (January, 1843).
83 *Knickerbocker,* XVII, 358 (April, 1841).
84 *Western Monthly Magazine,* V, 92 (February, 1835).
85 Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1873), p. 95.
86 See, for example, *Christian Journal and Literary Gazette,* XIV, 380 (December, 1830; and *Journal of Health,* IV, 374 (August, 1833).
87 *Godey's,* XL, 224 (March, 1850).

was probably obtained cheaply enough, but the method was too loose and unbusinesslike.

The club system was widely used throughout most of our period, chiefly in allowing reductions for a number of copies sent to one address. The three-dollar magazines were thus sold for two dollars or a little less, according to the number in the club, and the dollar magazines for seventy-five cents. There was also some clubbing among different magazines. The premium system was used to some extent also—Godey used it in 1849, for example—but its greater development was to come in the next period.

This is perhaps the place to note the "tall talk" in which writers of the prospectuses for the magazines commonly indulged. For example, Snowden's *Ladies' Companion* was declared to be "filled with articles from the pens of the most popular, renowned and talented writers of which our own country or England can boast"; [88] and *Graham's* asserts, "The splendor of our embellishments have never been equalled. . . . We present a choicer list of contributors than any other magazine in the country." [89] Others were quite as boastful, and many were further from the truth. *Godey's* claimed in 1849 that "in no instance save our own has the publisher of any other [sic] magazine kept his word with the public"; [90] and the *Literary World* observed about the same time that in the average magazine "the table of contents agrees as well with the prospectus as the stories told after dinner do with the grace before." [91]

ADVERTISING

Advertising had as yet attained no prominence in the magazine field. It was frequently found, however, on the covers of the three-dollar magazines; and advertising sections of from four to eight pages, sometimes printed on colored stock, were not uncommon in both general and class periodicals. Reading notices were also printed, sometimes in a "Publisher's Department."

[88] *Ladies' Companion*, July, 1842, cover.
[89] *Graham's*, XIX, 308 (December, 1841).
[90] *Godey's*, XXXVIII, 439 (July, 1849).
[91] *Literary World*, I, 5 (Feb. 6, 1847).

A FURNITURE ADVERTISEMENT IN "GODEY'S"

This full-page woodcut advertising Henkels' furniture appeared in *Godey's Lady's Book* for December, 1849.

Books, schools, patent medicines, and other periodicals were the items advertised chiefly. Some magazines printed local advertising, even to professional "cards." Rates were very low.[92]

MAGAZINE POSTAGE

Another problem with which the business office of the magazine had to grapple was that of postage. In 1825 Congress fixed magazine postage at one and a half cents a sheet for any distance not exceeding one hundred miles, and two and a half cents for greater distances.[93] Thus the five-dollar magazines, ranging from ninety-six to a hundred and twelve octavo pages, paid nine to seventeen and a half cents postage for each number, according to size and distance—or rather, their subscribers did. The standard women's magazines cost four and a half to seven and a half cents postage for each number.

At the same time the newspaper rate was only one cent each issue, whatever the size, for a hundred miles or less, and a cent and a half for more than that distance; after 1845 newspapers sent less than thirty miles were post free. Magazines sometimes, therefore, made special efforts to get under the newspaper classification and called themselves newspapers when news was a very minor matter with them. Thus the *New World* and *Brother Jonathan* always refer to themselves as newspapers. Even the *Ladies' Garland,* "devoted to literature, amusement and instruction," and published in pamphlet form, called itself at one time "a semi-monthly newspaper." The *New Mirror* complained in 1844 that when it had been a quarto it had been charged the newspaper rate of one cent, while now as an octavo it called for a magazine rate of fourteen cents;[94] at the end of that year it became a daily paper with a *Weekly Mirror* in connection. Similarly, the *New England Family Magazine,* announcing a change to newspaper form, rebukes Congress for its decision

to continue carrying newspapers by mail, under thirty miles, free, but when *folded* in a *particular form,* with a cover, to charge four

[92] The *Ladies' Companion* quotes ten cents a line on its cover in 1838. The *American Journal of the Medical Sciences,* with a good circulation for its type, charged six dollars a page in the thirties.

[93] *United States Statutes at Large,* 18th Congress, Session II, Chap. 64, Sec. 30.

[94] *New Mirror,* III, 128 (May 24, 1844).

and a half cents for the same. Of course, we must submit, although we consider it, and always have considered it, a very silly distinction. . . . Three-fourths of our circulation is within thirty miles of Boston.[95]

The *Western Monthly Review,* indignant though it was over the postal situation, could still see the humor of it, and once made a gesture toward being recognized as a newspaper by the post-office department: to that end it included the following "Summary of News":

It is announced from Vienna to a certainty that the Emperor of Austria was indisposed, and took physic. Young Napoleon was compelled to have a tooth extracted. . . . Naturalists have remarked in our climate that there are more love elopements in June than in November. . . . Everyone says this is a very unusual Spring. . . .[96]

That private transportation of magazines was still used is shown by the offer of the publisher of the *Review* to send it by private conveyance if one is designated and guaranteed by the subscriber. The *New York Review,* in its statement of its "Terms" in 1839, says: "Subscribers ordering the work are requested to state particularly whether they wish their numbers to be sent by mail, or otherwise." [97]

The addition of one cent per sheet when the magazine was sent further than a hundred miles was felt by the western magazines to be "a serious impediment to circulation." "This double postage," exclaimed the *Western Monthly Review,* "is the cruelty of Herod, strangling other 'children in the woods' as harmless as ours." [98] In consequence of such protests Congress in 1845 abolished the distance provision entirely, fixing the rate at two and a half cents for the first ounce of weight, and one cent for each additional ounce.[99] As the monthlies weighed only four or five ounces, this operated as a reduction except for the short hauls of the smaller magazines.

[95] *New England Family Magazine,* unpaged postscript to Vol. IV (1846).
[96] *Western Monthly Review,* I, 68-70 (June, 1828).
[97] *New York Review,* July, 1839, cover.
[98] *Ibid.,* I, 504 (December, 1828).
[99] *United States Statutes at Large,* 28th Congress, Session II, Chap. 43, Sec. 3.

The handicaps in regard to distribution under which the periodicals of the time labored are illustrated by the fact that in 1827 the publishers of the *Methodist Magazine* decided to increase the size of the first ten numbers for the year and omit the last two, so that the volume could be bound up in October and dispatched to subscribers before the close of navigation, for subscribers at a distance were wont to receive their copies bound at the end of the year instead of separately, and many of them lived in the "West and North."[100] The plan was not satisfactory to all, however, and it was not again employed. Indeed, transportation was improved so much within our period that such shifts became unnecessary.

ILLUSTRATION

One more phase of the magazine development of the Period of Expansion demands our attention—that of illustration. These were the years in which engraving on copper and steel was the great medium of "embellishment," to use the term most frequently found in the illustrated magazines. The *Mirror* complained in 1835 that "For the last six weeks we have been endeavoring to find an engraver competent to execute a plate for this publication, and have been unsuccessful, as they all have their hands full for months to come."[101] These plates were very expensive; the *Mirror* in 1834 published the statement that its large plates cost it a thousand dollars apiece.[102] Certainly plates sometimes cost no more than a third of that, as will be seen, but they were expensive. A publisher sometimes paid more for one new plate than for all his literary contents. And yet by the end of our period the leading Philadelphia magazines were each offering two steel or copper plates beside the regular colored fashion plate in each number. Fashion plates were illuminated by watercolors applied by hand, after the fashion of such British magazines as the *Lady's Cabinet*, the *World of Fashion*, and *La Belle Assemblée*. The pictures of flowers which some women's periodicals published in lieu of fashions were also often hand-

[100] *Methodist Magazine*, Preface to Vol. X.
[101] *Mirror*, XIII, 175 (Nov. 28, 1835).
[102] *Ibid.*, XI, 215 (Jan. 4, 1834).

colored. Naturally enough, there was no little exchanging of plates among publications, and few of the magazines kept themselves free of the second-hand plate vice. If it be questioned whether the large outlays for illustration were profitable, the answer may be found in the fact that all the really prosperous magazines printed many plates. The *Knickerbocker* did very well for several years, and it carried almost no illustrations; but the only circulations of those times which reached considerable proportions were those of the Philadelphia picture periodicals, and the "mammoth" weeklies with woodcuts. That the plates were highly valued by subscribers is shown by a statement appearing in *Godey's* that one man had "cut out the fashions lately and sold them for as much as the whole number cost him, and then had his females improved to the amount of a whole year's subscription by the interesting contents." [103]

Considering the expense, it is remarkable how many magazines used plates. The *New York Mirror's* pictures dealing with life in that city are interesting: they were drawn by Robert W. Weir and others. Atkinson's *Casket* used plates regularly, most of them bought from English periodicals. Burton's *Gentleman's Magazine* is particularly notable for its line and stipple portraits of actors and actresses in costume. With its July, 1839, number it gave its readers Buss's imaginary sketch of a performance of *Love's Labor's Lost* before Queen Elizabeth, engraved on steel. Many of the more serious journals published portraits. The *American Quarterly Register,* of Andover, began in 1836 to offer a steel portrait with each number; they were at first engraved chiefly by T. Moore of Boston, after which J. B. Longacre and O. Pelton did most of them. The *Democratic Review* began with some etched portraits by Charles Fenderich, but later came back to the more conventional line engravings by Pease, Langley, Dodson and others; it made some excursions from time to time into lithography and mezzotint. The *Whig Review* published many portraits engraved by Thomas Doney and P. M. Whelpley. John Sartain, the leading mezzotint engraver of America, contributed a portrait to each number of the *Eclectic* from its beginning in 1844 for nearly forty years; there was much roulet-

[103] *Godey's,* XX, 96 (February, 1840).

ting of outlines and backgrounds in these plates, which were chiefly mezzotints. Outstanding among scientific journals for its use of plates was Silliman's *American Journal of Science,* whose colored engravings were beautifully executed.

But the chief users of copper and steel engravings were *Godey's Lady's Book, Graham's Magazine,* Sartain's *Union Magazine,* and Snowden's *Ladies' Companion. Godey's* published plates from its beginning in 1830. It was claimed at the end of the first eighteen months that "the publishers have expended for Embellishments alone, upwards of seven thousand dollars." [104] These "Embellishments" (with a capital) consisted, besides the woodcuts, of six colored engravings, and twelve plates left uncolored. The coloring was done by hand on the pictures of fashions; the other engravings were of sentimental subjects—mother-and-child, dog-and-child, child-and-toy combinations—and natural scenery, with occasional portraits. The fashion plates had their use and were very attractive; the other plates were very uneven in their value. In general it may be said that they were inclined to be jejune and flat; but they were well printed, and occasionally one has individuality and charm. William Croome, P. F. Rothermel, J. I. Pease, Jacob A. Dallas, G. B. Ellis, and J. B. Neagle were among the engravers. W. E. Tucker furnished many plates of the typical *Godey* kind, and Sartain did many mezzotints and steel engravings. Archibald L. Dick was chief engraver in 1841. Fashions in mezzotint were used experimentally in 1847.

Sartain also did plates for *Graham's Magazine,* which declared editorially that it often spent two thousand dollars on the illustration of one number—two hundred for the engraving of a single plate and five hundred for its paper and printing. Thomas B. Welch was a leading *Graham* engraver in the fifties. The indefatigable Sartain also scraped many plates for his own *Union Magazine of Literature and Art* (1847-52) "embellished with the finest steel, mezzotint and wood engravings, music, and colored fashions." After the *Union* came to Philadelphia there were no more colored fashions, but we have some colored lithographs of flowers. The *Ladies' Companion,* with characteristic braggadocio,

[104] *Ibid.,* advertisement on verso of last page of Vol. III (1831).

claimed that "in regard to its gorgeous engravings, the work is distinguished above every literary periodical, whether in England or America."[105] Dick, Gimbrede, and others among the leading engravers, executed its numerous plates. One further magazine must be mentioned with particularity for its long-continued practice of publishing a good steel plate with each issue—the *Ladies' Repository,* of Cincinnati, issued by the Methodist Book Concern. Stephen A. Schoff did some beautiful work for this periodical, and R. Hinshelwood, W. Wellstood and S. V. Hunt contributed reproductions of famous American paintings. Most of the magazines designed for women published plates—*Peterson's, Arthur's,* the *Lady's Friend,* the *Ladies' Wreath,* etc. In each number of the last named there was an engraving, often inane in subject and treatment, by Prud'homme or someone of his ilk, and a colored flower plate.

In the meantime engraving on wood made marked progress. Somewhat of the beginnings of this art, as shown in the magazines, was related in the preceding chapter. The *Mirror* continued to print good woodcuts through the thirties. It was in 1837 that Joseph A. Adams, called by one expert commentator "the ablest and best of American wood engravers,"[106] printed his "The Last Arrow," certainly one of his best works, in the *Mirror.*[107] Woodcuts were often used to illustrate the juvenile periodicals. Dr. Alexander Anderson, the father of American wood engraving, contributed many blocks to *Parley's Magazine* in the thirties, and there were cuts by J. D. Felter, William Baker, N. Orr and others in *Merry's Museum,* whose printers did badly by the engravers at first. The *Family Magazine,* begun in 1833, published a number of woodcuts. Some were by W. D. Redfield, a brother of the publisher, and others by Anderson, Minot, J. H. Hall, J. G. Gordon, and Benson J. Lossing. The last was editor of the work in 1839. In 1834 Abel Bowen, John C. Crossman, and Alonzo Hartwell organized the American

[105] *Ladies' Companion,* July, 1842, second page cover.

[106] W. J. Linton, *History of Wood Engraving in America* (Boston, 1882), page v.

[107] *Mirror,* XV, frontispiece. With number for July 1, 1837. A print from this block was also issued with the August, 1838, number of the *Family Magazine.* It is reproduced in half-tone in Weitenkampf's *American Graphic Arts* (New York, rev. ed., 1924), facing p. 119. See p. 322, *supra.*

Engraving and Printing Company, later the Boston Bewick Company, which became the publisher of the *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge.* In its first volumes this periodical published five hundred woodcuts, most of them pretty bad. The Bewick Company was ruined by fire losses in 1836, and the magazine was suspended the next year. These informational magazines were disciples of the London *Penny Magazine,* which was reprinted in Boston with cuts reëngraved by B. F. and J. J. Greenough.

Many of the magazines, like *Godey's,* which depended chiefly upon engravings on metal, used woodcuts in a supplementary way. The *Lady's Book* published seventy-two woodcuts in its first three volumes. These pictures were usually utilitarian rather than artistic, and very crude into the bargain. The portrait of "the distinguished authoress Miss L. E. L. at Home—in Her Boudoir," published in the number for December, 1832, is evidently designed mainly to display fashions and seems very funny to modern eyes, as does that of Mary Russell Mitford in June, 1833. A similar oddity is the cut in the *Knickerbocker* for April, 1834, which displays Miss Eliza Leslie in an amazing bonnet and gown. (See illustration opposite page 546.) Tint blocks were sometimes employed. *Sartain's, Arthur's,* and *Peterson's* may be mentioned as using some woodcuts at this time. By 1835, the *Knickerbocker Magazine* remarked that "The beautiful art of engraving on wood is now brought, in our country, and particularly in the city of New-York, to a degree of perfection, of which a few years ago, it would have been thought incapable." [108]

In the forties there were more of the informational magazines, such as *Sears' Pictorial,* whose chief engraver was Lossing; and the *New England Family Magazine,* which furnished some badly printed woodcuts in 1846. To the forties also belong the "mammoth" weeklies—the *New World, Brother Jonathan,* the Boston *Notion,* and so on. These were commonly advertised as "embellished with elegant engravings on wood," but the work was usually coarse and the printing poor. The craze for reprinting whole novels in double-quick time caused a neglect of illustra-

[108] *Knickerbocker,* V, 172 (February, 1835).

tion, moreover: the *New World* averaged only one picture per issue in 1842.

The later special issues of the "mammoth" weeklies—such as the "Pictorial Jubilee Numbers" of the *Brother Jonathan* "issued every Fourth of July and Christmas," consisted chiefly of woodcuts. Some of these engravings were very large. A picture of the Battle of Chapultepec in the Fourth of July number of *Brother Jonathan* for 1848 measures twenty and one-half by forty-one inches—about six square feet. It was drawn by T. H. Matteson, engraved by Britt and Major, and printed by John Thomas. The paper describes this as

> the largest fine wood engraving ever printed in the world. Larger ones, for showbills, have been cut on mahogany, but never on box—the finest, most compact, and most valuable of all our imported woods. . . . Several hundred blocks, cut across the grain, and measuring from one to six inches, were nicely cemented together to form the eight pieces on which the picture was first engraved to be afterward stereotyped and then soldered in a single plate.

Larger cuts were printed later. The same paper also has life-size woodcuts of Benton, Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, as well as a facsimile of the Declaration of Independence occupying one large page. W. J. Linton, Lossing and Barritt, and W. W. Britt were among the engravers.

Periodicals of a mechanical trend, such as the *American Agriculturist* and other farm papers, and the *Scientific American,* employed woodcuts effectively. But the greater development of wood engraving in American magazines was to come later.

CONCLUSION

The Period of Expansion was a time of beginnings rather than of climacteric achievement. It was remarkable for the greatly increased number of attempts to publish periodicals of many kinds, and for the development, especially, of two classes—women's magazines and cheap literary weeklies. It was interesting, too, for the "great debate" over slavery, and the somewhat less serious comment upon the many "isms" of the times. It was distinguished by the rise of the magazinist, and by the

establishment in some quarters of higher rates of payment to contributors. "Golden" it was not, so far as financial rewards to the average publisher or editor were concerned; but the variety, exuberance, and abundance of the magazines and papers give a certain appropriateness to the use of that word in the *Illinois Monthly's* characterization of this magazine period.

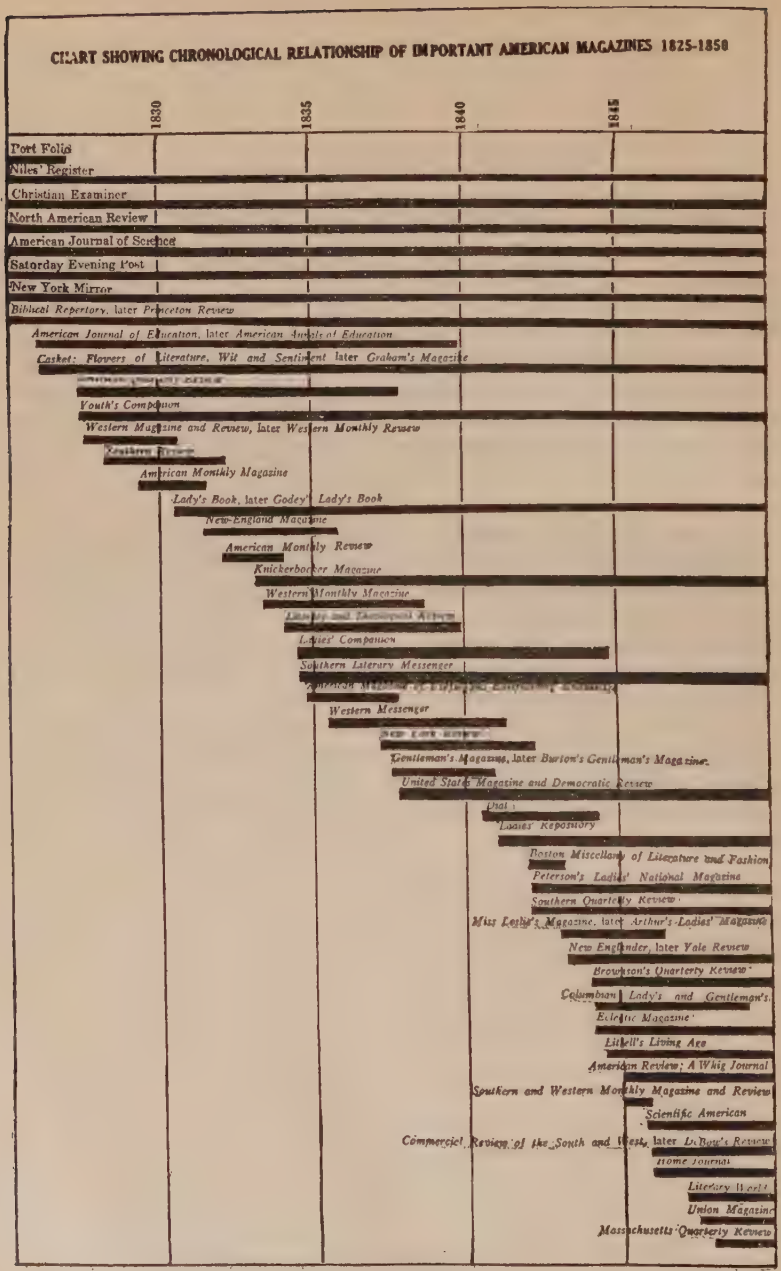
SUPPLEMENT TO PART III

SKETCHES OF CERTAIN IMPORTANT MAGAZINES, 1825-50

The basis of selection and the method of treating the magazines for which special sketches are provided is explained in an introductory note to the Supplement to Part I, page 69.

Several magazines of importance which were founded in the years 1825-50 were of so much greater moment in the years following 1850 than before, that consideration of them in separate sketches has been postponed to the second volume of this history. These are:

American Rail Road Journal (1832-current)
Banker's Magazine (1846-current)
Church Review (1848-91)
Country Gentleman (1831-current)
DeBow's Review (1846-80)
Evangelical Review (1849-70)
Home Journal (1846-1901)
Independent (1848-1928)
Ladies' Repository (1841-76)
Massachusetts Teacher (1848-74)
New Englander (1843-current)
New England Historical and Genealogical Register (1847-current)
Peterson's Magazine (1842-98)
Scientific American (1845-current)
Theological and Literary Journal (1848-61)
Universalist Quarterly (1844-91)
Western Journal and Civilian (1848-56)
Youth's Companion (1827-1929)



The magazines whose names appear in roman type began in the preceding period; those in italics began in the period charted. See pages 796-809 for chronological list of magazines shown in this chart. In that list dates and places of publication are given.

41

THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY[1] *AND THE PRINCETON REVIEW*[2]

THE *Biblical Repertory* was the strong fortress of Old School Presbyterianism; in some fifty volumes it developed what came to be known as "the Princeton theology." This having been accomplished, and the times having changed, it then con-

[1] TITLES: (1) *Biblical Repertory. A Collection of Tracts in Biblical Literature,* 1825-28; (2) *Biblical Repertory. A Journal of Biblical Literature and Theological Science,* 1829; (3) *The Biblical Repertory and Theological Review,* 1830-36; (4) *The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review,* 1837-71; (5) *The Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review,* 1872-77; (6) *The Princeton Review,* 1878-84; (7) *The New Princeton Review,* 1886-88.

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1825. LAST ISSUE: November-December, 1888.

PERIODICITY: Quarterly, with annual volumes, 1825-77 (I-[LIII]); bimonthly, with annual volumes, 1878-84 [LIV-LX]; bimonthly, with semiannual volumes, 1886-88 [LXI-LXVI]. [First Series] I-IV, 1825-28; New [Second] Series [V-XLVII] I-XLIII, 1829-71; New [Third] Series [XLVIII-LIII] I-VI, 1872-77; [Fourth Series] [LIV-LX] 54th year – 60th year, 1878-84; (there were no volume numbers in the Fourth Series, but the volumes were designated by year number, which corresponds with the "whole number" for the file); [Fifth Series: *New Princeton Review*] [LXI-LXVI] I-VI, 1886-88; (no issues were published in 1885).

PUBLISHERS: Princeton: Princeton Press, 1825; New York: G. & C. Carvill, 1826-28; Princeton: Association of Gentlemen, 1829; Philadelphia: Kay & Co., 1830; Russell & Martien, 1831-34; Henry Perkins, 1835-36; Jas. A. Peabody, 1837-39; M. B. Hope, 1840-47; Wm. H. Mitchell, 1848-52; Princeton: *Biblical Repertory,* 1853-56; Philadelphia: Peter Walker, 1857-68; New York: Chas. Scribner, 1869-71; J. M. Sherwood, 1872-77; *Princeton Review,* 1878-84; A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1886-88.

EDITORS: Charles Hodge, 1825-68; Charles Hodge and Lyman H. Atwater, 1869-71; Lyman H. Atwater and Henry B. Smith, 1872-76; Lyman H. Atwater and J. M. Sherwood, 1877; John M. Libbey, 1878-84; William M. Sloane, 1886-88.

INDEXED in *Poole* and *Jones' Legal Index. Index, 1825-68* (Philadelphia, 1871), not part of file.

REFERENCES: "Retrospect of the History of the Princeton Review" in Index volume of 1871; A. A. Hodge, *The Life of Chas. Hodge* (New York, 1880), pp. 247-71; Wm. M. Paxton and others, *Discourses Commemorative of the Life and Work of Chas. Hodge; Proceedings Connected with the Semi-Centennial Commemoration of the Professorship of the Rev. Chas. Hodge* (New York, 1872).

[2] TITLE: *The New Princeton Review.*

FIRST ISSUE: January-February, 1885. LAST ISSUE: November-December, 1888.

PERIODICITY: Bimonthly, semiannual volumes, I-VI.

PUBLISHER: A. C. Armstrong and Son, New York.

EDITOR: William M. Sloan.

INDEXED in *Poole* and *Jones.*

tinued under other names (but chiefly under that of the *Princeton Review*) to maintain a high place for some fifteen years more as a less theological and more general review.

It was founded at Princeton in 1825. Its prospectus set forth the aim of furnishing information on all phases of biblical study —antiquities, hermeneutics, criticism, exegesis, etc. "This work," said that document, "is not intended to be original in its general character, but to consist of selections from the writings of the most distinguished scholars." The prospectus was signed by prominent Presbyterians of both New and Old Schools; and Charles Hodge, recently appointed professor of Oriental and Biblical Literature in the Seminary, was made editor. Hodge was in Europe for the next few years, but the "Association of Gentlemen in Princeton and Its Vicinity," though it did not figure on the title-page until 1829, was active in the conduct of the journal. These gentlemen, all copious contributors to later volumes, were Princeton professors, and may be named here: Archibald Alexander, the theologian, and the historian of the Israelites; his sons James W. and Joseph A.; Robert Patton, who was chief in charge while Hodge was pursuing his European studies; Samuel Miller, author of the *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century;* President Carnahan; and Professors Maclean, Dod, and Hodge.

About a year after the return of Professor Hodge, it was determined to abandon the eclectic practice, and in 1830 the name was accordingly changed to "The Biblical Repertory and Theological Review," "embracing," according to an advertisement, "the original design . . . so modified as to adapt it to the use and benefit of all Christians." In short, it wished to enlist the interest and subscriptions of laity as well as clergy. It therefore began that series of original articles, largely controversial, which made its reputation.

The thirties were troublous times in the theological world. The Presbyterian Excinding Act was passed in 1837, excommunicating a hundred thousand members, and the breach was not healed until the reunion with the New School in 1870. During this time Hodge was the spokesman of Calvinism in the Presbyterian Church of America and perhaps of the world.

The great name connected with the *Princeton Review* is that of Charles Hodge. The "society of gentlemen" and some other contributors were able men, but Hodge's is the outstanding personality. "This periodical has no one responsible editor . . . No one writer can be sure that his colleagues agree with him in all the views which he advances," wrote Hodge carefully in 1847.[3] That was true enough no doubt, and necessary, but that Hodge himself was "in every sense the actual editor," as his son says,[4] until Atwater came to relieve him of some of the burden in 1869, is indubitable. "For a period of forty-three years," said Paxton in his Commemorative Discourse, "from 1825 to 1868, he sustained the intellectual burden of this great review, with no other compensation than the high privilege of making it an organ for upholding sound doctrine and the honor of our common Redeemer." [5] He contributed no less than one hundred and forty-two articles to it.

Hodge was a disciple of Archibald Alexander. "Alexander was the Socrates of the Princeton school," wrote James Macgregor in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review,* which reprinted many articles from the *Repertory,* "and Hodge had proved to be its Plato and Aristotle." [6] "Dr. Hodge has done more for Calvinism than any other man in this country," said W. G. T. Shedd in the Assembly of 1868. Irenaeus Prime of the New York *Observer* called him "the ablest reviewer in the world." [7] A later critic has gone so far as to compare his prose to that of Milton.[8] He remains one of the few American theologians of high rank, and his Princeton admirers often compare him with their third president, Jonathan Edwards. That his writings should be polemical was almost a necessity of the times he lived in, but even his opponents confessed to his "candor, love of truth, and perfect fairness." [9] There have been few occasions in America like that on April 24, 1872, when scholars and re-

[3] *Biblical Repertory,* XVIII, 596 (October, 1847).
[4] A. A. Hodge, *op. cit.,* p. 99.
[5] *Discourses Commemorative,* p. 11.
[6] *British and Foreign Evangelical Review,* July, 1874.
[7] *Proceedings Connected with the Semi-Centennial,* p. 94.
[8] See *Cambridge History of American Literature,* III, 203.
[9] *Proceedings Connected with the Semi-Centennial,* p. 84. The words are those of C. P. Krauth.

ligious leaders from many denominations, many cities and many universities, gathered to help celebrate the semi-centennial of Charles Hodge's professorship in the Princeton Theological Seminary. The printed proceedings of that gathering form a great tribute.

Among the subjects of controversy in the *Repertory* were the voluntary education societies and the general matter of episcopacy. The doctrine of original sin came in for a great deal of attention, as was inevitable in a Calvinistic journal. As to slavery, it was held tenaciously even after the war that slavery was not, scripturally, a sin. As Hodge wrote in 1865, the *Repertory* was "widely and severely censured" for this position.[10] But the war record of the *Repertory* was unimpeachable, and Hodge's famous article on "The State of the Country" in January, 1861, widely circulated as it was, in many forms, was very influential in solidifying opinion against the position taken by southern leaders.

Through many years, the *Biblical Repertory* at Princeton and the *Bibliotheca Sacra* at Andover debated the question as between presbyterian and congregational polity—a question of the first magnitude after 1837. Said the *British Quarterly Review* in a discriminating discussion of American periodicals: "A historic duel has been going on between Andover and Princeton for over forty years, the leading controversialists of Andover being Stuart, Park, Edward Beecher, Baird, and Fisger, and those of Princeton, Hodge, the Alexanders, and Atwater."[11] A closely related subject which, of course, received much attention was the disruption of 1837. Hodge maintained that the action of 1837 was unwise, though his position was always with the Old School, and he opposed reunion with all his heart because he believed the New School had never "sincerely received in their integrity all the doctrines essential to the Reformed or Calvinistic system."[12]

[10] This position is shown by articles on "Slavery" (XII, 268) in April, 1836; "Abolitionism" (XX, 545) in October, 1844; and "Emancipation" (XXV, 582) in October, 1849; as well as in other articles. Hodge's apologia for the *Repertory's* course is found in XXXVII, 627 (October, 1865).

[11] *British Quarterly Review*, LIII, 8 (January, 1871).

[12] *Biblical Repertory*, XXXIX, 515 (July, 1867). A general history of doctrine in the *Repertory* may be found in the "Retrospect" in the index volume of 1871, pp. 1-19. It is unsigned, but was written by Hodge himself.

This assertion Henry B. Smith contradicted with power and effect in the *American Presbyterian Review*, then published at Union Theological.

Hodge took Lyman H. Atwater as co-editor in 1869, and allowed him to do most of the work. Reunion was consummated the next year and Atwater was on the committee which effected it. Hodge had been voted down and was in the mood to retire from his tripod, which he did in 1871. Perhaps the semi-centennial of the next year had just a little the flavor to him of a consolation prize. But his retirement is not to be referred to disappointment, for he was seventy-four and had earned some leisure; and he had just put to press the crowning work of his scholarship, his *Systematic Theology*, published in these volumes in 1871-72.

Next to Hodge, the Alexanders were most prominent in the *Biblical Repertory*. Archibald Alexander had four sons who were contributors, with himself, to the review. "Next to that of the founder," the name of James W. Alexander "is the most prominent in the history of the *Biblical Repertory*," says the index volume. He contributed one hundred articles before 1871, and his brother Joseph Addison ninety-three. The review of Cousin's philosophy by A. B. Dod, the mathematician, in 1839 attracted wide attention, praise and denunciation. It was reprinted separately on both sides of the Atlantic. Samuel Miller wrote many articles on theology, Samuel Tyler on philosophy, John Forsyth on history, J. W. Youmans on metaphysics, William Henry Green on hermeneutics, and John Hall on various theological subjects.

After Hodge's retirement the review changed character and name, so this is perhaps the place to sum up its work thus far. "Unquestionably the ablest Calvinistic review ever published," pronounced the New York *Observer*,[13] agreeing with a British reviewer who had written: "It is beyond all question the greatest purely theological Review that has ever been published in the English tongue, and has waged war in defence of the Westminster standards for a period of forty years, with a polemic

[13] New York *Observer*, March 10, 1870. Quoted in *Princeton Review*, XLIII, 17 (January, 1871).

vigor and unity of design without any parallel in the history of religious journalism." [14]

Of course, the *Repertory* had its shortcomings. It was sure to have, in George Sand's phrase, *les défauts de ses vertus;* like its great rival in controversy, the *Bibliotheca Sacra,* it was heavy. One wishes for more incisiveness and brilliance in some of its articles, and for more critical acumen in the literary reviews, which ever neglect the viewpoint of pure letters for the angle of the "Princeton theology." Of Emerson's *Essays* the reviewer says: "A book more void of real meaning certainly never fell into our hands, nor one which seems so much to be constructed with the view of hoaxing the public. The air of philosophical profundity which is thrown over it is obscurity not of a deep but of a muddy stream, and the brilliance of the surface is little else than the iridescence of a bowl of soapbubbles." [15]

After the retirement of Hodge, the interest was somewhat less theological. The publication was removed to New York in 1869; its name was changed to the *Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review* in 1872; and in an effort to represent all factions several "co-operating editors" [16] were enlisted. It was combined with the *American Presbyterian Review,* of the New School faction. "Like a conquered territory, it was made the subject of partition," wrote a historian of Princeton a few years later, "securing to each of the old parties an equal share in the printed matter and in the editorial room . . . It was treason to Princeton, to Princeton Theology, and to Princeton Seminary to surrender it as it was surrendered, and that without Dr. Hodge's cordial approval." [17] In its new incarnation the *Review* was not greatly successful, and in 1878 it was turned over to John M. Libbey, who made it a general bimonthly review with far less theology—in many respects a worthy competitor of the *North American Review.* Among its prominent and more frequent contributors were P. G. Hamerton and Principal Shairp, Professor

[14] *British Quarterly Review,* LIII, 8 (January, 1871).

[15] *Biblical Repertory,* XIII, 539 (October, 1841).

[16] M. W. Jacobus, C. A. Aiken, William Henry Green, John Forsyth, Edwin Hall, and William M. Blackburn.

[17] John F. Hegeman, *History of Princeton and Its Institutions* (Philadelphia, 1879), II, 64.

Gildersleeve, Simon Newcomb, Francis A. Walker, C. W. Eliot, and J. Brander Matthews. But it did not find sufficient support, and was suspended in 1884.

After the lapse of a year, the *New Princeton Review* was started as a bimonthly by A. C. Armstrong & Son, under the anonymous editorship of Professor William M. Sloane, the historian; and though it published literary and art criticism and political and religious articles of a high character, it was forced to give up the struggle after three years. It was planned, its prospectus stated, to be "neither a magazine or a quarterly. It is hoped to create for Americans an organ for the publication of high literary work, or original thought in all departments of philosophy and science, and of constructive criticism." It seems a great pity that such high ideals were doomed to disappointment. Charles Dudley Warner, John Bach McMaster, Grace King, and James McCosh were represented in the first number; Lowell's essay on Gray was in the second; and Theodore Roosevelt had an article on the reform of the Civil Service in the third. Woodrow Wilson contributed an article "Of the Study of Politics," and Norton's "Recollections of Carlyle" was a notable essay. Foreign contributors were Dobson, Gosse, Lang, E. A. Freeman, and others; while distinguished Americans like Bancroft, Stedman, Lounsbury, Curtis and Godkin made up the tables of contents. The magazine featured short stories of the South by Grace King and Ruth McEnery Stuart. The *Critic* credited it with "substantiality and strength without heaviness."[18] But it did not long survive, perhaps because of its hybrid kind. Neither bimonthlies nor fortnightlies have ever shown much vitality in America. Ginn and Company purchased the *Review* at the end of 1888 and merged it with their *Political Science Quarterly.*

A capable quarterly known as the *Princeton Theological Review* has been published since 1903, with a board of fifteen occupying the editorial settee.

[18] *Critic,* IX, 125 (Sept. 11, 1886).

42

THE NEW-HARMONY GAZETTE,[1] AND *THE FREE ENQUIRER*

WHEN Robert Owen, the Welsh manufacturer and philanthropist, purchased some thirty thousand acres of land on the banks of the Wabash, including the village of New Harmony, and established thereon a socialistic community, it was necessary to have a journal to interpret the experiment to the outside world. The *New-Harmony Gazette* was therefore brought into existence. In its prospectus it announced its purpose.

> In our *Gazette* we purpose developing more fully the principles of the SOCIAL SYSTEM; that the world, with ourselves, may, by contrast, be convinced—that INDIVIDUALITY DETRACTS LARGELY FROM THE SUM OF HUMAN HAPPINESS . . . the writings of Mr. Owen will necessarily occupy a considerable portion of our columns.[2]

This eight-page quarto was devoted to the exposition of Robert Owen's theories, to articles on social and religious topics by other members of the Community, and to a record of the progress of the experiment and the life at New Harmony. It is, therefore,

[1] TITLES: (1) *The New-Harmony Gazette*, Oct. 1, 1825 – Oct. 22, 1828; (2) *The New-Harmony and Nashoba Gazette, or the Free Enquirer*, Oct. 29, 1828 – Feb. 25, 1829; (3) *The Free Enquirer*, March 4, 1829 – June 28, 1835.

FIRST ISSUE: October 1, 1825. LAST ISSUE: June 28, 1835.

PERIODICITY: Weekly. Annual volumes, quarto. [First Series] I-III, Oct. 1, 1825 – Oct. 22, 1828; Second Series: I-V, Oct. 29, 1828 – Oct. 19, 1833; Third Series: I-II, Oct. 27, 1833 – June 28, 1835.

PUBLISHERS: The New-Harmony (Indiana) Community, 1825-28; Frances Wright and Robert Dale Owen, 1829-32; H. D. Robinson, 1832-35.

EDITORS: William Owen and Robert L. Jennings, October – Dec. 14, 1825; Robert L. Jennings, Dec. 21, 1825 – February, 1826; William Pelham, March – August (?), 1826; Thomas Palmer, August (?) – September, 1826; Robert Dale Owen, October, 1826 – May 9, 1827; William Owen, May 16, 1827 – March 5, 1828; R. D. Owen and Wm. Owen, March 19 – June 11, 1828; Frances Wright and Wm. Owen, June 18 – July 16, 1828; Frances Wright and R. D. Owen, July 23 – Oct. 22, 1828, November, 1829 – October, 1832; Frances Wright, R. D. Owen and R. L. Jennings, Oct. 29, 1828 – October, 1829; H. D. Robinson, December, 1832 – June, 1835.

[2] *Gazette*, I, 1 (Oct. 1, 1825).

the chief source for any study of this interesting trial of communistic theory.[3]

Despite the auspicious name of the village, peace did not always prevail in the group of decided and original spirits whom the experiment drew together. The Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar; Francis J. N. Neef, associate of Pestalozzi; William Maclure, the scientist; and "Fanny" Wright, the famous lecturer and reformer, were a few of the personalities prominent in the Community and reflected in the *Gazette*. The editorship varied, but was chiefly confined to Robert L. Jennings, Frances Wright, and two sons of Robert Owen—William and Robert Dale. After Robert Owen's "Declaration of Mental Independence" on July 4, 1826, the paper carried, with its regular date, the words "First [or, Second, as the case might be] Year of Mental Independence."

By the autumn of 1828, the Community had disintegrated. Frances Wright, who had become identified with the editorship of the *Gazette*, was also engaged in an educational experiment with freed Negroes on a tract in western Tennessee which she called Nashoba; and in October, 1828, this interest was recognized in a new series of the paper with the title, the *New-Harmony and Nashoba Gazette, or the Free Enquirer*. The new paper was somewhat broader in scope than its predecessor; no longer under the necessity of sustaining the character of the organ of an association, it became a socialistic and agnostic journal. It declared itself to be "devoted without fear, without reserves, without pledge to men, parties, sects or systems, to free, unbiased and universal enquiry."[4] The double futility of supporting the tottering Nashoba experiment, and remaining in backwoods New Harmony, now wholly individualistic, was soon realized; and Miss Wright and Robert Dale Owen took the periodical to New York early in 1829, deleting its title to the *Free Enquirer*. There it was conducted for six years, chiefly by Owen and Miss Wright, though H. D. Robinson, Owen's brother-in-law, was editor and proprietor for the last two years and a half.

[3] It is so used in Frank Podmore's *Robert Owen, a Biography* (New York, 1824), Edouard Dolleans' *Robert Owen* (Paris, 1907), and George B. Lockwood's *The New Harmony Movement* (New York, 1907).

[4] *Gazette*, 2d Series, I, 1 (Oct. 29, 1828).

Controversy was the meat on which the *Free Enquirer* fed. Agricultural topics, common in its pages before the removal to New York, were now abandoned; but religion, politics, sociology, and education were discussed with vigor and originality. The editors were the chief contributors, though Orestes A. Brownson was a "contributing editor" during some months of 1829-30, and not a little material was selected from sources approved by the editors. With such striking personalities in charge, the *Free Enquirer* was of course interesting. One may, for example, get some notion of what a woman lecturer (or, as her critics called her, "lecturess") had to face when one reads in "Fanny" Wright's paper a quotation from the New York *Post* calling her lecture on "Knowledge" an exhibition of "the most abandoned lewdness." This was by way of advance notice. "We presume," added the *Post* righteously, "no modest woman will be there." [5] More than once missiles were thrown at the "lecturess" as she stood on the rostrum, not so much by way of protest against what she was trying to say, but because of a violent opposition to the invasion of the lecture platform by a woman.

The failure of the *Free Enquirer* to achieve a distinguished success was without doubt due to the very general disapproval of its doctrines by the American public. Advocacy of feminism, socialism, agnosticism, and other "isms" precluded the possibility of any general support.

[5] *Gazette*, 2d Series, I, 145 (Jan. 26, 1829).

43

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHARMACY[1]

THE Quaker Daniel B. Smith, first editor of the *Journal of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy,* after declaring his purpose to encourage and promote pharmaceutical science, ends his "Introduction" as follows:

> Should the *Journal* of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy contribute to these results by awakening and fostering a spirit of research and experiment, although labouring in an obscure and humble portion of the vineyard of science, it will reap rewards honourable to its contributors, and useful to the world at large.[2]

It has lived to see the field of science to which it devoted itself outgrow that obscurity, and has itself reaped some portion of the rewards consequent upon the growth of pharmacy.

The first four numbers were issued at irregular intervals throughout the years 1825-28; the College then determined to publish the *Journal* regularly as a quarterly under the editorship of Benjamin Ellis. The fourth editor was William Procter, Jr., who became an associate on the staff in 1848, and editor-in-chief in 1850. Procter was an industrious researcher and a versatile man of affairs. He contributed more than five hundred articles to the *Journal* during his life; he was one of the founders of the

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Journal of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy,* 1825-35; (2) *The American Journal of Pharmacy,* 1835-current.
FIRST ISSUE: December, 1825. Current.
PERIODICITY: Irregular 1825-28, quarterly 1829-52, bimonthly 1853-70, monthly 1871-current. "Preliminary Volume" consisted of four numbers published annually in December, 1825-28. I-current, annual vols., 1829-current.
PUBLISHER: Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science, Philadelphia, throughout.
EDITORS: Daniel B. Smith, 1825-28; Benjamin Ellis, 1829-31; R. Egglesfield Griffith, 1831-36; Joseph Carson, 1836-50; William Proctor, Jr., 1850-71; John M. Maisch, 1871-93; Henry Trimble, 1893-98; Henry Kraemer, 1898-1917; George M. Beringer, 1917-21; Ivor Griffith, 1921-current.
REFERENCE: Centenary Number of the *American Journal of Pharmacy,* XCVII, 791-877 (December, 1925).

[2] *Journal of Philadelphia College,* I, 1 (December, 1825).

American Pharmaceutical Association; and his active and scholarly work gave his periodical high standing all over the world. For many years the *Journal* published the proceedings of the American Pharmaceutical Association, though it was not an official organ. Procter made it a bimonthly, and John M. Maisch, his successor, issued it monthly. Professor Maisch kept the *Journal* to the high standards in the matter of research which Proctor had set for it.

An advertising department was introduced in 1852. The Civil War created difficulties which the *Journal* surmounted with the greatest effort, but its business affairs were placed upon a sounder basis in 1871, when it became a monthly. Under the editorship of George M. Beringer, which began in 1917, the magazine was materially increased in size. Beringer was succeeded in 1921 by Ivor Griffith.

While it has always given some attention to the commercial, or merchandising, aspects of its subject, the *Journal* has had a strong inclination toward the scientific side of pharmacy. For some years it was the only pharmaceutical magazine in the United States, and in the years since the advent of competing periodicals it has maintained an established place. It is said to be "the oldest pharmaceutical journal in the English language," [3] and to be published under the ægis of "the oldest pharmaceutical college in the world." [4]

[3] *American Journal of Pharmacy*, XCVII, 852 (December, 1925).
[4] *Ibid.*, XCVII, 864 (December, 1925).

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION[1]

(Russell's)

The *Journal of Education* had its origin in the mind of the late Thomas B. Wait, of Boston, whose attention had been particularly directed to the subject of education during his residence in Portland, Me., at the time when the first movements were there made for the introduction of a public system of primary schools.[2]

THUS wrote William Russell, the editor of the *Journal,* in a letter quoted by the editor of a later and more famous *American Journal of Education.* Russell goes on to tell of Wait's difficulties in finding an editor, until Dr. Nathaniel Coffin "referred Mr. Wait to myself, and to this circumstance was owing my subsequent connection with the journal as its editor for nearly three years." Russell was a native of Glasgow and a pupil of Professor George Jardine. He had come to the United

[1] TITLES: (1) *American Journal of Education,* January, 1826 - May, 1830; (2) *American Journal of Education and Monthly Lyceum,* June, July, 1830; (3) *American Journal and Annals of Education and Instruction,* August - December, 1830; (4) *American Annals of Education and Instruction and Journal of Literary Institutions, being a continuation of the American Journal of Education,* 1831 (numbers for August – December, 1830 also issued under this title); (5) *American Annals of Education,* 1832-37.

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1826. LAST ISSUE: December, 1839.

PERIODICITY: Monthly 1826-28, May, 1830 – December, 1831, November, 1832 – December, 1839; bimonthly January-February, 1829 – March-April, 1830; semimonthly January – October, 1832. Numbers for October and November, 1830 combined. [First Series], I-IV, 1826-29 (annual vols.); New [2d] Series, I, Nos. 1-5, January – July, 1830; Third Series, I, August, 1830 – December, 1831; II-IX (annual vols.), 1832-39.

PUBLISHERS (all Boston): Wait, Greene & Company, 1826-27; S. G. Goodrich, 1828; Carter & Hendee, 1829-31; Allen & Ticknor, 1832; William D. Ticknor, 1833-35; John Allen & Company, 1836; Otis, Broaders & Company, 1837-39.

EDITORS: William Russell, 1826-28; James G. Carter, 1829-31; William C. Woodbridge, 1831-36; William A. Alcott and William C. Woodbridge, 1837; William A. Alcott, 1838; M. F. Hubbard, 1839.

REFERENCES: *Annals of Education,* VI, 49-56 (February, 1836); S. E. Davis, *Educational Periodicals During the Nineteenth Century,* pp. 11-12, 53.

[2] Henry Barnard, *Normal Schools* (Hartford, 1851), Part I, p. 194. Quoted by S. E. Davis, *Educational Periodicals During the Nineteenth Century* (Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1919, No. 28), p. 11.

States when he was twenty-one and had made a reputation as a teacher of elocution. He taught public speaking at Harvard, Andover, and other schools, and did much lecturing before teachers' institutes.

In its prospectus the *Journal* declared its intention of "diffusing *enlarged and liberal views of education.*" It was determined to emphasize physical and moral training, and to "advocate and aid female education." But chiefly it would be "devoted to early or elementary education." [3]

The *Journal* at once achieved high standing. The *North American Review* conferred upon it the accolade of authoritative approval in its first year, calling it a "valuable work." [4] During Russell's editorship it maintained the specialties announced in its prospectus; it was in advance of its times in advocating physical education for both boys and girls, and in its commonsense views of public school education.

After two years, Wait's company turned the publication of the *Journal* over to S. G. Goodrich, who kept it for about a year; then James Gordon Carter, well known as a pioneer advocate of normal schools, purchased the journal. In 1830 it began to devote much space to the lyceums which were becoming prominent at that time in New England, and it remained until its end the organ, to a certain extent, of the lyceum movement.

In 1831 a controlling interest in the journal was purchased by William Channing Woodbridge, who had made a special study of the Pestalozzian system abroad. From this time on, the magazine gave its readers voluminous commentary on foreign educational theory; the writings of foreign educators, official reports, the Paris and London *Journals of Education,* and other sources from abroad were laid under tribute, as well as older writings like those of Plato, Bacon, Ascham, and Locke. Articles on education in many foreign countries are found—the schools of Denmark, Greece, Holland, Algeria, Iceland, Russia, and so on, are described. Woodbridge himself spent much of his time abroad, and his "Letters from Hofwyl," in which he described the Fellenberg system, were among the products of these pilgrimages.

[3] *American Journal of Education,* I, 1 (January, 1826).
[4] *North American,* XIII, 214 (July, 1826).

After Dr. William A. Alcott, a specialist in the construction of school-houses and collaborator with Woodbridge in the preparation of geographies, had become associated in the editorship of the *Journal,* Woodbridge held the position of "foreign editor." Among contributors were such students of foreign education as William H. Prescott, George Ticknor, and Thomas H. Gallaudet; as well as Goold Brown, Thomas S. Grimké, and others.

The scope of the *Journal* was by no means limited to foreign educational theory, however; it was very broad. The education of defectives, of mechanics, of farmers, and of teachers were specialties. Book reviews were well and carefully done, and there was much educational news.

Woodbridge retired at the end of 1837; Alcott's name appears as sole editor in 1838, and that of M. F. Hubbard in the final year of the journal.

Though not the first of educational periodicals in America, "Russell's *Journal of Education,*" as it is commonly called to distinguish it from Barnard's *Journal* of later date, is the first really important American magazine in the field of education.

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GRAHAM'S MAGAZINE,[1] AND *THE CASKET*

ATKINSON'S *Casket* is now important chiefly as the earlier series of *Graham's Magazine*, though it achieved, in its own heyday, a wide popularity, and was said to be "the most widely circulated monthly" in the country.[2] It was a miscellany of unprepossessing appearance and small print, consisting of tales and articles chiefly taken from other periodicals, with puzzles, jokes, a "School of Flora," music, and the inevitable poetry corner. Samuel C. Atkinson and Charles Alexander, founders of the

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Casket: Flowers of Literature, Wit and Sentiment*, 1826-38. [Above is from engraved title-page. Caption ran *Atkinson's Casket, or Gems of Literature, Wit, and Sentiment*, 1826 – January, 1827, and again 1831 – April, 1839, at other times corresponding closely to title-page.]; (2) *The Casket, and Philadelphia Monthly Magazine, Embracing Every Department of Literature: Embellished with Engravings, the Quarterly Fashions, and Music, Arranged for the Piano-Forte, Harp, and Guitar*, 1839-40; (3) *Graham's Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine* (*The Casket and Gentleman's United*). *Embracing Every Department of Literature: Embellished with Engravings, Fashions, and Music, Arranged for the Piano-Forte, Harp, and Guitar*, 1841-42, July, 1843 – June, 1844. [The part after the parenthesis varies somewhat.]; (4) *Graham's Magazine of Literature and Art*, January-June, 1844; (5) *Graham's American Monthly Magazine of Literature and Art*, July, 1848 – June, 1856; (6) *Graham's Illustrated Magazine of Literature, Romance, Art, and Fashion*, July, 1856 – 1858. (Captions and engraved title-pages all "Graham's Magazine," 1841-58. Caption December, 1840, "Graham's Magazine.")

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1826. LAST ISSUE: December, 1858.

PERIODICITY: Monthly, octavo, 1826-39; royal octavo, 1840-58; one volume yearly 1826-38 [I-XIII]; two volumes yearly 1839-58 [XIV]-LIII. (I-XIV not numbered. Error on title-page XVI says XVII (January – June, 1840.) Error in Index heading of XLVIII says "Contents of the Forty-Seventh Volume").

PUBLISHERS (all Philadelphia): Atkinson & Alexander, 1826-27; Samuel C. Atkinson, 1828 – April, 1839; George R. Graham, May, 1839 – July, 1848, April, 1850 – December, 1853; Samuel D. Patterson & Company, August, 1848 – March, 1850; R. H. See & Company, 1854 – June, 1856; Watson & Company, July, 1856 – 1858.

EDITORS: Samuel C. Atkinson, 1826-39; George R. Graham and Charles J. Peterson, 1839-40; George R. Graham, Charles J. Peterson, Edgar Allan Poe, 1841; George R. Graham, Charles J. Peterson, Edgar Allan Poe, Mrs. Emma C. Embury, Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, Rufus W. Griswold, 1842 (Poe resigned as literary editor in May and was succeeded by Griswold); George R. Graham and Rufus W. Griswold, 1843 (Griswold resigned in October); George R. Graham, 1843-47, 1850-53; George R. Graham, Robert T. Conrad, J. R. Chandler, and J. B[ayard] Taylor, 1848 (Conrad is on title-page of XXXII only; Taylor joined in September and Chandler in October); Charles Godfrey Leland, 1857 (?)-58.

[2] Lambert A. Wilmer, *Our Press Gang* (Philadelphia, 1859), p. 19.

Casket, were also founders of the *Saturday Evening Post,* and all three of the *Casket* editors were connected with the *Post.* The two periodicals were published from the same office. In fact, the *Casket* seems, through its first sixteen volumes, little more than a monthly edition of its older associate. Many of its tales were taken from the *Post;* and consequently many distinctively American stories, by Mark Bancroft and others, found place in its pages. The prize-competition mania of the times affected Atkinson: a Miss Siggers, of Boston, wrote the prize story of 1827, and a frightfully sentimental piece of writing it was.[3] There were also prize poems and prize essays that year and from time to time in later years.

The *Casket's* engraved plates, which appeared in each number, were mostly borrowed from American and English annuals and from other periodicals. In the first few numbers there were also some unimpressive woodcuts of flowers and of American scenery by G. S. Gilbert. The publication of colored fashions in competition with the new *Godey's* was begun in 1831, the first one showing Queen Adelaide in a very fancy dress. These appeared at the rate of one or two a year up to 1836, when there were four. A fine portrait of Willis G. Clark by Sartain in mezzotint should be mentioned; it was published in January, 1840.

A change for the better took place when George R. Graham bought the magazine in May, 1839. At the beginning of the next year he enlarged the page, giving the *Casket* the same format as its neighbor, *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine;* and in November Graham purchased the *Gentleman's* to combine with the *Casket.* The December numbers, therefore, of both magazines are identical, except that the last eight pages of the *Gentleman's* are devoted to the concluding installment of a de Kock serial which had been running in that lightsome periodical; and both have the caption "Graham's Magazine."

George R. Graham was twenty-six years old when he gained control of the magazine property which he was soon to make preëminent in this country. He had learned cabinet-making as a boy, and had studied law while working at his trade. Though he was admitted to the bar in 1839, he immediately turned to

[3] *Casket,* I, 174-76 (May, 1827).

magazinedom for his career, connecting himself in that year with the *Saturday Evening Post* and the *Casket*. In 1840 he not only made the merger just referred to, but became a part owner of the *Post*.

The new *Graham's* followed the policy of the *Gentleman's Magazine* rather than that of the *Casket*, whose serial numbering it retained for longevity. Like the *Gentleman's*, *Graham's* published tales which were a bit sensational, dealing with love, American adventure, the Orient, and so on, along with poetry, a little travel, and entertaining book reviews. But *Graham's* soon forged far ahead of its model in respect of both literary value and illustration. James Russell Lowell (sometimes signing "H. Perceval"), Edgar Allan Poe, Mrs. Sigourney, George Pope Morris, Alfred B. Street, Park Benjamin, Willis Gaylord Clark, and Thomas Buchanan Read were among its writers of the first year; in the next year the following were listed as "Principal Contributors" on the title-page (Vol. XXI): William Cullen Bryant, James Fenimore Cooper, Richard Henry Dana, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Charles Fenno Hoffman, Theodore S. Fay, J. H. Mancur, Mrs. Emma C. Embury, Mrs. Seba Smith, "Mary Clavers," Mrs. E. F. Ellet, Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, Mrs. Frances Osgood. Longfellow's "Spanish Student" appeared in *Graham's* in 1842, and Cooper's *Naval Commanders*. Enter, in 1843, to the sound of waltz music and jingling of gold coins, Nathaniel Parker Willis, to whom the magazine owes much of its brightness and charm during the ensuing years. Another star, though of different luster, was Henry William Herbert, who, under the name of "Frank Forester," wrote *Field Sports and Pastimes* and other serials. Following his custom of printing his famous names on cover and title-page, Graham was able to add Paulding, Tuckerman, Joseph C. Neal and others [4] to his lists of 1843; and Holmes, whom he calls "the most accomplished humorous poet in the country," [5] was listed in 1844. In the latter

[4] Also Washington Allston, William H. Burleigh, Reynell Coates, Walter Colton, T. C. Grattan, George H. Colton, Robert T. Conrad, George Hill, W. A. Jones, Cornelius Mathews, Robert Morris, W. W. Story, R. H. Wilde, H. H. Weld, Mrs. A. M. F. Annan, "Maria del Occidente." Poe was not in these lists until Vol. XXII, nor Lowell until XXIV.

[5] *Graham's*, XXV, 48 (January, 1844).

"Newest fashions" in evening dresses and (in the center above) an opera dress and bonnet. *Casket*, July, 1831.

The editor of *Miss Leslie's Magazine* exhibiting the mode. Note expressions—and bonnets. *Knickerbocker*, April, 1834.

FASHIONS IN THE THIRTIES

year Graham claims to be the exclusive publisher of Longfellow, Bryant, Paulding, and Cooper.[6]

A typical number of *Graham's* during the forties contained three or four short stories, a light essay on manners, a biographical sketch, a literary article, a considerable amount of poetry—narrative, lyrical and didactic—an out-door sketch by "Frank Forester," a travel article, fine arts and book-review departments, and a chat with the editor; besides the colored fashion plate, and one or two art plates by well-known engravers. Short stories were not *Graham's* strongest feature, though Poe did much to bring up the average, and Willis, Seba Smith, Neal, and the Mesdames Osgood, Smith, Stephens, Kirkland and others contributed notable tales. The serial story did not occupy in the forties the important position that it later came to hold in the magazines designed, as *Graham's* was, largely for women; though there were occasional serials. One of the chief distinctions of *Graham's,* however, was its light essays, and Willis was the prince of the essayists of the period, with Tuckerman, Hoffman, Fay, and Paulding in his train. Poetry, too, was important, both because of the fame of the contributors and the space usually devoted to it. The literary criticism was uneven, but on the whole not highly significant: certain of Poe's articles are nothing less than epochal in American criticism, and some of Griswold's work is not to be despised; but the critical pages occasionally break out in a rash of puffery. There was not much discussion of public questions.

One of the leading features of the magazine was its illustration. At the very beginning of Graham's ownership, he decided to abandon the policy common to the monthlies, of publishing impressions from steel and copper plates which had been used already, and to have new plates engraved expressly for *Graham's* in each number. John Sartain, who was engaged to work exclusively for the new magazine,[7] confesses in his memoirs that "the boldness of the enterprise astonished me," and he attributes *Graham's* success chiefly to the pictures.[8] In the first volume

[6] *Graham's,* XXVI, 48 (July, 1844).
[7] *Graham's,* XIX, 308 (December, 1841).
[8] Sartain, *op. cit.,* p. 198.

there was a rich mezzotint by Sartain and a colored fashion plate in each number; in the second volume a third plate for each issue was added. This plan prevailed to the end of Graham's first editorship, with occasional substitutions of fancy embossed designs for plates, or a plain plate for colored fashions. There was some effort made to give "American tone and character" to the illustrations, and in 1845 announcement was made of the engagement of artists "for several years to finish up the most elegant series of American subjects ever given to the world." Battlefields, Indians, westerns, and scenic subjects had place in this "elegant series." C. H. Bodmer contributed western scenes, and other engravers were H. S. Sadd, W. E. Tucker, A. L. Dick, Hatch and Smillie, and Rawdon Wright. But in the main, *Graham's* plates were of sentimental and domestic scenes, fair ladies, and romantic landscapes. Under Patterson's management the number of plates in each number was increased to four, and even more, and the later enterprise of the *Century* was anticipated when W. E. Tucker was sent to Europe to engrave old masters in 1849. A department of fine arts was inaugurated upon the beginning of Graham's second editorship, and a series on "The Art and Artists of America" ran through 1855-56, illustrated by woodcuts. The experiment of illustration *à la Harper* in 1852 had not been a success; the cuts were of low quality and never as numerous as in *Harper's*. By 1855 *Graham's* had returned to the policy with which it began—startling in 1841, but out of date by 1855—of publishing one colored fashion plate [9] and one other plate in each number, and to this it adhered through the remainder of its existence.

It is evident enough that Graham had less of real literary appreciation than of shrewd publisher's sense. Contributors' names meant much to him, and he paid for them accordingly. In the matter of payment to authors he set a new example for American magazines, and ushered in a new era. Expansive, genial, and naturally liberal, he bound his writers to him, and all profited alike in the glow of golden success which surrounded his magazine. Lowell wrote to Carter in 1845: "I have seen

[9] "Our Paris fashions cost us $945 per month for designing, engraving, printing, and coloring." XL, 336 (March, 1852).

Graham and shall probably be able to make a good arrangement with him. . . . He has grown fat, an evidence of success. He lives in one of the finest houses in Arch Street, and keeps his carriage."[10] Young George W. Childs, sweeping off the sidewalk in front of his employer's shop, gazed in awe at the magnate driving down the street behind his trotting bays.[11] The lavish table spread at the Graham home, to which the foremost literary and artistic talent available was daily invited, became a legend.[12]

For literary discrimination, as well as for contributions, Graham depended much upon his co-editors. His friend and associate on the *Post*, Charles J. Peterson, was faithful and capable help until after *Peterson's Magazine* was begun in 1842. This venture, suggested by Graham,[13] robbed him also of Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, another member of the staff, who went to the new magazine as co-editor.

Edgar Allan Poe, who had been associated with Burton for one year in the editorship of the *Gentleman's*,[14] became a member of the Graham editorial staff in 1841. Biographers of Poe have generally failed to recognize that he was not the editor-in-chief of the magazine, but literary editor, expected to provide the book notices and, for extra pay, a certain amount of the literary contents.[15] As a matter of fact, some of his best writing was done for *Graham's* during the fifteen months of his connection with it. His first contribution after he joined the *Graham* staff, an "article" called "The Murders in the Rue Trianon-Bas" in the

[10] Horace Elisha Scudder, *James Russell Lowell: A Biography* (Boston, 1901), I, 153. For Graham's payments to authors, see pp. 506-09, *supra*.

[11] *Critic*, XX, 131 (Feb. 27, 1892).

[12] Hervey Allen, *Israfel* (New York, 1927), II, 489-90.

[13] Smyth, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

[14] Graham's statement to Smyth (*op. cit.*, p. 217) that Poe was recommended to him by Burton at the time he bought the magazine is scarcely worthy of credence in view (1) of Graham's condition in his later years, when the interview took place, (2) of the bitterness between Burton and Poe in the year of the sale, and (3) the fact that Graham did not employ Poe until some months after the sale. Graham's language would imply that he was merely passing over "his young editor" to Graham: he had parted with him in anger five months earlier.

[15] Poe's salary was $800 a year, which was not as parsimonious as some of his biographers would have us believe. For a comparison with other editorial salaries and with living costs of the time, see pp. 512-13, *supra*. For stories he received about four dollars a page, see pp. 507-08, *supra*. Poe's letters to Graham contributors do not show him as editor-in-chief; they are written largely in his own interests.

original manuscript[16] but revised to give the place the more suggestive name, "Rue Morgue," appeared in April, 1841. "A Descent into the Maelström" came out in the next month. "To Helen" appeared in small type at the bottom of a page in September of that year, and "The Masque of the Red Death" in May, 1842. Indeed contributions by Poe were printed in every number from April, 1841, to June, 1842. His criticism was characteristically severe, as a rule, but acute and meticulous. The famous article on Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales* appeared in May, 1842.

But it was difficult, if not impossible, for Poe to adjust himself to the grind of magazine work. As early as June, 1841, he wrote to his friend F. W. Thomas, "Notwithstanding Graham's unceasing civility and real kindness, I feel more and more disgusted with my situation." Differences with his fellow editor, Charles J. Peterson, were the immediate cause of his resignation in May, 1842, according to John Sartain; though the feeling that he had been supplanted by Rufus W. Griswold, who had joined the staff of *Graham's* and the *Post* in May,[17] perhaps had something to do with it, and his general "disgust" had increased. Poe wrote to Thomas immediately after his resignation: "My reason for resigning was disgust at the namby-pamby character of the magazine. . . . I allude to the contemptible pictures, fashion-plates, music, and love-tales."[18] Of Graham himself Poe spoke kindly in this letter. Certain letters that Poe had written in 1841, however, had expressed the faith that Graham would help him with his own project for the *Penn Magazine,* which was never started; and by the time of his resignation he had been disappointed in that hope and was occasionally displaying some

[16] John Sartain, *Reminiscences of a Very Old Man* (New York, 1899), p. 199.

[17] Graham offered him the position May 3, 1842, at a thousand dollars a year (*Passages from the Correspondence of R. W. Griswold,* p. 106) and the *Saturday Evening Post* announced the connection May 14 (Woodberry, *Poe,* p. 174). *Graham's,* however, did not announce him until July (XXI, 60) when he was named as Poe's successor. There is an apocryphal story that Poe, entering the office one day, saw Griswold sitting in his chair, and thereupon turned on his heel and "never again entered the office." The Poe legend is honeycombed with such anecdotes, and the history of Poe's connections with magazines has suffered from an especially uncritical attitude on the part of most of his biographers.

[18] Poe, *Complete Works,* Harrison, ed., XVII, 111 (May 25, 1842).

bitterness toward Graham for this reason.[19] Graham himself was uniformly friendly toward Poe, continued to publish his work, and after Griswold's attack, rushed to the defense of the dead poet's memory.[20]

Griswold, the new literary editor, was a young journalist who had seen service on such popular weeklies as the *New-Yorker* and *Brother Jonathan,* and enjoyed a very wide acquaintance among writers. He had just published his *Poets and Poetry of America,* which had excited much comment, chiefly favorable, and had won him the cordial enmity of those *littérateurs* whom he had omitted. That Griswold was a literary log-roller the reader of his *Correspondence* can scarcely doubt, but it is equally indubitable that he had some of the qualities of a good editor. His term of service with *Graham's* was but little longer than that of Poe; then other activities claimed him.

Robert T. Conrad, Joseph R. Chandler, and Bayard Taylor appear with Graham as editors in 1848. Conrad was one of that large group of semi-professional men of letters which was prominent in the Philadelphia life of the times. Like Graham he was a lawyer turned editor; later he became a judge and mayor of Philadelphia. One or two plays of his had enjoyed success, and he had been a contributor to a number of magazines before his brief editorial connection with *Graham's.* Chandler had been editor of the *United States Gazette,* which Graham had just purchased, and in the year of his *Graham* editorship was elected to Congress. He was a publicist of varied attainments. Taylor's star had but lately risen. He was, in a measure, a discovery of Griswold's, but would have got himself discovered by some other

[19] In a letter to Daniel Bryan, dated July 6, 1842, and now in the Charles Aldrich Autograph Collection, Iowa Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa (not printed in Harrison), Poe says in regard to his plans for the *Penn Magazine:* "I was induced to abandon the project . . . by the representations of Mr. Graham. He said that if I would join him as a salaried editor, giving up, for the time, my own scheme, he himself would unite with me at the expiration of 6 months, or certainly at the end of a year. Mr. G was a man of capital and I had no money. The result has proved his want of faith and my own folly. In fact, I was continually laboring against myself. Every exertion made by myself for the benefit of "Graham," rendering that Mag: a greater source of profit, rendered the owner, at the same time, less willing to keep his word to me. At the time of our bargain (a verbal one) he had 6,000 subscribers—when I left him he had more than 40,000. It is no wonder that he has been tempted to leave me in the lurch."

[20] *Graham's,* XXXVI, 224-26 (March, 1850).

watcher of the literary skies if Griswold had not just then been a kind of semi-official searcher of the firmament of letters. He was offered a position and a salary like Griswold's in July, 1848, and accepted; but the plans did not work out, and he was never more than a contributing editor, resident the whole of the time in New York.[21]

This was after disaster had fallen upon George R. Graham, and he had been forced to dispose of his magazine to Samuel D. Patterson & Company. He had begun with 5,500 subscribers,[22] and at the end of the first year of his magazine he had written with substantial accuracy, "Our success has been unexampled, almost incredible," and had claimed 25,000 circulation.[23] In a few months more he was advertising 40,000.[24] It was said that for some years the magazine yielded its owner fifty thousand dollars a year.[25] Reckless in the midst of this prosperity, Graham bought two Philadelphia newspapers in 1846 and merged them into the *North American,* at the same time financing a third paper, the *Evening Bulletin.* These were losing ventures, and the crisis was hastened by large investments in mining stock. "Had I not," wrote Graham, "in an evil hour forgotten my own true interests and devoted that capital and industry to another business which should have been confined to the magazine, I should today have been under no necessity." [26]

The two years under the management of Patterson made no very noticeable difference in the magazine; the fact is that it had been experiencing a slump for the preceding two or three years. In 1850 Graham was able to regain control. "I can yet show the world that he who started life a poor boy with but eight dollars in his pocket and has run such a career as mine is

[21] *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor* (Marie Hansen-Taylor and Horace E. Scudder, editors, Boston, 1885), I, 126.

[22] Sartain, *op. cit.,* p. 198. Graham claimed eight thousand at the beginning, but Sartain says "I know because I furnished the impressions of the plates I engraved." He corroborates the claim of forty thousand, however, placing the time at the end of the second year. Graham, in his second editorship (XXXVII, 44, July, 1850), said the circulation was thirty thousand in January, 1850. This confusion is to be expected in our period: neither contemporary circulation claims or later reminiscences are very reliable.

[23] *Graham's,* XIX, 308 (December, 1841).

[24] *Graham's,* XX, 154 (March, 1842).

[25] *Critic,* XXV, 45 (July 21, 1894).

[26] *Graham's,* XXXIII, 240 (October, 1848). See also XXXVII, 45 (August, 1850).

hard to put down," he had written at the time of his catastrophe.[27] But a declining magazine is harder to revive than a new one is to create, and in spite of premiums, circulation boasts,[28] a great exchange list,[29] and an enlargement in size, *Graham's* never again reached that pitch of success that it had known in the early forties. William Gilmore Simms became a faithful contributor, with Henry B. Hirst, Mrs. Amelia B. Welby, and "Grace Greenwood." Edwin P. Whipple wrote articles and reviews. R. H. Stoddard, Julia C. R. Dorr, and John G. Saxe wrote verse, and Caroline Cheseboro' contributed tales.

The competition of *Harper's* was difficult to meet after 1850. Graham first tried criticism of his rival: *"Harper's* is a good foreign magazine, but it is not *Graham's* by a long way. . . . The veriest worshiper of the dust of Europe will tire of the dead level . . ." [30] Then he tried competition in kind, evidenced by J. T. Headley's biographical serial on Washington (far shorter than Abbott's *Napoleon* in *Harper's*), by the addition of a "Monthly Summary" in 1854, and "Comicalities," with woodcuts, in 1852, by the temporary substitution of woodcuts for plates in 1852, by the transformation of the "Editor's Table" into an essay department, and by the use of material from English periodicals from 1852 on.

Still the magazine languished. The *coup de grâce,* thought Graham,[31] was given by a review of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* which ran counter to northern sentiment. "It is a BAD BOOK," says Graham in small caps, writing a signed rejoinder to readers who had objected to his earlier criticism of Mrs. Stowe.

> It gives an unfair and untrue picture of Southern life. It is badly constructed, badly timed, and made up for a bad purpose. . . . Not to particularize the many assaults which have been made upon us with appeals to Northern men to withdraw from the support of the Magazine, we now tell the whole fraternity of proscriptives that we are not to be gagged or coughed down. We feel nothing but unutterable contempt for the whole class of *liberty* people (falsely so

[27] *Ibid.*
[28] He advertised 80,000 in November, 1850.
[29] It numbered 1,200 names.
[30] *Graham's,* XXXVIII, 280 (March, 1851).
[31] *Critic,* XXV, 45 (July 21, 1895).

named) whose ideas of liberty consist in allowing nobody to live who expresses sentiments adverse to their notions.[32]

Later Graham finds everything Topsy-turvy in Philadelphia, with *Uncle Tom* being played at two theaters.[33]

There is something pathetic about this pun, good as it is, like a quip on death by a dying wit. It was the month after his witticism on what seemed to Graham the tragic trend of northern sentiment, that the disappointed editor gave up the struggle and again sold his magazine. He later filled positions upon various newspapers, but a failure of his sight forced him to retire upon a pension provided, until his death in 1894, by the man who, as a boy sweeping the sidewalk, had once admired him so greatly—a reversal of fortune worthy a *Graham* tale.

From this time forward the magazine deteriorated rapidly. Charles Godfrey Leland was hired to edit it, and did so without pride or enthusiasm. "I filled it recklessly with all or any kind of literary matter as best I could, little or nothing being allowed for contributions," he wrote in his *Memoirs*.

> However, I raised the circulation from almost nothing to 17,000. For this I received fifty dollars per month. When I finally left it, the proprietors were eighteen months in arrears due, and tried to evade payment, though I had specified a regular monthly settlement. Finally, they agreed to pay me in monthly installments of fifty dollars each, and fulfilled the engagement.[34]

In these years the Editor's Easy Talk, written by Leland, was the most enjoyable part of the magazine. "I had one day a space to fill," says Leland. "In a hurry I knocked off 'Hans Breitman's Party' [1856]. I gave it no thought whatever."[35] But it made him famous, and in spite of his varied serious attainments, it is as "Hans Breitman" that he is remembered.

In the number for December, 1858, the publishers announced that in the following year the magazine would be "incorporated with a new publication to be entitled *The American Monthly*,"

[32] *Graham's*, XLII, 366 (March, 1853).
[33] *Graham's*, XLIII, 553 (November, 1853).
[34] Leland, *Memoirs* (London, 1893), II, 13.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

EDGAR ALLAN POE AND THE FASHIONS

The pages of *Graham's* reproduced here illustrate the juxtaposition of fashions and literature in some of the best magazines in the forties. Please note, by the way, not only the latest styles in beards in 1841, but also the fact that the artist omitted one stripe in the gentleman hunter's trousers.

GRAHAM'S MAGAZINE.

VOL. XVIII. JUNE, 1841. NO.

THE ISLAND OF THE FAY

BY EDGAR A. POE

Who wouldst not leave him, in his
To
wrong!
Has
Dance from her
And driven the Hamadryad from the wood?
Hast thou not spoilt a
Hast thou not torn the Naiad from her flood?
The elfin from the green!—the dainty fay,
The witch, the sprite, the goblin—

"La musique," says Marmontel, with the
old
of
but
of
other
—a stain upon the landscape—as it
the genius of the scene. I love, indeed,
the dark valleys, and the grey rocks, and
that silently sends, and the forest
whose
as
whose

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under the same editorship. It appears, however, that *Graham's* was transformed into a women's periodical, for the *Knickerbocker,* itself approaching a similar fate, printed this news note in May, 1859: "Charles G. Leland has retired from the editorship of the *Ladies' Illustrated Magazine,* late *Graham's,* of which latter he had the literary charge during the last two years of its existence." But "blind oblivion" seems to have "swallowed up" the *Ladies' Illustrated.*

The contribution of *Graham's Magazine* to American literary development was of two kinds: it showed that adequate and even liberal payment for contributions might actually be profitable, and raised the level of such payments materially by its influence; and it published some important work by the best American writers of the time. Its contents were designed to be amusing rather than profound: in its lighter essays we have the beginnings of what came to be magazinish writing in contradistinction from the dull and heavy review style all too prominent at that time. Finally, a magazine that could boast itself the sole repository of the work of Bryant, Longfellow, Cooper, and Paulding at the same time had then and still has a real claim to respect.

JOURNAL OF THE FRANKLIN INSTITUTE[1]

THOMAS P. JONES, professor of mechanics at the University of Pennsylvania, founded the *American Mechanics' Magazine*[2] in 1825 on the model of the *London Mechanics' Maga-*

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Franklin Journal, and American Mechanics' Magazine: Devoted to the Useful Arts, Internal Improvements, and General Science,* 1826-27; (2) *Journal of the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania: Devoted to the Mechanic Arts, Manufactures, General Science, and the Recording of American and Other Patented Inventions,* 1828-35; (3) *Journal of the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania; and Mechanics' Register. Devoted to Mechanical and Physical Science, Civil Engineering, the Arts and Manufactures, and the Recording of American and Other Patented Inventions,* 1836-41; (4) *Journal of the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania and American Repertory of Mechanical and Physical Science, Civil Engineering, the Arts and Manufactures, and of American and Other Patented Inventions,* 1842-47; (5) *Journal of the Franklin Institute, of the State of Pennsylvania, for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts. Devoted to Mechanical and Physical Science, Civil Engineering, the Arts and Manufactures, and the Recording of American and Other Patented Inventions,* 1848-66; (6) *Journal of the Franklin Institute, Devoted to Science and the Mechanic Arts,* 1867-current.

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1826. Current.

PERIODICITY: Monthly; regular semiannual volumes. [First Series] I-IV, 1826-27; New [Second] Series: [V-XXX] I-XXVI, 1828-40; Third Series: ([XXXI]-CXXX) I-C, 1841-90; Whole Series: CXXXI-current, 1891-current. Supplementary numbers were issued with CXIX, CXX, CXXI, CXXXIII; besides supplements containing state weather reports with Vols. CXXIV-CXXXI, CXXXV-CXL.

PUBLISHERS: Judah Dobson, Philadelphia, 1826-27; Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, 1828-current.

EDITORS: Thomas P. Jones, 1826-47 (with J. J. Mapes, January, 1842 – June, 1843); Alexander D. Balche and Charles B. Trego, 1848-49; J. F. Frazer, 1850-66; Henry Morton, 1867-70; Henry Morton and W. H. Wahl, 1870-71; W. H. Wahl, 1871-74; G. F. Barker, 1874-75; Robert Briggs, 1875-76; Committee on Publication, 1877-1911 (The following served on this committee: Chas. Bullock, P. Frazer, E. J. Houston, T. D. Rand, Coleman Sellers, H. W. Spangler, S. L. Wiegand, Arthur Beardsley, F. P. Sadtler, W. H. Wahl, H. W. Jayne, L. E. Levy, A. C. Harrison, Jas. Christie, E. S. Balch. Rand was chairman 1898-1903, Jayne 1904-08, Levy 1908-11; R. B. Owens, 1912-24; George A. Hoadley, 1924; Howard McClenahan, 1925-current.

INDEXES have been published for I-CXX, CXXI-CXL, CXLI-CLX, and CLXI-CLXXX. Indexed also in *Poole, Cumulative* and *Engineering* Indexes.

REFERENCE: *Commemorative Exercises at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Franklin Institute* (Philadelphia, 1874).

[2] TITLE: *American Mechanics' Magazine, Containing Useful Original Matter, on Subjects Connected with Manufactures, the Arts and Sciences: As well as Selections from the Most Approved Domestic and Foreign Journals.*

FIRST ISSUE: February 5, 1825. LAST ISSUE: February 11, 1826.

PERIODICITY: Weekly. Two volumes: I, Feb. 5, 1825 – July 30, 1825; II, Aug. 6, 1825 – Feb. 11, 1826.

PUBLISHER AND EDITOR: Thomas P. Jones.

zine. "A little experience," however, convinced the editor, as he explained later, "that the plan was objectionable";[3] and his periodical became a digest of mechanical and scientific progress. The Franklin Institute for the Promotion of Mechanic Arts had been founded the year before by a colleague of Jones on the Pennsylvania faculty, William H. Keating; and when it began a monthly journal in 1826, the *American Mechanics' Magazine* was merged with the monthly, and Jones became editor—a post which he held for more than twenty years.

The *Franklin Journal,* or, as it soon came to be called, the *Journal of the Franklin Institute,* became a most valuable repository of information concerning scientific (and especially engineering) subjects. A specialty for many years was the list of patents filed in the government patent office, with descriptions. The first volume of the *Journal* indexes explains the matter:

> Prior to 1843, the claims of patents were omitted from the Patent Office publications, the names of the inventors, and the titles of inventions, with the dates of their allowance alone being published. In 1843 the publication of the claims was commenced, beginning with Patent No. 2901. There are, therefore, 2900 patents of which claims and descriptive matter were never printed by the Patent Office for public use. From the year 1826 to 1859, the patent reports were published, more or less completely, in the *Franklin Journal,* afterwards the *Journal of the Franklin Institute,* and in a far more satisfactory manner than in official records.[4]

Throughout much of this time Jones was Superintendent of Patents, and thus had ready access to the records.

The transactions of the Institute also have an important place in the file. Meteorological reports were long carried in special supplements. Supplements were also devoted to a report of the International Electrical Exhibition at Paris in 1881. Plates, sometimes colored, and diagrams, charts, and maps are of frequent occurrence.

Jones retired from the editorship in 1848, and thereafter the

[3] *American Mechanics' Magazine,* Preface to Vol. I.
[4] *Index 1826-85,* p. 415.

Journal was edited by various representatives of the Institute for short terms, or by a Committee on Publications. Alexander Dallas Balche, Jones's immediate successor, was president of Girard College, and later Superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. James F. Frazer, who held the longest editorship after Jones, had been Professor Balche's laboratory assistant, and was later a professor in the University of Pennsylvania. Henry Morton held the chair of chemistry in the same institution, and was later the first president of the Stevens Institute of Technology. George F. Barker was a pupil of Benjamin Silliman, and one of the editors of Silliman's *Journal*. Like most of the editors of the *Journal of the Franklin Institute* Barker occupied a chair at the University of Pennsylvania at the time of his editorship. Howard McClenahan is the present editor.

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THE WESTERN MONTHLY REVIEW[1]

We can easily enjoy in anticipation, the eagerness, with which the future historian will repair to them, as a synopsis of most of what has been said, and written, in the Western Country, touching its own natural, moral, and civil history.[2]

THUS wrote Editor Timothy Flint, attempting to get a long-distance perspective of the contemporary numbers of his new Cincinnati magazine. He was not far wrong, for the historian may find much of interest in the three volumes of the *Western Monthly Review*.

It began life in May, 1827, as the *Western Magazine and Review*—a name which indicated Flint's attempt to combine the characteristics of the solid, weighty review and the entertaining and miscellaneous magazine. "We hope, our readers will need no asservations on our part, that our single object is, to task our best exertions, to mingle instructions with amusement, in the articles, which we place before them,"[3] writes Flint, with that indulgence in commas which he carried to an extreme. He did mix the two kinds very well. Some of the articles were too heavy to be easily digestible (as was the way with the reviews), but these were counterbalanced by a certain amount of satire which Flint wrote amusingly.

1 TITLES: (1) *The Western Magazine and Review*, May–July, 1827; (2) *The Western Monthly Review*, August, 1827–June, 1830.
FIRST ISSUE: May, 1827. LAST ISSUE: June, 1830.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. Three octavo volumes: I, May, 1827–April, 1828; II, June, 1828–May, 1829; III, July, 1829–June, 1830. (No issues for May, 1828, or June, 1829.)
PUBLISHER: E. Hubbard Flint, Cincinnati.
EDITOR: Timothy Flint.
INDEXED in *Poole*.
REFERENCES: John Ervin Kirkpatrick, *Timothy Flint* (Cleveland, 1911), pp. 185-89, etc.; Ralph Leslie Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (New York, 1925), I, 168-70, etc.; W. H. Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley* (Cincinnati, 1891), pp. 69-71.

2 *Western Monthly Review*, I, 1 (May, 1827).

3 *Ibid.*, I, 530 (January, 1828).

Flint had a nimble sense of humor; and though sometimes careless and verbose, he could really write. He himself furnished about three-fourths of the contents of the magazine as a whole,[4] and at the beginning wrote nearly all of it.[5] At this time he was a man of forty-seven, who had spent twelve years as pastor of a Congregational church in New England, and about as long a period as a missionary in the West. A graduate of Harvard, with Unitarian leanings, he had written much for the magazines and published two books—one of them a novel. His own family afforded him some help in the production of the *Western Monthly;* his son Hubbard was its publisher; another son, Micah P., who died the same year the magazine perished, wrote much of the poetry for its pages, signing his initials; and a daughter, Emeline, helped with the translations from the French which are frequent in the last volume, and made some herself from the Spanish.[6] Judge James Hall, E. D. Mansfield, and others were also contributors now and then.

In the department of criticism, Flint's *Review* deserves some praise. It shows discrimination—though inclined to an undue favoritism to western writers—and its judgments are clearly and vigorously expressed. Flint was bellicose at times; he made enemies easily. It was one of these who called him in the New York *Evening Chronicle* "the donkey of Cincinnati."[7] Seeing "no possible harm" in "encouraging authorship, especially in a new country, to the utmost extent,"[8] he reviewed everything western, and that generously. An article on western writers, in the number for June, 1828, is very readable and honest.

There is little politics in the *Western Monthly Review,* though an article appeared in January, 1830, favoring the acquisition of Texas. Of religion there is somewhat more. Flint's original intention had been to found a religious journal emphasizing literature and institutions.[9] He shows himself the lively champion of morals, and the bitter assailant of wrong. Sympathetic with

[4] Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.,* p. 307.
[5] *Western Monthly Review,* "Advertisement" to Vol. I, p. iv.
[6] Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.,* 232-33.
[7] *Western Monthly Review,* I, 190 (July, 1827).
[8] *Ibid.,* I, 1 (May, 1827).
[9] Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.,* p. 185.

what he calls the "liberal Christian" party—the Unitarians—he hates theological controversy and rejects the more pugnacious Unitarianism.[10] No little attention is given Robert Owen and Alexander Campbell, as was befitting a western journal.

As to fiction, "we shall sometimes," wrote Flint, "though not often, expose an original tale to the charity of the public."[11] The tales thus "exposed" were by Flint himself, commonly western in setting, and usually romantic and sentimental.

The contents of the *Review* were rigorously original at the outset; but this ideal was abandoned before the end, and a variety of selected material about the West (some of it being from previous publications by the editor) was printed. In general the *Western Monthly Review* may be said to have been designed chiefly as an interpreter of the West to the East, and as a recorder of the culture of the new region. That it deteriorated toward the end is scarcely to be denied.

At the beginning the magazine seems to have prospered, gaining a circulation of a thousand copies.[12] But like so many other editors, Flint met disaster at the hands of the delinquent subscriber. After the *Review* had been running for nearly a year and a half, he announced that three-fourths of his accounts had paid nothing from the beginning.[13] At the end of each volume he omitted an issue to enable him to mount his trusty horse and go collecting. In the last number he says that the *Review* "has as yet hardly supported itself. . . . Our labors so far have availed us nothing."[14] He plans, however, to begin a quarterly —which never appeared.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 283-87.
[11] *Western Monthly Review*, II, 9 (June, 1828).
[12] *Ibid.*, I, 376 (October, 1827).
[13] *Ibid.*, II, 248 (September, 1828).
[14] *Ibid.*, III, 668 (June, 1830).

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THE FRIEND [1]

OF the various periodicals fostered by the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, the Philadelphia weekly *Friend* is the oldest. Under the control, during all of its century and more of existence, of the Philadephia Yearly Meeting, it has, like that organization, been distinctively conservative.

The *Friend* was born in 1827, in the midst of the controversy which caused a separation in that year between the Unitarian followers of Elias Hicks and the orthodox body of the Society; it was dedicated to be the spokesman of the parent branch. It was founded by an organization of twenty "Contributors," a self-perpetuating body which still retains the control of the periodical. The contributions to which this committee stands pledged are financial rather than literary.

The first editor was Robert Smith, who was in editorial control for almost a half century, though greatly aided in his later years by Professor Daniel B. Smith, of Haverford College, and Dr. Charles Evans, his successor in the editorship. The Hicksite controversy ran through the first dozen volumes of the *Friend*, though by no means to the exclusion of other matter. "Our object," said the prospectus, "is, to furnish the Society of Friends, an agreeable and instructive miscellany," [2] and to that

[1] TITLE: *The Friend. A Religious and Literary Journal.*
FIRST ISSUE: Tenth Month 13, 1827. Current.
PERIODICITY: Weekly. Annual volumes of fifty-two numbers each; since 1900 a fifty-third number has been added to every sixth volume to stabilize the beginning date of the volumes in the first week of Seventh Month.
PUBLISHERS: John Richardson, 1827-30, 1848-66; William Salter, 1830-34; George W. Taylor, 1834-48; John S. Stokes, 1867-92; Edwin P. Sellew, 1892-1913; Davis H. Forsythe, 1913-current.
EDITORS: Robert Smith, 3rd, 1827-51; Charles Evans, 1851-79; Joseph Walton, 1879-98; John H. Dillingham, 1898-1910; Edwin P. Sellew, 1910-13; Davis H. Forsythe, 1913-29; Margaret W. Rhoads, 1929-current.
REFERENCES: Centennial number of the *Friend*, CI, 181-204 (Tenth Month 13, 1927).

[2] *Friend*, I, 1 (Oct. 13, 1827).

end the eight pages of the quarto were filled weekly with brief literary and scientific articles, travel, original and selected poetry, pious biography, and current events, as well as doctrinal reading and articles dealing with the various "concerns" of the Friends—peace, temperance, antimasonry, antislavery and colonization, and Indian education.

Editor Smith had pronounced literary tastes which drew him toward the classical writers of the preceding century. His prospectus may be quoted again:

> In the first place we shall endeavor to present a selection from the literature of the present day, purified from the exaggerated sentiments, the theatrical manner, the false morality, the perverted sublime, with which the example of a few great geniuses has infected the taste of the age. . . .
>
> A portion of our journal will be devoted to selections from the writings, both in prose and verse, of the great masters of the old English school. . . . It is truly refreshing to turn from the exaggerated and overburdened style which has now become fashionable, to the simple yet powerful touches, the happy keeping, the graceful lights and shades, which distinguish the writings of Addison and Swift, of Pope, of Goldsmith, and Cowper.[3]

Accordingly, Addison, Johnson, and other eighteenth century essayists are reprinted in the series called "The English Classic" which ran through the first volume. Cowper was much quoted in the poetical department. Among the newer writers, Wordsworth received his meed of praise,[4] and Mary Howitt and James Montgomery were reprinted. Bryant and Mrs. Sigourney were among the American poets represented; later of course Whittier's work was admitted.

The first few volumes were more literary than any of their successors. Thereafter much more of science, especially as related to farming, is to be found, and more memoirs of distinguished Friends. In the forties the Society became involved in another controversy, in which the leaders were the more progressive J. J. Gurney, an English Friend who had recently

[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Friend*, I, 244 (May 17, 1828).

visited in America, and the orthodox John Wilbur, of Rhode Island. While the *Friend* was Wilburite in its sympathies, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting did not divide upon the points raised. Separation did take place, however, in other places, and especially in the West, where the Friend had from the first found a large patronage. This controversy, as well as the Hicksite trouble, caused considerable losses in circulation to the *Friend,* as it admits.[5]

Smith died in 1851 and was succeeded by Dr. Charles Evans, his son-in-law. Evans and his brother had been joint editors of the *Friends' Library,* an anthology in fourteen large volumes of the journals of the older Friends, which had been undertaken about the same time as the publication of the *Friend* and for the same purpose—to point the way to primitive Quakerism. A strong conservative, Evans steered a straight course through the difficulties which culminated in the division of 1857. Throughout the fifties "Slavery Items" appeared frequently: they were brief cases in point which reflected slavery conditions during the progress of the dispute. Politics as such played no part in the *Friend;* but the last page of the paper was given over to a "Summary of Events" in these years and throughout the war, and the testimony against war was quietly maintained during the conflict. The education of the Negroes was a special "concern" of the Society at this time and thereafter.

Joseph Walton succeeded Evans upon the latter's death in 1879, and remained editor for almost twenty years. Trained as a teacher at the Westtown boarding school and later in the discipline of a manufacturing business, he brought to the *Friend* a vigorous and helpful personality. We are told that

> On one occasion he approached a young Friend, who had recently begun to earn a living, with an appeal for one dollar for some charitable object in North Carolina. He said: "Thee probably knows nothing about this matter, and thee probably cares nothing about it, but I want to get thee into the habit of giving." The dollar was forthcoming, and the lesson remembered.[6]

[5] *Friend,* XXXIX, 7 (Sept. 2, 1865).
[6] Centenary Number, *op. cit.,* p. 187.

An enthusiastic botanist, Walton gave a scientific turn to many pages of the *Friend.*

John H. Dillingham, a Harvard graduate and a professor at Haverford, succeeded to the editorship on the death of Walton, and served for twelve years. In the meantime, Edwin P. Sellew, who had come into the Society from the pastorate of a Free Methodist congregation in New York, had become the publisher of the *Friend,* and after Dillingham's death in 1910 took over the editorship. His wide acquaintance among Friends and his clearness and force as a writer were assets to the paper. He died in 1913 and was followed by Davis H. Forsythe, who served for sixteen years. Margaret W. Rhoads is acting editor at present.

This sketch of the "Friend Paper," as it has often been affectionately called, or "the square *Friend,*" as it is sometimes named, from its shape of square quarto, may well close with a keynote sentence from the original prospectus of 1827: "As we wish to make the paper a fireside companion for Friends throughout this country, we shall study to infuse into it the mild and liberal spirit of our peculiar institutions."

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THE MEDICAL SCIENCES[1]

DR. NATHANIEL CHAPMAN was one of that group of professional men in the Philadelphia of the first quarter of the nineteenth century who did so much to bring a certain literary renown to their city. He was a contributor to the *Port Folio,* under the name of "Falkland," a close friend of Dennie's, and a member of the Tuesday Club. He was very active in his profession, a professor of the theory and practice of medicine in the University of Pennsylvania, president of the American Philosophical Society, and the first president of the American Medical Association. In 1820 he founded the *Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences,* which was published by Mathew Carey and Son. The venture was a direct reply to the famous attack of Sydney Smith in the *Edinburgh Review* upon American culture, in which he asked, among other things, "What does the world yet owe to American physicians and surgeons?" This query was taken as the motto of the journal.

But the interests of Dr. Chapman were many, and in 1825 he induced Drs. William P. Dewees and John D. Godman to join

[1] TITLES: *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences.* Subtitle 1886-87: (*The International Journal of the Medical Sciences*).

FIRST ISSUE: November, 1827. Current.

PERIODICITY: Quarterly 1827-87, monthly 1888-current. [First series] I-XXVI, November, 1827–August, 1840. (Semiannual volumes of two numbers each: November and February, May and August.) No number issued between August, 1840, and January, 1841. New Series, I-current, January, 1841-current. (Semiannual volumes. Two numbers each I-XCIV (1841-87); six numbers each XCV-current, 1888-current.)

PUBLISHERS (all Philadelphia): Carey, Lea and Carey, 1827-29; Carey and Lea, 1830-32; Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1833-38; Lea and Blanchard, 1839-64; Henry C. Lea, 1865-80; Henry C. Lea's Son and Company, 1830-84; Lea Brothers, 1885-1907; Lea and Febiger, 1908-current.

EDITORS: Isaac Hays, 1827-69; Isaac Hays and I. Minis Hays, 1869-79; I. Minis Hays, 1879-90; Edward P. Davis, 1890-98; Alfred Stengel, 1899-1901; Francis R. Packard, 1901-06; A. O. J. Kelly, 1906-11; George Morris Piersol, 1911-13; George Morris Piersol and John H. Musser, Jr., 1914-21; John H. Musser, Jr., and E. B. Krumbhaar, 1922-24; E. B. Krumbhaar and Richard A. Kern, 1825-current.

him in editing his quarterly. A writer in the later *American Journal* tells us that

> the editorial work practically devolved upon Dr. Godman. In February, 1827, Dr. Isaac Hays was added to the editorial staff, and in consequence of Dr. Godman's appointment to the professorship of Anatomy in Rutgers Medical College, requiring his removal to New York in 1827, Dr. Hays virtually became the editor.[2]

Dr. Hays was a specialist in ophthalmic surgery, but is remembered chiefly for his services to medical literature and to scientific organizations.[3] When he became sole editor of the *Philadelphia Journal* toward the end of 1827, he and his publishers decided to begin a new series under a new name; and thus was founded, in November of that year, the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences.*

"The design of the work is strictly national," said the "Advertisement" to the first volume, thus marking a departure from the policy of the *Philadelphia Journal.* To obtain this wider scope, the editor obtained promises of assistance from a list of "collaborators" which comprised the leading medical talent of the United States. The most prominent professors in the medical faculties at Harvard, the University of Pennsylvania, Rutgers Medical College, Columbia College (D. C.), and other medical schools, as well as leading physicians in hospitals and private practice, appear in the list. And, further than this, the "Advertisement" contains the amazing statement that "All articles that may be inserted will be liberally paid for."

The journal seems to have been successful from the start. Occasional plates, often colored by hand, appear throughout the first series, later to be superseded by woodcuts. Medical news, cases, monographs on various diseases, proceedings of medical societies, and reviews furnish out the contents. "The Periscope" became an important department: it was devoted to a survey of the improvements in medicine at home and abroad. Medical jurisprudence was given much attention.

In 1843 the editor and publisher of the *Journal* undertook a

[2] *American Journal of the Medical Sciences,* LXXIV, 311 (October, 1877).
[3] *Ibid.*, LXXVIII, 281-92 (July, 1879). Obituary of Dr. Hays.

monthly in the same field, called the *Medical News and Library*, and in 1874 the *Monthly Abstract of Medical Science*. The two were combined in 1880, and continued until a merger in 1905 with the *New York Medical Journal*.

For more than fifty years Dr. Isaac Hays continued as editor. In the semicentennial number of the *American Journal* he wrote:

> The general plan of the *Journal* has been unchanged since its origin in 1820; it has always been regularly issued by the same publishing house, and for half a century it has been under the control of its present senior editor.[4]

In 1869 Dr. Hays took his son, Dr. I. Minis Hays, into collaboration as co-editor; and when the father died ten years later the son carried on the work with little change. In the eighties more effort was made to present foreign medical news, and Dr. Malcolm Morris of London was made an associate editor during 1886 and 1887.

In 1888 the *Journal* abandoned the policy of two-thirds of a century, and became a monthly. Since the death of Dr. I. Minis Hays in 1890, there has been a succession of briefer editorships. Dr. Hector Mackenzie, of London, was an English associate editor from 1893 to 1901. An enlargement in the number of pages took place in 1902.

A complete file of the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, with its predecessor, the *Philadelphia Journal*, furnishes a library in which may be traced much of the history of American medicine throughout the last century.

[4] *Ibid.*, LXXIV, 311 (October, 1877).

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THE SPIRIT OF THE PILGRIMS[1]

LYMAN BEECHER came to Boston in 1826 as pastor of the Hanover Street Church. His preaching of the orthodox Calvinistic doctrines of salvation and punishment gave a great impetus to an already noticeable trend to revivalism in New England and New York [2]—a movement encouraged especially because religious awakenings by means of revival meetings were thought to be the best method of combatting that arch enemy of New England orthodoxy—Unitarianism. Having thus gained an advantage in the contest, some of the leaders of Calvinistic theology in and about Boston got together late in 1827 and determined to issue a magazine to war against Unitarianism. The *Christian Examiner* was a tower of strength for the Unitarians, but orthodox Congregationalism had been without a controversial monthly since the *Panoplist* had been converted into a missionary organ eight years before.

Beecher, writing to the editor of the *Christian Spectator,* published in New Haven, in order to assure him "of our cordial estimation of that work, and our purposes still, as far as it can be done, to secure the continuance of its subscribers," [3] asserts Boston's need of "the aid of a local magazine." He further tells of a meeting on December 17 of

ministers and laymen, to whom seem in providence to be committed the responsibility of deliberation and efficient action in the emergency

1 TITLE: *The Spirit of the Pilgrims.*
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1828. LAST ISSUE: December, 1833.
PERIODICITY: Monthly; regular yearly volumes. I-VI, 1828-33.
PUBLISHERS (all Boston): Peirce and Williams, 1828-29; Peirce and Parker, 1830-32; William Peirce, 1833.
EDITOR: Enoch Pond, 1828-32.
INDEXED in *Poole.*

2 See *Autobiography, Correspondence, Etc., of Lyman Beecher, D.D.* (New York, 1865. Edited by Charles Beecher), I, 49-108.

3 The *Spectator* became a quarterly in 1829.

here, in which the opinion was unanimous that the existing and prospective state of things demand a periodical magazine *sui generis* in the city; and a vote was passed that the thing be done as soon as may be, and the whole subject committed to a committee of nine to take all the requisite measures.[4]

The reasons assigned in the opening number for the projection of an orthodox magazine are (1) the "great increase of attention to religion, in this city and vicinity," (2) the correct representation of orthodox Calvinism, (3) the proper instruction of the new converts, and (4) the importance of the controversy with Unitarianism.[5] The magazine was born to controversy, defended controversy in its opening address, and filled its pages largely with controversy. The most important debate in the early numbers is that of Lyman Beecher with the editors of the *Christian Examiner* over the question of whether Calvinists believed in infant damnation. This ran through the first two volumes of the *Spirit* without either side convincing the other, or, probably, anyone else. The question of who won the argument was still being argued a generation later.[6] Beecher claimed that the ascription of the belief in question to the orthodox theologians of New England was a base libel and that none of them believed hell was paved with little children's bones. And, by the way, the motive of the publisher of a reprint of Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom* at this juncture was questioned, as well it might be, since the old doggerelist's adherence to what Beecher called "certain modifications of doctrine" condemned infants to "the easiest room in hell." [7]

The *Christian Examiner* was constantly under the *Spirit's* guns, but the *Christian Register* received a share of the barrage. Harvard College was another object of attack; since Henry Ware's appointment as Hollis Professor of Theology, Harvard was not considered a safe place to send a pious young man. "Shall I send my son to Harvard College?" asked one writer, and answered "No!" at length.[8] The scandal of 1829 over Harvard finances

[4] Beecher, *op. cit.*, I, 122-23.
[5] *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, I, 4-7 (January, 1828).
[6] Beecher, *op. cit.*, I, 137-43.
[7] *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, I, 670 (December, 1828).
[8] *Ibid.*, III, 323 (June, 1830).

was fully aired.[9] That fiery Unitarian, the Rev. Bernard Whitman, of Waltham, furnished much material for the polemical writers of the *Spirit*. William Ellery Channing, Henry Ware, J. T. Kirkland, Andrews Norton, Charles Lowell, and many other Unitarian lights were attacked more or less violently. The Universalists, the Hicksite Friends, and the Christ-ians are grouped, from time to time, with the Unitarians as the objects of the wrath of the orthodox.

A serial history of Unitarianism, and other serials on the inspiration of the scriptures, revivals of religion (by Porter), the legal status of church property when congregations divide, and advice to young ministers occupy much space.

In and about 1830 a controversy grew up within the body of the New England orthodoxy itself. Jealousies between Andover and Yale may have been at the bottom of the trouble, but it cropped out in an attack upon Professor N. W. Taylor, who had come to be the head of what was called the New Haven school of theological thought. Even Beecher was suspected of undue sympathy with what smelt of Arminianism and Pelagianism in the New Haven doctrines. President Porter called a meeting on September 23, 1830, in his study at Andover to discuss the question of whether the *Spirit* should be opened to this controversy, at which it was first voted to take such action, and after further debate, not to do it. Beecher duly reported the proceedings to Taylor.[10] But Leonard Woods, of Andover, and Taylor, of Yale, kept after each other; and finally, in 1832, the pages of the *Spirit* were not only opened to the controversy, but largely given over to it. Bennett Tyler, minister of the Portland church, conducted the campaign against the heresies until, early in 1833, the magazine refused to print any more of the recurrent letters "From Dr. Tyler to Dr. Taylor" and "From Dr. Taylor to Dr. Tyler."

Beecher and Woods also exchanged many letters in a much milder controversy just before the former left for the West in 1832.

The editor of the *Spirit of the Pilgrims* was the Rev. Enoch

9 *Ibid.*, III, 25 (January, 1830).
10 Beecher, *op. cit.*, I, 231-36.

Pond, who resigned his pulpit at Auburn (then Ward), Massachusetts, to perform this service. Precisely who the "original projectors" of the new magazine were there is no record to show; nor is there a list of the "Trustees and Conductors." But Beecher was one of the foremost, without question, until his removal to Cincinnati in 1832. Abiel Holmes, whom the Unitarians were soon to evict from his Cambridge church; Jeremiah Evarts, who had been editor of the *Panoplist* and was now editor of its successor, the *Missionary Herald;* and the leading professors at Andover—Leonard Woods, Moses Stuart, and Eliphalet Porter—were of the group. All these gentlemen were copious contributors, and we have definite record of Evarts' connection.[11]

Pond resigned at the end of 1832, and it is possible that the remaining volume of the *Spirit* was edited by the Rev. George B. Cheever, vigorous and radical enemy of Unitarianism, and later a conspicuous and violent fighter in the temperance cause. At this time he was the chief monitor of the *Christian Examiner.*

The circulation of the *Spirit* was small. Early in 1828 Beecher wrote to a fellow minister in Massachusetts, "We wish to obtain in every town in this commonwealth the reading of the *Spirit of the Pilgrims* by a considerable number, so that its light may shine and its influence be felt."[12] But the editor wrote in the number for December, 1829: "Our list of subscribers is select rather than numerous."[13] The magazine was always well printed, however, and appears to have done the work for which it was designed competently. Stuart thought it too "popular" for his dissertations on Hebrew philology;[14] but it was a very serious publication, and never made any concessions to entertainment—unless its readers were diverted by such pious biography and accounts of death-beds as were used for miscellany.

11 *Spirit of the Pilgrims,* IV, 601 (November, 1831).
12 Beecher, *op. cit.,* I, 132.
13 *Spirit of the Pilgrims,* II, 688 (December, 1829).
14 *Ibid.,* II, 405 (August, 1829).

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THE SOUTHERN REVIEW [1]

THE *Southern Review* represents one of the earliest attempts to express the culture and learning of the South in periodical literature. It was founded by Stephen Elliott, who was at that time in his sixty-seventh year, a man of property and learning, and president of the South Carolina State Bank. He had received his collegiate education at Yale, and then had retired to his South Carolina plantation to devote himself to study, business, and public service. He was the founder and president of the Literary and Philosophical Society of South Carolina. Associated with him as leading contributor [2] was Hugh Swinton Legaré, a young lawyer and orator, and Charleston's representative in the state legislature. Legaré was a classical scholar of ability, and had spent two years traveling in Europe.

The first number begins with a long article on "Classical Learning," by Legaré, who follows this plea for an education based upon the classics with another article in the second number on "Roman Literature" and one in the fourth number on "Roman Orators." Though he continued these papers on the classics, Legaré did not limit himself to this field, but wrote on contemporary literature, law, and other subjects as well. Notable articles are those on "Lord Byron's Character and Writings," in the number for May, 1830, and "Codification," in August, 1831.

[1] TITLE: *The Southern Review.*
FIRST ISSUE: February, 1828. LAST ISSUE: February, 1832.
PERIODICITY: Quarterly. I-VI, 1828-30 (regular semiannual volumes, odd-numbered containing February and May, even-numbered August and November); VII, May, August, 1831 (February, 1831, omitted); VIII, November, 1831, February, 1832.
PUBLISHER: A. E. Miller, Charleston, S. C.
EDITORS: Stephen Elliott, 1828-29 (?); Stephen Elliott, Jr., 1830 (?); Hugh Swinton Legaré, 1830(?)-32.
INDEXED in *Poole* and *Jones.*
REFERENCE: Edward R. Rogers, *Four Southern Magazines* (University of Virginia Studies in Southern Literature, 1902), pp. 48-60.

[2] Legaré was probably not editor with Elliott, as is sometimes stated. See Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

Altogether this industrious, learned, and occasionally brilliant writer supplied probably about a thousand pages of the *Review's* total file, much of it quite too heavy for comfortable diet. Professor Trent sums up Legaré's work so satisfactorily that he must be quoted here:

> In spite of all that has been said of his brilliancy, in spite of his remarkable scholarship, which in the special department of the civil law was perhaps superior to that of any other American of his day, I have to confess that I laid down the two thick volumes of his work with a sigh of relief and regret. Of relief, because I had discharged the duty which I owed to one of the few classic writers of my section; of regret because I could not but acknowledge that here was another instance of the fact that great industry and great learning cannot of themselves make a man a great writer. His scholarship was not even of service in popularizing the scholarly work of others; for who of his luxuriously inclined southern readers could have read without napping his long essays on Athenian and Roman history in the *Southern Review?* If they were read through, then our ancestors were more patient and long-suffering than they are usually supposed to have been.[3]

Elliott, the editor, wrote chiefly upon science and history. His article on Scott's *Napoleon* appeared in the first and third numbers. An enthusiastic botanist, his paper on the classification of plants in November, 1829, is a characteristic production. He died in March, 1830, and his son of the same name is said to have edited the review for a short time. The son was a practising attorney at Charleston, and later took orders in the Protestant Episcopal church and became a bishop. If he wrote for the *Review,* his articles have not been identified. He was succeeded by Legaré, probably in 1830.

Besides Elliott and Legaré, the chief contributors to the *Review* were Thomas Cooper, president of the College of South Carolina, and a man of varied abilities and a romantic personal history, who wrote chiefly on scientific subjects; Robert Henry, at that time professor of logic and moral philosophy at the College, later occupant of several other chairs in that institution, and finally its

[3] William P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms* (American Men of Letters series, Boston, 1892), pp. 51-52.

president, who did literary articles for the *Review;* United States Senator Robert Y. Hayne, who wrote on the navy in November, 1828, and February, 1830; Professor T. C. Wallace, who wrote on mathematics and Hebrew; Josiah C. Nott, the ethnologist, who was at this time practising medicine at Columbia; Thomas S. Grimké and D. J. McCord, both prominent members of the South Carolina legislature; J. L. Petigru, attorney general of the state; Samuel Prioleau, Charleston recorder; S. H. Dickson, of the faculty of the Medical College of South Carolina; and Robert J. Turnbull, best known as a writer on nullification.

In view of the fact that the *Review* was written chiefly by South Carolinians, and that it was published during the nullification era in that state, it is somewhat surprising that there is so little politics in it. Discussions of the Webster-Hayne debate and the "American System" in the number for August, 1830, an article on the United States Bank in November, 1831, and two papers on the federal constitution with their advocacy of states' rights—one by Elliott in the second number and the other by McCord in the fourth—are the chief contributions to political discussion, and none of them is in a spirit of impassioned controversy. The standard of the *Review* was above journalistic partisanship.

This very elevation of tone makes rather difficult reading. Circulation must have been very limited, though one finds no references to business matters until near the end. In 1832 Legaré went abroad as *chargé d'affaires* at Brussels, and the *Review* was dropped.

After what has been said in regard to heaviness in the pages of Elliott and Legaré's quarterly, it is only fair to close with an enthusiastic opinion of the whole work written some twenty years later by another southern reviewer, James D. B. DeBow. DeBow thinks that the period of the *Southern Review*

> may well be ranked the Augustan Age of southern letters. We look back to it with pride and satisfaction, as the tenants of the Vatican to the time of Leo X. There were those colossal men in science and letters—the elder Elliott, President Cooper, Grimké, and Legaré, a rising star which was destined to go out in the zenith of its splendor. There were McDuffie and Hayne—those noble and gallant spirits,

whose wisdom and eloquence added to the reputation and the glory of their country; the younger Elliott, Hamilton, Turnbull, Henry, Nott, Dickson—a glorious constellation which has long been broken up and scattered forever. The English language does not embrace a work we would receive in exchange for its eight plain and unpretending volumes.[4]

And someone told Harriet Martineau that the *Southern Review* was undisputedly "the best specimen of periodical literature that the country has afforded," and she wrote the statement in her book.[5] It stands today the classic southern review.

[4] *DeBow's Review*, IX, 125 (July, 1850).
[5] Martineau, *Society in America* (London, 1837), II, 308.

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THE AMERICAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE[1]

(Willis's)

NATHANIEL PARKER WILLIS was twenty-three years old when he began the *American Monthly Magazine* in Boston; but he had already published one volume of verses, and he had attracted widespread attention by his contributions of poetry and prose to newspapers and annuals. He had something of a reputation as a fop and coxcomb, he had the misfortune to be good-looking and to know it, and he wore fine clothes carefully. Moreover, he had a pretty gift for satire, and it rather amused him to make enemies.

The new periodical was modeled upon Thomas Campbell's *New Monthly Magazine,* of London. It was one of the most readable and entertaining magazines that had yet appeared in America. Essays, tales, criticism, poetry, and humor filled most of its pages, and the spirit of Willis pervaded it all. Indeed Willis wrote a large share of the magazine himself. He had not yet attained the ease which was later to be his; yet the *American Monthly* contained such stories and sketches as "The Elopement," "The Fancy Ball," and the delicious "Albina M'Lush." There were also some of the travel sketches which were later to be so popular with readers of Willis. The extensive department of chat called "The Editor's Table" was reminiscent of *Blackwood's* "Noctes Ambrosianae" and prophetic of the *Knickerbocker's* department of the same name. It contained much literary criticism: Willis liked especially to discuss the current American poetry.

[1] TITLE: *The American Monthly Magazine.*
FIRST ISSUE: April, 1829. LAST ISSUE: July, 1831.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. I, April, 1829 – March, 1830; II, April, 1830 – March, 1831; III, April – July, 1831.
PUBLISHERS: Peirce and Williams, Boston, 1829-31; N. P. Willis, Boston, 1831.
EDITOR: Nathaniel Parker Willis.
REFERENCE: Henry A. Beers, *Nathaniel Parker Willis* (Boston, 1885, American Men of Letters series), Chap. III.

Willis did not write quite all of the magazine, however. J. L. Motley and Richard Hildreth, neither of them historians as yet; the poets Rufus Dawes, George Lunt, Mrs. Sigourney, and Albert Pike; Park Benjamin, whose sister the editor was courting under difficulties; and others less known or more completely forgotten were contributors. These were all young people of Willis's age, or thereabouts. Pike's "Hymns to the Gods," a series of Keatsian odes, constituted the most important poetry contributed to the magazine.

Boston in 1829 could scarcely be friendly to a man who had as much respect for the pleasures of the senses as young Mr. Willis had. Joseph T. Buckingham, editor of the Boston *Courier*, who was soon to start a magazine of his own, spoke the sober opinion of virtuous Boston when he rebuked the *Monthly* for its affectation, its praise of champagne, and its conceited airs. Willis was excommunicated from his sedate Boston church for attending the theater. Down in New York, the *Mirror*, pricked by a chance arrow, railed at his "conceited egotism, flippant arrogance, mawkish sentimentality," and declared, "Mr. Willis has neither the talents, taste, industry, nor tact, requisite to the skilful management of a literary periodical which shall reflect credit on the country." [2]

Financially the magazine was not a success. Willis took over the responsibility of publication after the second volume, publishing in the first number of the new volume a declaration which sounds much like Mrs. Micawber's promise never to desert her husband:

> *We shall not, under any circumstances, relinquish the editorship of the American Monthly.* . . . We established it under very depressing discouragements, without funds, and with the croaking of a hundred editors in our ears.[3]

Three months later he gave it up. Or, rather, he turned his list over to the *New York Mirror*, of which he became associate editor. Apparently the *Mirror's* opinion of Willis's talents, taste, industry, and tact had changed.

[2] *Mirror*, VII, 287 (March 13, 1830).
[3] *American Monthly*, III, 75 (April, 1831).

And so Willis deserted Boston. "He left behind him," says his biographer, "the squibs of his brother journalists, the cackle of the tea-tables, and some three thousand dollars of debts incurred through the failure of his enterprise." [4]

However inglorious the story of Willis's first editorial adventure may seem, the file of the *American Monthly* affords a kind of oasis in the desert of rather consistently dull writing of the times.

[4] Beers, *Nathaniel Parker Willis*, pp. 98-99.

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GODEY'S LADY'S BOOK[1]

ON many an attic bookshelf throughout America, covered with dust that is not disturbed except at housecleaning time, lie copies of an old magazine which once, to use a favorite phrase of its publisher, Louis A. Godey, "brought unalloyed pleasure to the female mind."[2] The stories and poems were read and re-read and cried over, the fashions were studied and copied, the engravings were cut out and framed, and the editor's advice was considered the final pronouncement.

The relation between the editor of the *Lady's Book* and his readers was singularly intimate. Plump, benignant, simple-hearted Mr. Godey talked monthly to his "fair readers" in a tone in which there was much of old-fashioned gallantry, a good deal of naïvely serious if somewhat condescending advice upon

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Lady's Book*, 1830-39; (2) *Godey's Lady's Book and Ladies' American Magazine*, 1840-43; (3) *Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book*, 1844-48; (4) *Godey's Lady's Book*, 1848-54, 1883-92; (5) *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*, 1854-83; (6) *Godey's Magazine*, 1892-98.

FIRST ISSUE: July, 1830. LAST ISSUE: August, 1898.

PERIODICITY: Monthly. Octavo. Two volumes a year regularly (I-CXXXVII). The last volume is incomplete with two numbers only.

PUBLISHERS: L. A. Godey and Company, 1830-77; Godey's Lady's Book Publishing Company, 1877-83; J. H. Haulenbeek and Company, 1883-86; William E. Striker, 1886-87; Croly Publishing Company, 1887-88; Godey Publishing Company, 1888-98. (Philadelphia, 1830-92; New York, 1892-98.)

EDITORS: Louis A. Godey, 1830-36; Mrs. Sarah J. Hale and Louis A. Godey, 1837-38, 1846-77; Mrs. Sarah J. Hale, Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney, and Louis A. Godey, 1839-40; Mrs. Sarah J. Hale and Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney, 1841; Mrs. Sarah J. Hale, Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney, Morton McMichael, and Louis A. Godey, 1842; Mrs. Sarah J. Hale, Morton McMichael, and Louis A. Godey, 1843-46; J. G. L. Brown, Charles W. Frost, and Mrs. S. A. Shields, 1878; J. Hannum Jones, A. E. Brown, and Mrs. S. A. Shields, 1878-81; J. Hannum Jones and A. E. Brown, 1881-83; J. H. Haulenbeek, 1883-85; J. H. Haulenbeek and Eleanor Moore Hiestand, 1885-86; Mrs. D. G. Croly, 1887-88; Albert H. Hardy, 1892-93; Harry Wakefield Bates, 1894-(?); Harold Wilkinson (?).

INDEXED in *Poole*, except 1830-39 and 1883-98.

REFERENCE: "*Godey's*, Past and Present" in *Godey's Magazine*, CXXV, 363 (October, 1892). R. F. Warner, "*Godey's Lady's Book*," in the *American Mercury*, II, 398 (August, 1924). Richardson Wright, *Forgotten Ladies* (Philadelphia, 1928). Chap. VII, "The Madonna in Bustles."

[2] *Godey's*, XXV, 204 (October, 1842).

important topics, and not a little plain good humor. When some inquirer asks on which side the gentleman should ride in a carriage, Godey answers that he should ride on the left, for "is it not nearest the lady's heart?" [3] The good editor might have sat for the portraits of the Cheeryble twins as painted by Dickens while Godey was making his first success: like them, Godey was indulgent to all, and no reasonable request was refused his readers. "We have received a note from some fair Lady, we presume, requesting us to give another description of Love than that found in the February number. This shall be done, and another fair Lady has it now in charge." [4]

But do not think that Louis A. Godey was mainly a gallant or a philanthropist; he was a good two-thirds business man. He gave the "fair Ladies" what they wanted, whether it was a new definition of Love with a capital L, or the new Philadelphia fashions, or a tear-compelling tale; and they rewarded him by swelling his subscription list to unheard-of proportions. "Our list now exceeds the combined number of any other three monthly publications," he wrote in 1839, "and if we can judge the future by the past, it will reach by the next year the astonishing number of 25,000." [5] How much rounder Mr. Godey's round eyes would have grown if he had been told of the circulations running to millions which represent present-day success in magazine publishing! But the circulation of the *Lady's Book* was extraordinary for those days, reaching its highest point just before the war at 150,000. Godey is said to have left a fortune of a million dollars. One feels that this golden success surprised the good Mr. Godey more than anyone else, he takes such frank delight in it. His readers were kept informed of his success, and of the sums he was able to expend upon the magazine to make it "one blaze of beauty throughout." "This work is conducted at an annual expenditure of one hun-

[3] *Godey's*, XII, 283 (June, 1836).

[4] *Godey's*, XII, 192 (April, 1836).

[5] "From Maine to the Rocky Mountains there is scarcely a hamlet, however inconsiderable, where it is not received and read; and, in the larger towns and cities, it is universally distributed," wrote the exuberant Godey in December, 1841 (XXIII, 293). He chronicles the increase in circulation jubilantly: in July, 1849, 40,000; a year later 62,500; 70,000 at the end of 1850; 100,000 in 1856; 150,000 by 1860. He claimed 110,000 in 1865 and 100,000 in 1873.

dred thousand dollars," says an advertisement of October, 1851. But the money-counter did not harden Godey's heart, and his business enterprise was always tempered with his native sentimentality. When his fellow-citizens in Philadelphia gave him a banquet testifying their esteem for him, his own toast was, of course, the one to the ladies. "To the Ladies—" he said, "the most efficient, because the most constant and persevering patrons of magazine literature. . . . It is my business and pleasure to please them, for to them—God bless the fairest portion of His creation—" one can almost see a tear sparkle in the old gentleman's eye, "for to them I am indebted for my success." [6]

Godey never admitted anything to the pages of the *Lady's Book* that was not as pure as the driven snow. In that habit he had of talking to his contributors through the magazine—commending, scolding, accepting, declining—he wrote in February, 1840: "The story sent us from Charleston, although excellent, cannot be published in our *Book*. Nothing having the slightest appearance of indelicacy, shall ever be admitted to the *Lady's Book*." [7] One naughtily wonders what terrible breach of convention Mr. Godey's shocked eyes had lighted upon in the pages of the manuscript from Charleston.

But Mr. Godey was neither a writer of ability nor a judge of literary values. He sometimes essayed a bit of fine writing himself, as that to "May, favourite child of Spring," in the number for May, 1836; rather an anti-climax, however, was the appended note: "If the above elegant invocation, which we flatter ourselves is quite equal to several of a similar character which we have seen, should seem unseasonable, the fault, it must be remembered, is not ours, but the weather's." [8]

Godey must have felt his literary shortcomings, and his increasing need of editorial assistance. In 1837 he was branching out as a publisher; with his literary friends Morton McMichael and Joseph C. Neal, he was starting the *Saturday News*, a family paper, with the *Lady's Dollar Newspaper* to come later. So

[6] *Godey's*, LII, 273, footnote (March, 1876).
[7] *Godey's*, XX, 96 (February, 1840).
[8] *Godey's*, XII, 239 (May, 1836).

when he bought Mrs. Sarah J. Hale's *Ladies' Magazine* of Boston to combine with his *Book* in 1837, he obtained Mrs. Hale along with it. Now Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale was a great woman. She had some poetic ability, and if persistence of the product be taken as a criterion, she was even a great poet. It was Mrs. Hale who wrote:

> Mary had a little lamb;
> Its fleece was white as snow;
> And everywhere that Mary went
> The lamb was sure to go.

For sheer familiarity that quotation rivals anything in Shakespeare. It was Mrs. Hale, too, who wrote:

> "It snows," cries the schoolboy, "Hurrah!" and his shout
> Is ringing through parlor and hall.

Mr. McGuffey did a good deal for these old poems, to be sure, but it is some credit to have written them. Left a widow in 1822, with five children to provide for, Mrs. Hale had turned to literature for a living, and a few years later had become editor of the Boston *Ladies' Magazine*, a somewhat more conventional and literary and reserved periodical than Godey's, lacking the ebullient and familiar tone of the *Book*, but possessing much the same ideals with more solidity. Mrs. Hale was a high church Episcopalian, and "when dressed for church was an imposing spectacle, rather like a duchess of fiction."[9] She was interested in many public movements. She transferred to *Godey's* that interest in "female education" with which her own magazine had been filled, and advocated without ceasing the preparation of women for the teaching profession, and the establishment of female seminaries. She also urged the admission of women to practice medicine, and it was largely to promote the cause of "doctresses" that she organized the Ladies' Medical Missionary Society and its successor, the Woman's Union Missionary Society. Mrs. Hale, moreover, more than any other

[9] *New England Quarterly*, I, 62 (January, 1928), "The Genesis of *Godey's Lady's Book*" by Lawrence Martin.

person is responsible for the national celebration of Thanksgiving Day. It had been observed by different states (especially in New England) on various days, and not at all by some; Mrs. Hale's agitation for the nationalization of the holiday resulted finally in Lincoln's proclamation of October 20, 1864. Author of a two-volume novel, sundry books of sketches, a very popular cookbook, and some admired verse, and editor of some anthologies and annuals as well as of *Godey's* in its best years, Mrs. Hale was a notable literary figure.

With Mrs. Hale as literary editor and Mr. Godey as publisher and general manager, the *Lady's Book* entered upon a new era. Godey's business was flourishing, in spite of the recent panic, and he had money to pay the contributors he most wanted. Like his neighbor and competitor Graham, he thought it good business to pay well for famous names; but to unknowns he paid nothing.[10] In his early volumes he had included some famous American writers, but chiefly through reprints. Perhaps his biggest hit of those years was a prize story, "Mrs. Washington Potts," [11] which had started Eliza Leslie upon her literary career, and still reads well. But with Mrs. Hale at the helm, *Godey's* now launched out on wider seas; it was soon transformed from a mediocre miscellany to a literary magazine of importance. Mrs. Hale was an absentee editor for four years, staying in Boston to make a home for her boys, who were in Harvard, but her influence on the magazine was nonetheless great.

All the popular writers of the time appeared in the *Lady's Book* between 1837 and 1850, the magazine's best literary period. Among the "authoresses" were Miss Leslie, at one time an assistant editor; Mrs. Sigourney, another editor, of whom more anon; a trio of prolific writers of serial fiction, Mrs. Anne Stephens, Mrs. E. F. Ellet, and Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz; a trio of much admired poetesses—Mrs. Frances S. Osgood, Mrs.

[10] In February, 1850, he declared he had paid two hundred thousand dollars to American artists and authors (XL, 88). In the same statement he claims to have surpassed English magazines in his rates to writers (p. 87). But he did not pay at all except for contributions contracted for in advance (XVIII, 191, April, 1839). See p. 510, *supra*.

[11] *Godey's*, V, 169ff. (October, 1832). Reprinted in January and February, 1866.

TWO OF THE CHIEF "EDITRESSES" OF THE FORTIES

ANN S. STEPHENS

Editor of the *Portland Magazine*, *Peterson's Magazine*, etc., and author of serial fiction. From an engraving in *Graham's Magazine* for November, 1844.

SARAH JOSEPHA HALE

Long-time editor of *Godey's*, author, and campaigner for female education. From an engraving in *Godey's* for December, 1850.

Seba Smith, and Miss Hannah F. Gould; "Grace Greenwood," who edited Godey's *Lady's Dollar Newspaper* for a time; Miss Catherine M. Sedgwick, author of *Hope Leslie,* and much else; Mrs. Caroline M. S. Kirkland, notable for her western sketches and stories; and Harriet Beecher Stowe, not yet famous. This was a great galaxy in the forties.

In 1841 the magazine advertised that it was "edited solely by ladies."[12] Associated with Mrs. Hale at that time was the most popular poetess who ever wrote in America—Lydia H. Sigourney. Her popularity was equalled only by her industry; her posthumous memoirs record over two thousand contributions to more than three hundred periodicals, and she published forty-six volumes of all sorts—poetry, essays, travel, fiction, historical sketches, cookbooks, etc. She is omnipresent in the magazines of the period, and she had editorial connections with several. It may be doubted whether she did much actual editorial work on *Godey's.*

But mere man had also a place in *Godey's.* George P. Morris, William Gilmore Simms, T. S. Arthur, Bayard Taylor, and Nathaniel Parker Willis, whose names are already familiar in these pages because of the connections which their bearers had with various other magazines, were among *Godey's* authors. James Kirk Paulding, once a leading American author, and Thomas Buchanan Read, now remembered only for his "Sheridan's Ride" if at all, were also notable and frequent contributors.

Another writer of pleasing pieces featured in *Godey's* was Joseph C. Neal, whose *Charcoal Sketches* may still be remembered by a few. Godey thought them equal to *Pickwick,* and said that the benefits which Neal's pen had "conferred on our race can cease only when the language in which it writes has perished."[13] Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher. The racy tales of the Widow Bedott and Aunt Magwire may still tickle our risibilities, however. They are genuinely satirical, and take off the Yankee characteristics of up-state New York "to a T," as Aunt Magwire would say. Deacon Whipple, who had "a

[12] *Godey's,* XXIII, 144 (September, 1841).
[13] *Godey's,* XXVII, 288 (December, 1843).

consarn for the welfare o' Zion," but who "spent the heft of his time a-pryin' into other folks' bizness"; Uncle Magwire, who was "a mortal teaze," but who was "a little nicked" when the deacon accused him of getting "half shaved on cider"; Anny Mariar, the "interestin' dartar" of Dr. Lippincott, who was at Parson Scrantum's donation party "with her six starched skirts on"; and Charity Grimes, who "had been tryin' these twenty year to get married and couldn't make it out"; and so on through a very long catalogue. These sketches and tales were by Mrs. Frances M. Whitcher; but she did not sign them, wishing, doubtless, to conceal her temerity from the originals of the sketches, who were parishioners of her husband in New York State. One learns with regret that her effort at concealment was not successful, and that the family had to move to new fields.

Godey also made a raid into New England, the booty from which consisted of contributions from Emerson, Longfellow, Holmes, Hawthorne, and Mrs. Stowe. Among this material was Longfellow's "Maidenhood," containing the lines,

> Standing with reluctant feet
> Where the brook and river meet.

But *Godey's* greatest sensation was the series by Edgar Allan Poe on "The New York Literati," in which some very considerable literary reputations were pitilessly deflated. Godey was right in his prophecy, "We are much mistaken if these papers of Mr. Poe do not raise some commotion in the literary emporium."[14] The number containing the first installment of the criticisms had to be reprinted to supply the demand; indeed, so much "commotion" was raised that Godey had to print a disavowal: "We have nothing to do but publish Mr. Poe's opinions—not our own."[15] Poe's "Mellonta Tauta," one of the last tales printed before his death, appeared in *Godey's* for February, 1849. Just a year later appeared a poem about the dead poet, by H. Marion Stephens, beginning:

[14] *Godey's*, XXXII, 240 (May, 1846).
[15] *Godey's*, XXXII, 288 (June, 1846).

Oh! lay the broken lyre
  Upon his tomb;
The Pleiad's glowing fire
  Is quenched in gloom!
The glorious and the bright
(Wiled from the realm of light
To earth) has taken flight:
  Good spirits—room! [16]

The list of contributors in the forties is a brilliant one; [17] in the next decade, however, there is a great deterioration. Two of the chief *Godey* writers in the fifties were Metta Victoria Fuller, who later married O. J. Victor and with him became a mainstay of the Beadle organization, and Virginia F. Townsend, later associate editor of *Arthur's Home Magazine.* Others were Mrs. Mary Janvrin and the Rev. H. H. Weld. Fannie E. Hodgson came somewhat later, publishing her first story, at seventeen years of age, in *Godey's* in 1867, and thus inaugurating a career of long duration as a popular magazine writer.[18]

But in spite of these importations, *Godey's* never became a literary magazine of a high grade. Sentimentality, which infected the literature of the time pretty generally anyway, was fulsome in the *Lady's Book.* Sophie Mays and Clare DeVeres and Phyllises wrote many poems and stories for its pages. An example quite at random is "The Frozen Heart," by Violette Woods (December, 1868). In the story Mabel's heart is frozen because she has been jilted by her lover, but she courageously covers up her tragedy, becomes engaged to Arthur Moore, and, when her former lover asks her to marry him, coldly refuses. Later—let us quote the closing sentences—

[16] *Godey's,* XL, 143 (February, 1850).

[17] Other names found more or less frequently are N. C. Brooks, William E. Burton, R. M. Bird, Park Benjamin, Joseph R. Chandler, Robert T. Conrad, Willis G. Clark, Alexander H. Everett, Theodore Fay, James T. Fields, Horace Greeley, Joseph Holt Ingraham, Charles G. Leland, Grenville Mellen, Herman Melville, Epes Sargent, Richard Penn Smith, R. H. Stoddard, A. B. Street, H. T. Tuckerman, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and L. A. Wilmer.

[18] See, for an account of this beginning, E. M. Harkins, *Famous Authors* (*Women*) (Boston, 1901), pp. 31-36. *Peterson's, Scribner's Monthly,* and *Harper's* were, in the order named, the next receptacles for Miss Hodgson's (Mrs. Burnett's) work. J. Henry Harper (*House of Harper,* New York, 1912, p. 225) is mistaken in claiming her as a *Harper* discovery, and A. H. Smyth in making a similar claim for *Peterson's.* (*Op. cit.,* p. 226.)

Later, as she stood at her mirror, her white hands upraised to unclasp the bandeau of pearls which adorned her jetty locks; her dark eyes peering through the glass into her wildly throbbing heart—could Ralph Bennett have seen her *then,* he would have known that she had sacrificed herself upon the altar of pride.

For a year her head was pillowed upon the breast of Arthur Moore—for a year she was a faithful wife; but at the end of that time her bloom faded, the current of life was chilled, and lips and eyes were closed upon earth forever. Her husband mourned her sincerely, but he never knew that the warm rays of his affection had failed to melt a frozen heart.

Godey's published literally thousands of such tales, very sentimental, very moral. They frequently begin with an explicit statement of the moral, stop every few paragraphs to reiterate it, and then end with a page of edifying disquisition. The characters are often so pious and good that we hate them heartily. "All Mr. Arthur's productions are intended to point a moral," says the *Godey* reviewer of that writer's *Advice to Young Men.* "His magazine tales have all that end." It is too true, and not only of the author of *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room,* but of most other writers in the *Lady's Book.*

The poetry was not very different in type. The great mass of it—and a large mass it makes, for *Godey's* published much verse—was mediocre or worse. Before Mrs. Hale's advent, Mr. Godey was easily wheedled into printing school-girl verses. Two sisters write him: "We are constant readers, and therefore admirers, of the *Lady's Book;* and if you will let us see ourselves in it (it is—or will be, if you do—our first appearance in print) we will make it a condition of our consenting to become wives that we shall be allowed to continue subscribers so long as you continue to make a book so useful and interesting to our sex." Could the soft-hearted Louis refuse such a request? He could not, and sentimental—even ungrammatical—lines on the Mayflower by both girls are printed. There is a good deal of truth in the severe words of the New York *Tribune:* "The *Lady's Book* seems to us sadly misnamed, for it is of late uniformly filled with trash—the most unmeet offering in the world for those to whom it is addressed. . . . The Editor's Table seems

THE FASHION-PLATE FAMILY SHOW OFF THEIR NEW CLOTHES

The modern slang term "sweet papa" seems to fit this impossibly dandified gentleman. Styles in hair dressing, pantalettes, sleeves, collars, and headgear are illustrated in this delightfully artificial family scene. *Godey's*, 1837.

uniformly written for children under twelve years old, and sadly lacks dignity and sense." [19]

Of course the magazine was not all stories and poems. Light essays, such as those Willis wrote best, on "The Eloquence of Music," "Flirtation," "The Language of Flowers," and so on, were common; biographical sketches of famous women, bits of history and travel, and short articles on music and art helped fill the pages. Departments of receipts, of fancywork (fearfully and wonderfully gingerbready), of the toilet (called "The Mirror of the Graces"), of fashions (explaining the illustrations), of health and beauty, of humor, and of juvenile miscellany were more or less regularly carried, besides book reviews and "The Editor's Table." Here is such matter as is found in the women's magazines today, such matter as women have been interested in since "Eve span," and will doubtless continue to be interested in for some time yet.

But where are the articles on current problems, on politics, on social and economic questions? They are not to be found in *Godey's:* they are not suitable for the female mind. Art and music and sentiment, and even education, but no politics. Beecher attacked the *Lady's Book* in the *Independent* for not joining in the crusade against slavery,[20] but Louis A. Godey knew that "the fairest portion of creation" had no interest in politics,[21] and he doubtless felt, with most gentlemen of the period, that it was not quite polite to mention politics in a lady's presence without begging her pardon. Mrs. Hale's advocacy of education for women was carried on largely in her own editorial department, where she talked about normal schools and medical training for women to her heart's content, and doubtless to some effect. "The Doctress will yet take her honorable place among Doctors," wrote the "Editress," thus proving herself a true prophetess. A doctor rather than a doctress edited *Godey's* Health Department, however,—Dr. Jno. S. Wilson, of Georgia, and later Dr. Charles P. Uhle—though a doctress might on the whole have done a better job of it. In February, 1849,

19 *New York Tribune,* Oct. 1, 1842. Quoted in *Passages from the Correspondence of R. W. Griswold,* p. 118.

20 See the *Independent,* Jan. 24, 1850.

21 See *Godey's,* LII, 273 (March, 1856).

Dr. Uhle wrote a little essay on exercises for women, in which he said, "It would be a prejudicial error to suppose that females should be subjected only to passive exercises . . . those methods that gently strengthen the fibres without causing any corresponding loss," as an example of which he suggests carriage-riding. "It would, however," he is quick to add, "be imprudent to subject suddenly to violent exercise young girls of feeble constitution, with soft skin, pale complexion, and light hair, which are proofs of weakness." He combats the theory that nervous girls will lose their mental alertness if they take up exercises, and concludes, "Nervous girls, then, should be strengthened; it will prevent them from becoming invalids—it is certain they will remain clever." [22] A proper exercise for proper young ladies was finally found in "the fashionable and fascinating game of croquet, which is now so popular, not only in this country but in Europe, and which for skill, grace, and healthy recreation has no rival in out-door amusements." [23]

It was shortly after the war that croquet "came in" [24]—after the war, concerning which the reader of *Godey's* would have had not the slightest notion in the world if he had been depending upon that periodical for information. The magazine was absolutely untouched by the great conflict; there was a taboo against references to the war. But about the time of Lee's surrender, Mr. Godey in his department tells of receiving subscription clubs from the army. What? Did the soldiers read the *Lady's Book?* It seems that we have certainly caught them at it, and Mr. Godey, in his nice way, commends them for being "a refined and well-conducted army." [25] So, after all, the war got in, by virtue of the refinement of an army that wanted the *Lady's Book.* But do even the publishers of women's magazines themselves ever suspect how many men read their periodicals, in the army or out of it?

War or no war, the *Lady's Book* went on its prosperous and elegant way, publishing pretty poems, stories and essays, as well as plans of model cottages, a fine arts department, a piece of

[22] *Godey's,* XXXVIII, 144-45 (February, 1849).
[23] *Godey's,* LXXIII, 101 (January, 1867).
[24] An illustrated series on croquet ran through the early months of 1867.
[25] *Godey's,* LXX, 284 (March, 1865).

music every month (as it had from the first)—and engravings and fashion plates.

The last formed the great feature of *Godey's*—the embellishments. Do not call them illustrations. They did not illustrate the text; the text illustrated them. The editor was wont to refer to some story or sketch as "the illustration of the plate." The plate was the thing, and especially the fashion plate. The first number of the magazine (July, 1830), printed a fashion plate water-colored by hand—in which the simpering lady wears a blue hooped gown and a yellow poke-bonnet, and carries a lavender sun-shade. At first there was but one of these hand-colored plates every three months, but soon the allowance was increased to one each issue, and the quality improved, and in 1849 Godey printed twenty colored plates. In 1861 began the series of "extension plates," which were colored fashion pictures at least double the width of the *Godey* page, so that the plate must be folded to go in. These plates were a great success; by means of them the artist could get four or five full-sized hoop-skirts abreast, which made a great show. The old plates have today an inextinguishable charm. The delicate water colors, the quaint old fashions, the tiny feet and wasp waists, the careful poses (oh, how posturized!) belong to a delightful world of pure artificiality. Certainly, one says, nobody could really have worn these dresses! But there they are, and the student of costumes may trace them through their changing phases; it is such a history of clothes as Carlyle never dreamed of. There is something of Eugénie, something of Victoria, something of Jennie Lind. Charming pantalettes pass away, and at length the hoops give place to the bustle: oh, what a fall was there, my countrymen!

The plates were really hand-colored. Godey spoke with pride of "our corps of one hundred and fifty female colorers";[26] the *Broadway Journal* unkindly remarked, "Godey keeps almost as many ladies in his pay as the Grand Turk,"[27] and when there is an "interested clamour raised, in certain quarters, against the publication of fashion plates," he indignantly asserts that his

[26] *Godey's*, XLIV, 93 (January, 1852).
[27] *Broadway Journal*, I, 127 (Feb. 22, 1845).

plates are "a good service to the cause of civilization." [28] Never while Mr. Godey lived were the hand-colored plates abandoned for long, though lithographs and other methods of color reproduction were experimented with from time to time.

Second only to the colored fashions were the art engravings on steel and copper. There was one of these in each number from the first, and in later and more lavish years two or three. In June, 1870, the magazine claimed it had published a thousand steel plates. Sartain's mezzotints were real works of art, with a rich tone and a power of contrast to marvel at. W. E. Tucker, J. I. Pease, A. L. Dick, William Croome, P. F. Rothermel and J. A. Dallas were other engravers. The subjects were sometimes famous pictures; more often than not they were about as sentimental as the stories that illustrated them. These embellishments, with the music, patterns, and woodcuts of separate garments, were most of them bound together at the front of the magazine. Subscribers frequently removed the pictures for home decoration, and there was a lively sale of the colored plates.

In the seventies Marion Harland and Mary W. Janvrin were leading contributors to *Godey's*, with liberal help from such writers as Caroline Orne, S. Annie Frost, and others. "With skilful hand and under conscientious impulse, Marion Harland continues to point out from month to month those sins of omission and commission upon which the real happiness of life depends," [29] observed the *Printer's Circular* in 1871, all unconscious of the startling immorality of its remark. But its meaning is clear, and none can disagree. In 1877 the management of the magazine, which had been largely confided to the care of Godey's sons, was reorganized. Mrs. Hale, aged eighty-nine years, surrendered her editorial responsibilities. In the next year Louis A. Godey passed to his reward. After the change S. Annie Frost (Mrs. S. A. Shields) was the chief editor, and Clara F. Guernsey, A. J. H. Duganne, Christian Reid, Eben E. Rexford, and Max Adeler were prominent in the tables of contents; and the pages were enlivened occasionally by A. B. Frost's caricatures and F. O. C. Darley's plates illustrating scenes in the

[28] *Godey's*, XXVI, 204 (April, 1843).
[29] *Printer's Circular*, VII, 177 (July, 1871).

A SENTIMENTAL FAMILY GROUP FROM "GODEY'S"

This picture, engraved by W. E. Tucker and printed in the *Lady's Book* for September, 1850, is offered as an example of the thousands of similar sentimental engravings which appeared in the magazines. Sometimes it was a mother and child, sometimes a child and dog, sometimes a dog and cat, and so on: here we have mother, child, dog, and cat—"A Family Party."

Waverley novels. In 1883 the magazine came into the hands of J. H. Haulenbeek as owner and editor.

In the meantime, in spite of the liberal use of chromos for subscription premiums, and a reduction in price from three dollars to two in 1879, the *Lady's Book* had been outstripped in popularity by its neighbor and rival, *Peterson's Magazine,* and its days of glory were over. After Haulenbeek's administration came a brief attempt by Mrs. D. G. Croly, the "Jenny June" of the magazines, a pioneer in the organization of women's clubs, the founder of Sorosis, an experienced journalist, and a former editor of *Demorest's Illustrated Monthly.* No more likely choice could have been made of a magician to wake the *Lady's Book* from its death-trance; but it was evidently too far gone for even "Jenny June," and she abandoned it to its fate in 1888. About this time half-tone electrotypes, after short periods of probation, definitely supplanted the historic Godey engravings.

In 1892 the magazine was moved to New York, where it lost the name "Lady's Book" and became simply *Godey's Magazine.* A successful hat manufacturer named Sibel "sank a fortune in the magazine" trying to resuscitate it.[30] It now specialized in novelettes (after *Lippincott's*) by John Habberton, its literary editor, and Julian Hawthorne, Gertrude Atherton, H. H. Boyesen, Amelia E. Barr, and others. For a short time it printed some colored fashions as exhibited by famous women—a ridiculous device which had once before been tried by the older *Lady's Book*—but for the most part its pictures were good. E. E. Greatorex and R. F. Zogbaum were among its artists. Harold Wilkinson and Rupert Hughes became assistant editors. In its last five years the magazine was devoted to art, music, the drama, and fashion, with copious illustration; but in 1898 it was absorbed by Frank Munsey's *Puritan,* which was soon thereafter combined with the *Argosy.*

Thus *Godey's* disappeared, leaving reminders nowhere but on attic shelves and in the most inaccessible corners of our libraries. Yet there is much to be learned from its file. Here is a history of manners, a history of taste, a history of costume.

[30] For this information I am indebted to Mr. Rupert Hughes, then a member of the staff.

Here is something of art, with some first editions of famous writers. Here are two portraits fully painted: those of Louis the Good, and Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale. Most interesting of all, perhaps, here is a measure by which we may observe the advancement of women in later years. It may be that some things have been lost along the road of that march that were worth keeping; if so, the old *Lady's Book* is a guide to their rediscovery. At any rate, the yellow pages have somewhat the charm of old lace, and the odor of lavender is about them.

"The Banquet of the Boudoir," the *Louisville Varieties* called the *Book;* and Mr. Godey commented: "There is something very pretty about that."

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THE ILLINOIS MONTHLY; THE WESTERN MONTHLY[1]

ONE of the most interesting magazine files of a pioneer region is that of the *Illinois Monthly Magazine* and its continuation, the *Western Monthly Magazine*. The founder, editor, and chief contributor was Judge James Hall, a pioneer lawyer of parts who had come to the Illinois country ten years before. He was one of the Philadelphia Halls—a literary family connected with the *Port Folio* and other periodicals. He had been a young officer in the second war with England, and had seen service on the Mediterranean in the war with Algiers. Coming west in 1820, he had mixed law with journalism and had won some success in both; meantime his sketches of western life in books and in eastern magazines had brought him a wider audience.

It was in Vandalia, the state capital, that the *Illinois Monthly* appeared. "Of the 576 pages contained in each of the two first

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Illinois Monthly Magazine,* October, 1830 – September, 1832; (2) *The Western Monthly Magazine, A Continuation of the Illinois Monthly Magazine,* 1833-35; (3) *The Western Monthly Magazine,* 1836; (4) *The Western Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal,* 1837.

FIRST ISSUE: October, 1830. LAST ISSUE: June, 1837.

PERIODICITY: Monthly, small octavo. [Illinois Series] I, October, 1830 – September, 1831; II, October, 1831 – September, 1832. [Western Series] I, January – June, 1833; II, July – December, 1833; [III] II, January – December, 1834; IV, January – December, 1835; V, January – December, 1836. (I-II are paged continuously, and there is no title-page for II; but the signature figures note two volumes. Vol. III is called II on the title-page. Vol. IV is paged separately for each half year; the part July – December is called III, which would be the number for the whole volume if the series were numbered by annual volumes.) New Series: five numbers of Vol. I (February – June).

PUBLISHERS: Robert Blackwell and James Hall, Vandalia, 1830-31; Corey and Fairbank, Cincinnati, 1831-34 (thus the title-page, but the cover of at least one number—April, 1832—has Charles Keemle, St. Louis); Taylor and Tracy, Cincinnati, 1834-35; Flash, Ryder and Company, Cincinnati, 1836; Marshall and Gallagher, Louisville, 1837.

EDITORS: James Hall, 1830 – June, 1836; Joseph Reese Fry, July – December, 1836; James B. Marshall and William D. Gallagher, 1837.

INDEXED in *Poole.*

REFERENCE: R. L. Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (New York, 1925), I, 170-75.

volumes," wrote Hall later, "about two-thirds were written by the editor, a very few were contributed by two or three friends . . . and the remainder were selected."[2] The friends were Morris Birkbeck, John M. Peck, Governor Edward Coles, and Dr. Asa Fitch. A thoroughly magazinish variety was achieved by Hall in spite of his dearth of sources to draw from. "Our editors have become too formal and stately, and fastidious," he once complained.

> Instead of the infinite variety of topics that once gave interest to works of this description, nothing is now admitted but reviews, tales, and poetry. . . . Nothing will go down but trifles, cold, formal, and empty as the noodles which produced them. . . . I am much better pleased with the good old-fashioned magazines . . . within whose well furnished pages the reader, whatever might be his taste, was sure to find something agreeable.[3]

Hall himself wrote some good indigenous western tales and sketches for the *Monthly,* such as "The Intestate," "Michel de Coucy," and "The Silver Mine," to name but three. Nor did he hesitate to draw upon sketches he had already published in newspapers and annuals. His naval experiences gave him material for some articles, fictional and otherwise, and he considered it his duty to print much information designed to attract settlers. "No small portion of the emigration which has since poured over the beautiful Prairies of Illinois was allured to them by the descriptions in the Magazine,"[4] wrote Hall a few years later. The serial "Notes on Illinois" furnished an important section of the magazine.

Late in 1832 Judge Hall moved to Cincinnati, then the center of western culture, and there he began the *Western Monthly Magazine, A Continuation of the Illinois Monthly Magazine.* In the new series there was somewhat less of the freedom and ease of the frontier; the magazine was more a dignified review. "The literature of the West," the editor wrote in the first number, "is still in its infancy, and we trust we are not unconscious

[2] *Western Monthly,* IV, 93 (February, 1835).
[3] *Illinois Monthly,* I, 303 (April, 1831).
[4] *Western Monthly,* V, 2 (January, 1836).

of the responsibility that rests on us who attempt to direct it." [5] The literary reviews were better, and there was not a little science. Western travel, letters from Cuba, and a serial history of Ohio gave variety. It was, however, still chiefly indigenous; its title was no misnomer.

Hall no longer wrote most of the magazine; indeed, he paid for some of his contributions. William D. Gallagher, Otway Curry, Hannah Gould, Caroline Lee Hentz, E. D. Mansfield, and Harriet Beecher were among the contributors—who were recruited largely from the country west of the Appalachians. The last named of these, daughter of the president of Lane Theological Seminary at Cincinnati, who was soon to marry Professor Stowe, of that institution, won a prize of fifty dollars offered by the *Western Monthly* with "A New England Sketch," published in April, 1834.

It is probable that this young contributor looked with disfavor upon an article in the number following that in which she made her literary *début,* called "Education and Slavery." Certain it is that many of his contributors disapproved of Hall's attack upon abolitionism; nor did they fancy the editor's defence of the Catholics a year later in "The Catholic Question." [6] This controversy led to a quarrel between Hall and his publisher, Eli Taylor, which is aired in the preface to the fifth volume. Finally Hall withdrew from the editorship in favor of Joseph Reese Fry. Fry conducted the magazine for six months, and then it merged with William D. Gallagher's *Western Literary Journal and Monthly Review* to form the *Western Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal.* The latter published only five numbers, February through June, 1837, under the editorship of Gallagher and James B. Marshall; then it suspended.

The *Western Monthly* was the most successful of early western magazines. It claimed a circulation of about three thousand in its ninth month—"a support greater than has ever been given to any western periodical, and which few of those of the eastern cities have attained." [7] But a subscription list was one thing

[5] *Ibid.,* I, 1 (January, 1833).

[6] *Ibid.,* IV (Part 1), 375 (June, 1835). Hall had criticised Lyman Beecher's anti-Catholicism in a review of Beecher's *A Plea for the West.*

[7] *Ibid.,* I, 428 (September, 1833).

and cash quite another. With characteristic ponderosity, Hall wrote in 1835:

> The state of our unliquidated claims upon a long list of subscribers has been the cause of much expensive and fruitless negociation. . . . It costs us more to collect what is due to us than to print our Magazine. . . .[8]

It may be doubted, therefore, if Hall made much from his editorial labors, but he did perform a service to the literature of his region.

[8] *Ibid.*, V, 92 (February, 1835).

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THE NEW-ENGLAND MAGAZINE[1]

(Buckingham's)

PERHAPS the most important general magazine published in New England before the birth of the *Atlantic Monthly* was Buckingham's *New-England Magazine*—the second of that name.[2] Its life was short, covering only four and a half years; but it was published just at the beginning of the great New England regency in American literature, and its roll of contributors was a distinguished one.

The founder, Joseph T. Buckingham, had edited the *Polyanthos* as a youthful venture, and later the *New-England Galaxy;* he was now editor and publisher of the Boston *Courier,* a whig newspaper. With him was associated his brilliant son Edwin, who, at the time the *Magazine* was begun, was just turned twenty-one and was ill of the tubercular trouble which was soon to cause his death. The magazine project was really Edwin's; and perhaps he, rather than his father, should be called the founder. In an elegiac article written after Edwin's death in 1833, the father said:

[1] TITLE: *The New-England Magazine.*
FIRST ISSUE: July, 1831. LAST ISSUE: December, 1835.
PERIODICITY: Monthly; regular semiannual volumes I-IX.
PUBLISHERS: Joseph T. and Edwin Buckingham, July, 1831 – May, 1833; Joseph T. Buckingham, June, 1833 – October, 1834; E. R. Broaders, November, 1834 – December, 1835.
EDITORS (all Boston): Joseph T. and Edwin Buckingham, July, 1831 – May, 1833; Joseph T. Buckingham, June, 1833 – October, 1834; Samuel G. Howe and John O. Sargent, November, 1834 – February, 1835; Park Benjamin, March – December, 1835.
INDEXED in *Poole* and in *Jones' Index of Legal Periodicals.*
REFERENCES: Joseph T. Buckingham, *Personal Memoirs and Recollections of Editorial Life* (Boston, 1852), II, 65-77; George Willis Cooke, "The First *New England Magazine* and Its Editor" in the *New England Magazine* (formerly *Bay State Monthly*), XXII (N.S. XVI), 103-17 (March, 1897).

[2] The first magazine of this name was published in 1758 by Benjamin Mecom, to the extent of three numbers. Later, the *Bay State Monthly,* founded in 1884, took this name in 1886. It was discontinued in 1917.

The *New-England Magazine* was the offspring and the property of Edwin Buckingham. In projecting the work the idea of making money was no part of the consideration. The elder of the editors had already had sufficient experience in the publication of literary periodicals to enable him to feel how delusive and uncertain are all calculations of that sort. The other was . . . ardent, ambitious, active . . .[3]

It was Edwin, then, who induced such men as Longfellow, Holmes, Whittier, and Everett to write for the pages of the *New-England Magazine*—whether by the persuasion of an attractive personality, an established publishing position, or the lure of a dollar a page honorarium. The elder Buckingham wrote in his *Memoirs:*

A dollar a page was offered for such original communications as might be accepted and published; and this, insignificant as the sum may seem to those whose talents and popularity are in demand at a much higher price, brought communications from almost every state in the Union. Many were rejected, and the disappointments of the writers caused many bitter complaints and angry denunciations.[4]

As a matter of history, it must be insisted that any payment at all, no matter what the "talents and popularity" of the author, was rare in 1831.[5]

Professor Longfellow wrote "The Schoolmaster" for the first number of the *Magazine;* the Rev. N. L. Frothingham, one of the leading literary divines of the country, contributed an article exalting "the mechanic arts"; Congressman Edward Everett had two pieces in this initial issue; Judge Story eulogized Webster; William Austin contributed a story, "The Late Joseph Matterstrom"; and Samuel G. Howe, George S. Hillard, Edwin Buckingham, and Richard Hildreth completed a distinguished first number. Longfellow continued to contribute some travel sketches. Hillard did a series of "Literary Portraits," sometimes illustrated by engravings. Noah Webster had an article on his new *American Dictionary* in the number for November, 1831.

[3] *New-England Magazine,* V, 1 (July, 1833).
[4] Buckingham, *op. cit.,* II, 74.
[5] See pp. 504-06, *supra.*

In that number, too, was the beginning of Holmes's prefatory series of *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table,* which was continued in the issue for the following January, and then wisely discontinued—or, at least, postponed. Holmes was then a law student at Harvard, and the detached *jeux d'esprit* and aphorisms of this serial represent his unripened talent; but when he began the seasoned *Autocrat* in the *Atlantic* nearly twenty years later, the recollection of these *coups d'essai* enabled him to pen his famous first line, "As I was just going to say, when I was interrupted—" There were travel letters by Howe from Europe, and a series of "Letters from Ohio" by Timothy Walker, of Cincinnati. Samuel Kettell wrote on birds. Young Whittier contributed a number of sketches later published under the title *Legends of New England;* they are filled with interesting material rather crudely worked. Edwin Buckingham did some careful reviewing, and wrote some very whiggish political articles.

In October, 1832, Edwin Buckingham went abroad for his health. He received no relief, and on the return voyage he died while in midocean. His father continued the magazine, though with growing distaste for the work, until October, 1834, when he sold it to Samuel G. Howe and John O. Sargent. Under the elder Buckingham it maintained the respectable standard originally set. It published the autobiography of Mathew Carey serially through two or three volumes, articles by F. H. Hedge, A. P. Peabody, William J. Snelling and others of a certain fame, with poems by such writers as Hannah Gould, Charles Sprague, Park Benjamin, and Epes Sargent. It was in 1833 that the *New York Mirror* remarked of the *New-England Magazine:* "The course of this periodical has been not unlike that of a river, increasing in depth, breadth, power, and beauty as it advances from the source . . . a journal of which the country may be proud." [6]

The Howe-Sargent regime was brief; Park Benjamin became editor and proprietor in March, 1835. For Benjamin this was the first episode of a varied editorial career. He was at the time a young and briefless lawyer, with more interest in litera-

[6] *Mirror,* XI, 11 (July 13, 1833).

ture than in law; though a cripple, he was active and enterprising. In the ten issues which he edited, the *New-England Magazine* reached its highest literary importance.

This importance derived largely from fifteen stories by Nathaniel Hawthorne, including "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe," "The Gray Champion," "Young Goodman Brown," "The Ambitious Guest," and "The Old Maid in the Winding Sheet" (later called "The White Old Maid"). Howe and Sargent had begun publishing Hawthorne, at the instance of Samuel G. Goodrich,[7] and Benjamin continued printing his stories and sketches in every issue. The pieces were printed anonymously or over pen names.

The editorial department which Benjamin inaugurated, calling it "Cabinet Council," was as entertaining and brilliant as the "Noctes Ambrosianae" upon which it was modelled. Albert Pike's "Letters from Arkansas" were an important contribution to the magazine in these months. Whittier's "Mogg Megone," and the work of Percival, Tuckerman, Neal, and Mrs. Sigourney may be noted. Politics were not neglected: the *New-England Magazine* favored Webster for the nomination for president and Everett for governor; it fought Van Buren, and defended the convents which were then suffering from vandalism.

It is doubtful if the magazine ever made money. It absorbed Professor Willard's *American Monthly Review* at the beginning of 1834, but that probably represented no investment, and brought little benefit. It sold at five dollars a year, but its list was undoubtedly small, and its excellent printing must have been expensive. At the end of 1835 it was merged with the *American Monthly Magazine*, of New York, Benjamin becoming a partner in that venture. The publishers hoped to retain a Boston clientele, through Benjamin's connections, but the effort was not successful. Hawthorne "scornfully bestowed" certain manuscripts which had been submitted for publication in the *New-England Magazine* when Benjamin "begged" for them. Apparently Hawthorne was a creditor of the defunct periodical, when its editor went to try his fortunes in New York. "Thus

[7] George E. Woodberry, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Boston, 1902, American Men of Letters series), p. 45.

HOW AN AMERICAN CLASSIC FIRST APPEARED

The opening of Hawthorne's famous story, "The Ambitious Guest," as it was printed in the *New-England Magazine* for June, 1835.

him under their feet. If he goes to private life, he carries with him the proud consolation of doing his duty; and the apparent exile will be but the exile of the Roman orator — from that Rome to which thousands of admiring citizens soon welcomed him back.*

HOPE

Hoffnung, Hoffnung, immer grün — HERDER.

Dark before me lies my way;
Not a blossom by it springs;
Not a bird, on sunny wings,
Hovers round, and tunes his lay.
On it stretches, void and lone;
Chill the wind is whistling there;
Gone the light, that early shone,
Vanished long, the young and fair.

As with heaving heart, I tread
Silent onward, Heaven uncloses;
Hope descends on clouds of roses;
Instant all my gloom has fled.
Like an overflowing river,
Round her flows a stream of light:
Radiant pinions o'er it quiver:
Countless joys are there in flight.

But a moment — dark again,
Dark and dreary, shuts the sky:
Heavy clouds above me lie;
Round me clings an icy chain.
O! could but a single ray
Gleam from cottage lamp or star,
Then, along my lingering way,
I could seek my home afar.

Hark! what low and distant note
Softly through the gloom is stealing —
With it comes a voice of healing,
Sounds of Heaven around me float.
Light, like vernal dawn, ascending,
O'er new-waken'd beauty plays;
Flowers, with feathered foliage blending,
Tremble in the golden blaze.

* Since the above was written, Mr. Sprague resigned his seat in the Senate, on the opening of the Legislature of Maine, and has removed to Boston, where he is now engaged in the practice of the law — to which, we believe, he intends exclusively to devote himself.

Soon the soothing voice is still;
Broods the silence of the grave;
O'er me, shades of cypress wave;
Darker fears my bosom fills.
Thus must ever be my doom —
Light and song, a moment, shed;
Then a cloud, of deeper gloom,
Rolled, like torrents, o'er my head.

'Speed thee on!' — in sweetest tone,
Hope, the young and lovely ever,
Breathes — the song shall leave me never —
'Speed thee!' — soon thy night has flown.
All the light, the love, the bliss,
E'er in holiest vision given,
In a fairer world than this,
Greet thee soon — thy home is Heaven.' J. G. PERCIVAL.

THE AMBITIOUS GUEST.

BY THE AUTHOR OF 'THE GRAY CHAMPION.'

ONE September night, a family had gathered round their hearth, and piled it high with the drift-wood of mountain-streams, the dry cones of the pine, and the splintered ruins of great trees, that had come crashing down the precipice. Up the chimney roared the fire, and brightened the room with its broad blaze. The faces of the father and mother had a sober gladness; the children laughed; the eldest daughter was the image of happiness at seventeen; and the aged grandmother, who sat knitting in the warmest place, was the image of happiness grown old. They had found the 'herb, heart's ease,' in the bleakest spot of all New-England. This family were situated in the Notch of the White Hills, where the wind was sharp throughout the year, and pitilessly cold in the winter — giving their cottage all its fresh inclemency, before it descended on the valley of the Saco. They dwelt in a cold spot and a dangerous one; for a mountain towered above their heads, so steep, that the stones would often rumble down its sides, and startle them at midnight.

The daughter had just uttered some simple jest, that filled them all with mirth, when the wind came through the Notch and seemed to pause before their cottage — rattling the door, with a sound of wailing and lamentation, before it passed into the valley. For a moment, it saddened them, though there was nothing unusual in the tones. But the family were glad again, when they perceived that the latch was lifted by some traveler, whose footsteps had

has this man," Hawthorne is quoted as saying, "who would be considered a Maecenas, taken from a penniless writer material incomparably better than any his own brain could supply." There is some reason for doubting the accuracy of the quotation, though the bitterness would have been excusable.[8]

The day of the general literary periodical in Boston had not yet come.

[8] Hawthorne's close friend, Horatio Bridge, is responsible for the quotation. See Woodberry, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

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THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW[1]

THREE years after the demise of the *American Monthly Review* its epitaph was written by the *American Monthly Magazine,* of New York: the *Review,* it was said, had "acquired celebrity both in England and our own country for its capital reviews and notices of native books."[2]

The *Review's* founder and editor throughout its brief existence of twenty-four months was Professor Sidney Willard, who resigned the chair of Hebrew at Harvard to undertake the editorship. He was a direct descendant of that old Puritan worthy and Harvard president, the Samuel Willard who wrote *The Compleat Body of Divinity* in two hundred and fifty mortal lectures. But the recent connection with Hebrew and the genealogical connection with "compleat" divinity did not prevent Sidney Willard from being a man of varied and brilliant attainments. He took some part in politics; he had a very lively interest in contemporary American literature; and he was a good companion. He was a member of the Anthology Club, and a contributor to the *Monthly Anthology's* successor, the *Literary Miscellany.*

The gamut of the *Monthly Review* was that of the English reviews upon which it was modeled. It planned to notice more books less elaborately than did the *North American,* its quarterly neighbor. It boasted "the ablest writers in Boston, Cambridge, and New Haven." As a matter of fact it was pretty thoroughly

[1] TITLE: *The American Monthly Review.*
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1832. LAST ISSUE: December, 1833.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. Four regular semiannual volumes 1832-33.
PUBLISHERS: Hilliard and Brown, Cambridge, 1832; Brown and Shattuck, Cambridge, 1832; Hilliard, Gray and Company, Boston, 1832-33; Russell, Odiorne and Company, Boston, 1833; Brown, Shattuck and Company, Cambridge, 1833; James Munroe and Company, Boston, 1833.
EDITOR: Sidney Willard.
INDEXED in *Poole.*

[2] *American Monthly Magazine,* prospectus to New Series, N.S. I, 2.

a Harvard periodical. It was well printed, scholarly, and sometimes incisive.

At the end of the year 1833 it was combined with Buckingham's *New-England Magazine.*

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THE KNICKERBOCKER MAGAZINE[1]

NO American magazine has ever been regarded with more affection by its readers than was "Old *Knick*" under Lewis Gaylord Clark's editorship. Though never really prosperous, this magazine managed to present each month during at least the earlier half of the period in which Clark spread the table, an engaging fare which was never too heavy and seldom inane or pointless.

In view of the difficulties experienced, it is surprising that the *Knickerbocker* survived its infancy. Charles Fenno Hoffman, then at the very beginning of his literary career, was its first editor; but he quarrelled with the owners of the magazine, Peabody and Company, and resigned after three months. S. D. Langtree, literary editor at the time of Colonel Stone's *Commercial Advertiser*, then took charge of the magazine and guided

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Knickerbocker; or, New-York Monthly Magazine*, 1833 – September, 1862 (spelled "Knickerbacker" in Vol. I): (2) *The Knickerbocker Monthly; a National Magazine of Literature, Art, Politics, and Society*, October, 1863 – February, 1864; (3) *The American Monthly Knickerbocker. Devoted to Literature, Art, Society, and Politics.* March, 1864 – June, 1865; (4) *Foederal American Monthly.* July – October, 1865.

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1833. LAST ISSUE: October, 1865.

PERIODICITY: Monthly. Two volumes a year. Octavo (I-LXVI). LXVI contains only four numbers, July – October, 1865.

PUBLISHERS (all New York): Peabody & Company, 1833-34; L. G. Clark and Clement M. Edson, 1834-39; L. G. Clark (?), 1840-41; John Bisco, 1841-42; John Allen, 1842-49; Samuel Hueston, 1849-57; John A. Gray, 1858-60; J. R. Gilmore, 1861; Morris Phillips, 1862; J. H. Elliot, 1862-63; J. H. Agnew (?), 1864-65.

EDITORS: Charles Fenno Hoffman, January – March, 1833; Samuel Daly Langtree, April – September, 1833, April, 1834; Timothy Flint and S. D. Langtree, October, 1833 – February, 1834; Timothy Flint, March, 1834; Lewis Gaylord Clark, May, 1834-60 (Willis Gaylord Clark associate editor, 1834-41, Dr. James O. Noyes, 1858-59); Charles Godfrey Leland, 1861 – September, 1862; Kinahan Cornwallis, Oct., 1862 – September, 1863; Kinahan Cornwallis and L. G. Clark, October – December, 1863; John Holmes Agnew, 1864 – October, 1865.

INDEXED in *Poole, Contents-Subject Index, Jones' Index to Legal Periodicals,* and *A. L. A. Portrait Index.*

REFERENCE: "Editorial Narrative of the *Knickerbocker Magazine*" in *Knickerbocker,* LIII-LVIII, 1859-61.

its destiny for a year and a month. During a part of that time, Timothy Flint, whom Langtree grandiloquently calls "the Father of the Literature of his Country," [2] was advertised as editor and contributed a number of articles. Flint was in bad health, however, (which may excuse the ill-nature of some of his replies to critics) and was unable either to take full charge of the periodical or to keep a long tenure. In the meantime its business affairs did not flourish. The *New York Mirror* complained of the "continual and absurd promises and meager fulfillment" of the publishers; [3] and Clark later declared that "by the unprincipled management of Mr. Peabody, the original proprietor, the public soon became disgusted with the periodical, and its circulation rapidly diminished.[4]

In May, 1834, Lewis Gaylord Clark and Clement M. Edson bought the magazine on Peabody's representation that it had a thousand subscribers, though later examination showed that there were really less than half that number. The new owners went courageously to work, however, and in less than three years had raised the circulation above the five thousand mark,[5] on a five-dollar subscription basis.

Clark, the new editor, had a genial nature and a wide acquaintance among the New York *literati.* Handsome, with curly locks and expressive face, he was popular with everybody. "The intellectual peculiarity of Lewis Gaylord Clark," wrote an admirer, "was humor; with him it was instinctive. He was never else to the world but light-hearted, always kindly disposed, and ever discovering amusement not only in trifling but the most serious events of life." [6] Another virtue of the new editor was equally valuable: he had a ready appreciation of talent, which, joined with his fine capacity for friendship, made possible a distinguished list of contributors. And this in spite of inadequate payment, for we are constrained to take Clark's statements about

[2] *Knickerbocker,* III, 160 (February, 1834). For some account of Flint's connection with the magazine see John Ervin Kirkpatrick, *Timothy Flint* (Cleveland, 1911), pp. 207-15.

[3] *New York Mirror,* XI, 359 (May 10, 1834). Clark's first number is praised.

[4] *Knickerbocker,* IX, 199 (February, 1837).

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Harper's Magazine,* XLVIII, 587. Article on Clark at the time of his death by T. B. Thorpe.

the magazine's generosity with large allowances to the account of advertising.[7]

One of the chief contributors—and an associate editor to the time of his death in 1841—was the editor's twin brother, Willis Gaylord Clark. He was a much-loved poet and editor of the Philadelphia Gazette. His chief contributions to the *Knickerbocker* appeared in his department signed "Ollapod" and therefore called "Ollapodiana," later collected and published separately. Willis's connection with Philadelphia was believed to make the magazine more cosmopolitan, but as a matter of fact it was, as its very name indicates, a thorough New Yorker at heart.

Its name was, of course, a tribute to Washington Irving, whom Clark admired ardently and with whom he formed a close friendship. For two years (1839-41) Irving was a regular *Knickerbocker* contributor, at a salary—often delinquent, alas—of two thousand a year. On this contract he wrote the *Wolfert's Roost* papers. "I am tired," he said, in introducing himself to the *Knickerbocker* readers,

> of writing volumes: they do not afford exactly the relief I require; there is too much preparation, arrangement, and parade in this set form of coming before the public. . . . I have thought, therefore, of securing for myself a snug corner in some periodical work, where I might, as it were, loll at my ease in an elbow chair, and chat sociably with the public, as with an old friend, on any chance subject that might pop into my brain.[8]

John T. Irving contributed as much to the *Knickerbocker* as his more famous uncle, writing under the name of "Quod." Cooper and Bryant, who with Irving formed the great literary triumvirate of New York in those days, were early contributors; and other prominent New Yorkers like Paulding, Hoffman, Verplanck, the DaPontes, Halleck, Willis, Sands, Fay, Benjamin, "Harry Franco," R. H. Stoddard, and George William Curtis were repeatedly found in the magazine's pages. New England

[7] See pp. 510-11, *supra*.

[8] *Knickerbocker*, XIII, 206 (March, 1839). For Irving's connection with the *Knickerbocker*, see Pierre M. Irving, *Life and Letters of Washington Irving* (New York, 1863), III, 147-53.

was represented most prominently by Longfellow, Hawthorne, Whittier, and Holmes. "A Psalm of Life" appeared in the *Knickerbocker* for October, 1838, and "The Reaper and the Flowers" (called "A Psalm of Death"), a little later, followed by "Voices of the Night." William Ware's *Zenobia* also came from "the East," as New England was called. From Philadelphia came work by Willis Gaylord Clark's friends, Robert Montgomery Bird, R. S. McKenzie, Mathew Carey, Charles Godfrey Leland, Bayard Taylor, Dr. Rush, William Dunlap, Joseph C. Neal, and William E. Burton. The last named, who had not then started his *Gentleman's Magazine,* contributed some capital anecdotes of the stage in "An Actor's Alloquy."

Much attention was also paid to the West. Flint, as we have seen, had a close connection with early volumes. James Hall, Mrs. Kirkland, and Albert Pike—that trio of most important early midwestern writers—were frequent contributors, along with "Ned Buntline." H. R. Schoolcraft had a series on the Lake Superior region, and there was much *materiel* (as Clark loved to name it) concerning western travel, most important of all certainly being young Francis Parkman's *The Oregon Trail, or A Summer Out of Bounds,* in 1847. The "Editor's Table" revelled in the new western humor, and "Phoenix" contributed much California spice to its menu.

Humor was very important in the *Knickerbocker.* Fred S. Cozzens wrote for it several series, including his *Sparrowgrass Papers* and *A Month Among the Blue Noses.* Charles Godfrey Leland was "a trump card from the jump," wrote Clark in 1860.[9] He contributed *Meister Karl, Mace Sloper,* and other serials. Holmes and Saxe wrote humorous verse for the magazine. But the great contribution of the *Knickerbocker* in this field was the "Editor's Table."

Not that the "Editor's Table" was wholly humorous. It varied somewhat in its existence from 1837 to Clark's retirement in 1860, and more after that; but it usually had some chat with correspondents, some talky book notices, and notes on the drama, music and the fine arts, many clippings from contemporary newspapers, some gossip and reminiscence, selected verse

[9] *Ibid.,* LV, 643 (June, 1860).

(oftenest of a comic cast), and many well-told anecdotes. There was not much in it that was serious, and nothing at all that was heavy. Most of the *materiel* was borrowed, and conversely the department was much borrowed from. It brought Clark a reputation, and had as many correspondents as the "colyum" of a modern newspaper. Selections from it were published in a volume called *Knick-Knacks from an Editor's Table* in 1852. By 1853 it was occupying a third of the pages in the magazine; and, being printed in smaller type than the rest, furnished at least half the total words. Though devoid of illustration, the "Table" was one of the best comic journals ever published in America. Less successful was Clark's burlesque newspaper, the *Bunkum Flagstaff,* which appeared serially in 1853, and upon which much typographical and other ingenuity was expended. There was rather too much of cacography in the *Flagstaff,* and often in the "Editor's Table," for modern taste. (See illustration opposite page 424.)

The literary criticism which appeared on the "Table" was sprightly enough, but not very important in critical power. Clark was liable to prejudice in things literary. He and his brother particularly despised Dr. James McHenry of Philadelphia, who had written some articles on American poetry in the *American Quarterly.*[9a] He was also contemptuous of Thomas Carlyle and the New England transcendentalists. He had evidently had a quarrel with William Gilmore Simms, who was a contributor to earlier volumes of "Old *Knick.*" Among New Yorkers he chose Cornelius Mathews, of *Puffer Hopkins* fame, and the brothers Duyckinck, for special and repeated criticism.

The notes on the New York stage, and on music and the fine arts may not be very important, but they are interesting to a student of the period. Even before the "Editor's Table" was begun, Clark was writing dramatic notes; between 1846 and 1863, however, they are wanting. As a critic of music Clark could scarcely pretend to a high standard: he is continually poking fun at the oratorios and operas which had lately gained a foothold in the metropolis.[10] Both in the editorial department

[9a] See pp. 274-75, *supra.*

[10] See *Knickerbocker,* XXX, 527 (December, 1847).

and in articles, American painters are praised and defended against English aspersion.

A considerable amount of travel of both domestic and foreign varieties, in single articles and in series, appears in these volumes; there is some discussion of science in the thirties, with something of the irrepressible conflict between geology and revealed religion—a prelude to the war that was to open later in which biology would supplant geology as the antagonist of orthodoxy; and there was occasionally some mention of politics. Like most northern periodicals with a certain percentage of southern circulation, the *Knickerbocker* attempted to carry water on both southern and northern shoulders, and was made duly uncomfortable. "On the one hand we are abused by the abolition papers for 'making fun of our black brethern,'" wrote Clark, who was sure to find an occasion to "make fun" whatever the crisis, "and on the other we are denounced for permitting 'the South' to be 'evil spoken of.'" [11]

But this summary gives no idea of the variety of the *Knickerbocker* in its best years. Such an article as "Mocha Dick, or the White Whale," by one J. N. Reynolds (printed in May, 1839, twelve years before Melville's famous treatise on cetology with a similar name) is characteristic. Another unknown had contributed in the preceding month one of the most striking comments on the railroad building of the period, in a story, "The First Locomotive," with a sequel quite as excellent.[12] Then there was John Waters' once famous story of the wooden-legged ghost, "The Iron Footstep," in April, 1840; and many other rather racy and unusual tales by such writers as Judge Hall, William Leggett, and William L. Stone. Our old friend "Anon." is particularly prominent as a writer of striking tales.

By 1850 the *Knickerbocker* had plainly deteriorated. The first ten years of Clark's editorship constituted the magazine's most prosperous period. Clark had quarrelled with his partner Edson in 1839, and thereafter the property passed through the hands of a succession of publishers who held it on an average of two years each. Charles Lanman was perhaps anticipating

[11] *Ibid.*, XXXV, 548 (June, 1850).
[12] See p. 468, *supra*.

somewhat when he wrote in 1843, "The glory of the *Knickerbocker* is departed";[13] but it was at least a prophecy. In 1852 the price was reduced to three dollars, and the publishers claimed afterward that the circulation had been quadrupled[14]—which doubtless could have happened without making a large list.

Up to 1858 there had been little attempt at illustration—in most of the volumes none at all. A small woodcut by J. A. Adams, of Diederich Knickerbocker writing at a table, was printed in the first number of each of the first three volumes; there was a frightful woodcut in April, 1834, of Eliza Leslie in bonnet, ruff, balloon sleeves, and so on, showing pictures to a little girl ditto; and there were a few scattering steel plates and woodcuts in other volumes. In 1858 an engraving was inserted in each number: they were portraits engraved by W. G. Jackman, J. C. Buttre, and others. In the next year there were more woodcuts. But the *Knickerbocker* illustration is relatively unimportant.

Clark retired from the editorship in 1861. "There was no help for it," says Charles Godfrey Leland, "for there was not a penny to pay him."[15] Leland undertook to conduct the magazine for a half share in the profits. He had the idea that it could be revived by a strong injection of party politics, and he proposed to make it a republican monthly. The versatile Leland himself wrote most of the politics, as well as other articles, a very readable "Editor's Table," and good book reviews. He prophesied financial prosperity in the North, and he advocated emancipation not as a matter of right but as a war measure. Abolitionism had been so bitterly opposed by such a large faction in the North that it was not easy to make it acceptable to all now that it seemed inevitable. Lincoln was accustomed to tell in this connection the story of the Irishman who had signed a

[13] *New World*, VI, 302 (March 11, 1843). "What is the Table," asks Lanman, "but a lot of detached sentences culled from various newspapers together with extracts from rejected articles which the gentleman passes off as original?" Poe is also very severe upon Clark's "monthly farrago" in the *Broadway Journal* of July 12, 1845 (II, 11). In a letter to a friend dated Dec. 15, 1846, Poe complains that Clark had "*abused*" him in criticism, "but with so little effect or power that—I forgave him." (*Complete Works*, Harrison, ed., XVII, 270.) One wonders about the forgiveness.

[14] *Prospectus* to Vol. XLVIII.

[15] Leland, *op. cit.*, II, 27.

"DIEDRICH KNICKERBOCKER" IN THE "KNICKERBOCKER" MAGAZINE

This engraving on copper was used as a frontispiece to Vol. III of the *Knickerbocker,* appearing opposite a woodcut by J. A. Adams of the old gentleman at his desk.

temperance pledge, and then sought some way to get a drink without breaking the pledge. So he went to a druggist and asked for a glass of soda-water. "An' docther dear," he added, "if yeez could put a little whisky in it *unbeknownst to me,* I'd be much obliged." Leland knew that his articles were read by the president, and claimed that he was the druggist referred to in the apologue, "who administered the whisky of Abolition disguised in the soda-water of Emancipation."[16] During Leland's brief editorship Fitz-James O'Brien, Richard Grant White, Harriett E. Prescott, R. H. Stoddard, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Fitz-Hugh Ludlow, William Dean Howells, and other well-known names are found in the magazine's tables of contents.

In October, 1862, Leland and his publisher having gone to Boston to found the *Continental Monthly,* Kinahan Cornwallis gained control of the magazine and made it again nonpartisan, though advocating "the vigorous prosecution of the war." There was a department of current events, and the drama was regularly noticed; but the "Editor's Table" was a mere shadow of its former self until Clark returned to it for only three months at the end of 1863. Then John Holmes Agnew got hold of what there was left of "Old *Knick*" and made it into an organ of the Democratic party. "It has become secesh and copperhead," asserted the New York *Evening Post* in March, 1864.[17] It was arguing the biblical sanction of slavery as late as January, 1865. One more indignity was reserved for the old magazine: in July, 1865, its name was changed to the *Foederal American Monthly.* The new-fledged *Nation* may be allowed to deliver judgment on this last metamorphosis: "We have looked in vain through the *Foederal American Monthly,*" it said, "to find any good reason for printing, publishing, or perusing it. The paper and print are very poor, and the literary matter not worth criticism."[18] Its editor and owner must have decided the *Nation* was right, for after one more issue, that for October, 1865, the *Foederal American* was heard of no more.

A magazine that could boast of having presented "in a single

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 30.
[17] Quoted and answered in *Knickerbocker,* LXIII, 289 (April, 1864).
[18] *Nation,* Sept. 7, 1865.

number articles from Irving, Cooper, Bryant, Halleck, Longfellow, Whittier, Street, General Cass, and the 'American in Paris' [John Sanderson]" [19] is entitled to respect, whatever its shortcomings may have been and however ignoble its end. That the *Knickerbocker* performed some service in the cause of American literature is undeniable.

Its one important editor, Lewis Gaylord Clark, died in 1873 forgotten and unknown. There is, however, a pleasant tribute to him in a sumptuous volume called *The Knickerbocker Gallery,* containing original pieces by leading contributors to the magazine and illustrated by engraved portraits of them, which was published in 1855 and all of the receipts donated to Clark. This literary "benefit"—unexampled as a demonstration of the love of contributors for editor—made the last days of Lewis Gaylord Clark more comfortable than they could otherwise have been.

[19] *Knickerbocker,* LIV, 95 (July, 1859).

THE SELECT JOURNAL OF FOREIGN PERIODICAL LITERATURE[1]

ONE of the best edited of the many eclectic periodicals which have been published from time to time in the United States was the quarterly *Select Journal,* conducted by Andrews Norton and Charles Folsom.

Illness had forced Norton to resign his chair in the Harvard Divinity School in 1830. A leader of the Unitarians, he was to become a chief opponent of transcendentalism. Folsom had been Harvard librarian, and was now connected with the University Press. He was a man of wide learning, a classical scholar, and a successful teacher. The publisher of the new quarterly was Charles Bowen, also the publisher of the *North American Review;* and the price was five dollars a year.

The first number opened with Macaulay's essay on Hampden from the *Edinburgh Review.* Later numbers contained two others of Macaulay's reviews—those on Horace Walpole and Chatham. The first issue also contained an essay by M. Paulin on the old French romances, taken from *Ferrusac's Bulletin Universel,* and translated by Professor Longfellow. In it was Longfellow's translation of the passage on the death of Turpin from the *Song of Roland.*

In the first number, too, were some poems by Mrs. Hemans, from *Blackwood's.* Poetry was not uncommon in the *Select Journal,* whether incorporated in a review article by way of quotation, or, more rarely, printed separately. Norton had edited Mrs. Hemans' poetry in America, and she is better represented in the *Select Journal* than any other poet.

[1] TITLE: *The Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature.*
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1833. LAST ISSUE: October, 1834.
PERIODICITY: Quarterly. Octavo. I, January, April, 1833; II, July, October, 1833; I for 1834, January, April, 1834; II for 1834, July, October, 1834. (Each number paged separately for reviews and for "Critical Notices.")
PUBLISHER: Charles Bowen, Boston.
EDITORS: Andrews Norton and Charles Folsom.

Fiction, too, was published, though only in abstracts of novels, with liberal quotations. Thus Trelawney's *Adventures of a Younger Son* in the first number, Mrs. Gore's *The Fair of May Fair* and Morier's *Zohrat* in the second, Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* in the third, and Hugo's *Notre Dame* and George Sand's *Lelia* in the fifth, are reviewed entertainingly. Sketches from Miss Mitford's *Country Town* appear in the numbers for January and April, 1834.

The most striking article in the second number is one entitled "Recent Publications Concerning Goethe," in which an article in the *New Monthly Magazine* is called an "apotheosis of the German poet and novelist, we presume by a countryman of his own"; and this is followed by quotations from another article believed to be by the same hand, in which the author "brings forward a man of straw, whom he baptizes, as if in joke, Professor Teufelsdreck, to utter his extravagances for him in the strangest language."[2] Norton, who compiles this article and expresses his own opinions freely, cannot understand why Goethe should ever have attained any influence outside his own country; but he acknowledges that influence repeatedly in successive numbers. As for Carlyle, who is thus inauspiciously introduced to America in his German mask by a hostile critic, Norton saw nothing good in him.

German writers continue to receive notice. Articles from the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* on Fichte and Richter, and from the *Foreign Quarterly Review* on Heine, Börne, von Raumer, Prince Pückler-Muskau, and August Lafontaine reflect some German literary movements, while Dürer, Hegel, and Leyendecker represent other fields. French culture is even better represented. The *Journal des Savans* and the *Revue de Paris* are utilized, but for the most part, the comment on French literature is obtained from English periodicals, such as the *Foreign Quarterly*, the *Edinburgh*, and the *Athenæum*. The editors of the *Select Journal* emphasize the British objection to licentiousness in Béranger, Hugo, and others of the French writers.

Oriental material from the *Asiatic Journal*, the *Journal des*

[2] *Select Journal*, I, 255 (April, 1833).

Savans, and other sources holds a considerable place; and there are a few articles on Italian and Spanish literature and politics.

There is some reflection of the paper war between England and America. An original article on Hamilton's *Men and Manners in America* is by Norton; he makes good his thesis that the book is merely an untrustworthy political tract in two volumes.[3] In contrast is the favorable review of James Stuart's fair *Three Years in North America,* taken from the *Edinburgh's* July, 1833, number.

Though the *Select Journal* is almost wholly eclectic, the opinions of the editors are prominent in it. Frequent introductory notes, interpolated commentary in articles derived from several sources, and the "Intelligence" at the end of each number give abundant opportunity for editorial expression. The editors are found to be notably conservative in criticism. They do, however, print articles expressing opinions with which they disagree. In the "Prospectus" they renounce responsibility for the beliefs expressed in articles selected.[4]

The book lists given in the "Intelligence" department are of marked value. Indeed, the careful reader of the *Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature* must have had an adequate knowledge of contemporary foreign publications.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, for 1834, 81-101 (January, 1834).
[4] Prospectus, p. iii.

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THE AMERICAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE[1]

(Benjamin's)

ONE of the most picturesque of the minor figures in the American literature of the thirties and forties was Henry William Herbert, known to many readers as "Frank Forester." Herbert was a son of the Dean of Manchester, who was a second son of the Earl of Carnarvon. Educated at Eton and Cambridge, he early showed a taste for four diverse pursuits: scholarship, dissipation, sports, and writing. In 1830 he came to New York, where he taught Greek and contributed sporting sketches to the magazines.

His biographer asserts that Herbert began the *American Monthly Magazine* as a direct result of the rejection of his manuscripts submitted to the new *Knickerbocker*.[2] Certain that his work was superior to much of what was appearing in that periodical, Herbert resolved to become his own editor, and, incidentally, to furnish a rival for the *Knickerbocker*. Therefore, in 1833, assisted by his friend A. D. Patterson, he began the publication of the *American Monthly Magazine*. Its prospectus promised moral essays, poetry, biography, and travel. Though chiefly anonymous, the early numbers were written in large part by Herbert. Perhaps the most notable of his contributions

[1] TITLE: *The American Monthly Magazine.*
FIRST ISSUE: March, 1833. LAST ISSUE: October, 1838.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. [First Series] I, March – August, 1833; II, September, 1833 – February, 1834; III, March – August, 1834; IV, September, 1834 – February, 1835. New [2d] Series: I [V], March – August, 1835; II [VI], September – December, 1835. New [3d] Series: I-VI [VII-XII], January, 1836 – October, 1838. Regular semiannual volumes of six numbers each, the last (VI, July – October, 1838) being incomplete.
PUBLISHER: George Dearborn, New York.
EDITORS: H. W. Herbert and A. D. Patterson, 1833-34; H. W. Herbert, 1834-35; Charles Fenno Hoffman and H. W. Herbert, 1835; Charles Fenno Hoffman and Park Benjamin, 1836-37; Park Benjamin, 1838.

[2] David W. Judd, *Life and Writings of Frank Forester* (London, n.d.), I, 19.

were those dealing with the theaters (particularly the Park and the Bowery), with art exhibitions, and with concerts. A serial novel, *The Brothers, a Tale of the Fronde,* was also from the pen of the editor. Other contributors were James K. Paulding, Gulian C. Verplanck, and James Hall.

Patterson dropped out after the first year, and Herbert ran the magazine alone through the third and fourth semiannual volumes; then he took the brilliant Charles Fenno Hoffman as a partner. Hoffman had been editor for a short time of the young *Knickerbocker,* and had acquired some fame as the author of sketches of the western prairies. His novel *Vanderlyn* was printed serially in the *Monthly* in 1837. This, however, was after the retirement of Herbert, which occurred at the end of 1835 in a fit of anger at Hoffman, whom Herbert suspected of political purposes in respect to the magazine.[3] But Herbert had become interested in the writing of historical novels anyway, and in a series of sporting sketches which he was contributing to the *Spirit of the Times,* when an opportunity presented itself to dispose of the *Monthly* to Hoffman and Park Benjamin.

Benjamin, who had lately come into possession of the *New-England Magazine* at Boston, proposed to unite it with the *American Monthly* at New York at the beginning of 1836 and publish the combined magazine in and for both cities. "It will appear in New York and Boston on the same day," said the prospectus of the new series, "and be supported equally by the talent of both places." George Dearborn continued as the New York publisher, Benjamin becoming his partner as Herbert had been before him, while the name of Otis, Broaders and Company appeared as the Boston publisher. Later T. Cottrell Clark, of Philadelphia, appeared as a third publisher, and R. M. Bird and R. M. Walsh successively furnished editorial help from Philadelphia; but as a matter of fact the new series of the *American Monthly* did not unite the three leading publication centers very effectively and may be said to have been a New York magazine from beginning to end.

The publishers suffered from a fire in July of 1836. Though greatly improved in variety and attractiveness, the magazine did

[3] Judd, *op. cit.,* p. 22.

not make money. Each number had an engraved plate; there was some unusually good work by Dick, and some interesting reproduction of pencil lines by stipple in Gimber's engraving of some cartoon portraits by Lawrence. Letters from Arkansas by Albert Pike and other articles about the West and the Indians showed Hoffman's desire to interpret that part of the country to his readers. His "Mohegan-ana" was a series of "scenes and stories of the Hudson." There was much travel, including Grace Grafton's experiences in Mexico and South America. Alfred B. Street, Arthur Cleveland Coxe, and Grenville Mellen were among the poets. Short stories and "nouvellettes" gave variety. Poe's "Von Jung, the Mystific" appeared in June, 1837. There was an unusual display of interest in German literature, through both articles and translations. Special attention was also given to the reports of the American Lyceum, of which the *Monthly* was apparently an official organ. Theaters were sometimes noticed, and book reviews were regular.

In 1837 Hoffman left the *Monthly* to join the staff of the *Mirror,* and Benjamin availed himself of the help from Philadelphia which has already been mentioned. Moreover, he attempted to stay the failing fortunes of his magazine by an appeal to the general interest in politics. The financial depression of 1837 was upon the country, and the party in power was suffering from its political effects. The whigs thus had their chance, and Benjamin made a place on the bandwagon for the *American Monthly.* Horace Greeley, who had been making some reputation with his whiggish literary paper, the *New-Yorker,* became a contributor, and Benjamin became an associate editor of the *New-Yorker.* Henry Clay contributed an article on the copyright question. The magazine was not altogether given over to politics by any means, however; Hawthorne furnished a notable article on Thomas Green Fessenden for the number for January, 1838, Mrs. E. F. Ellet was writing a good biographical series, and there was some variety in *belles-lettres.* But the magazine was, in its latter numbers, more a review than before.

After the number for October, 1838, the subscription list was turned over to the *New-Yorker.* Shortly after that, Benjamin

made his great success with the *New World*. The other two editors did not fare so well: Hoffman spent his last days in a retreat for the insane, while Herbert finally committed suicide after a period of dissipation.

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PARLEY'S MAGAZINE[1]

"THIS work was planned and established by me," wrote Samuel G. Goodrich years later of *Parley's Magazine;*

but after about a year I was obliged to relinquish it, from ill health and an affection of my eyes. It was conducted, without interest or participation on my part, for about twelve years, when it ceased.[2]

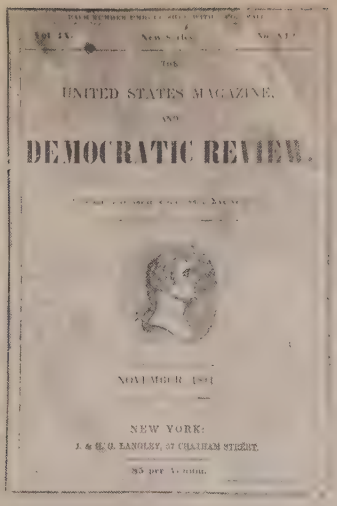
It appears to have been published for a part of the first year at Boston by Lilly, Wait and Company; it was probably after Goodrich's breakdown that it was taken over by Charles S. Francis, a young Bostonian who had come down to New York a few years before to enter the publishing business. Whom Francis employed to do the editorial work the present writer has not been able to discover.

But it was Goodrich, known as "Peter Parley" to his thousands of young readers, who gave the magazine its start. He had made himself popular by his many instructional books before he attempted a magazine; indeed he seems to have maintained a staff of helpers, and to have well-nigh broken himself down trying to keep up the flow of his "Peter Parley" volumes.

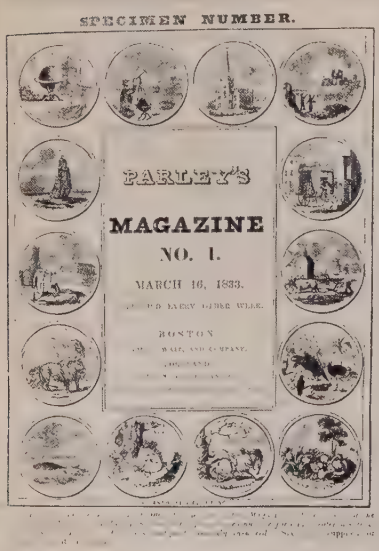
Woodcuts of wild animals, travel scenes, and incidents in the *Magazine's* very moral stories abounded. In the first nine volumes twelve thousand cuts appeared.[3] Most of them were small, even the full-page cuts which were printed in later

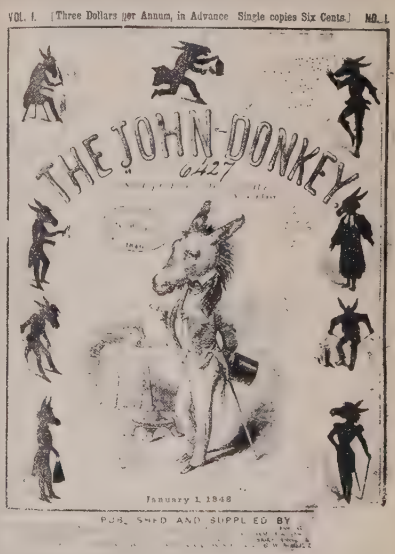
[1] TITLE: *Parley's Magazine.*
FIRST ISSUE: March 16, 1833. LAST ISSUE: December, 1844.
PERIODICITY: Biweekly 1833-36, 1839; semimonthly 1837-38; monthly 1840-44. (No dates, but printers' signature marks indicate numbers. Quarterly numbers containing three months' issues were also issued 1840-44.) Regular annual volumes. (January – February, 1833, made up before close of 1833 volume.)
PUBLISHERS: Lily, Wait and Company, Boston, 1833; Charles S. Francis, New York, and Joseph H. Francis, Boston, 1833-44.
EDITOR: Samuel G. Goodrich, 1833-34.

[2] Samuel G. Goodrich, *Recollections of a Life Time* (New York, 1857), II, 543.
[3] *Parley's Magazine,* X, 9 (January, 1842).



PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL
Ethnology, Physiology, Pharnology, Physiognomy, and Psychology.
PORTRAITS AND BIOGRAPHIES OF REMARKABLE PERSONS.





FOUR DIVERSE JOURNALS OF THE FORTIES

The *Democratic's* cover was of a brown stock. The key to the cranial organs with the illustrations of mental proclivities properly located in a drawing of the cranium graced the cover of the *Phrenological Journal.* The various kinds of instruction contained in *Parley's Magazine* for children are set forth in the small round pictures on its cover. *John-Donkey's* various attitudes are illustrated, with the motto from the "Vicar of Bray."

volumes being limited by the small square duodecimo page. On the cover were fourteen little pictures, each enclosed in a circle, showing scenes of travel, industry, science, and so on. Speaking of the cover, "Peter" said in his first number, "It is, I assure you, unlike some other faces, or covers, which are only meant to deceive. It is, I hope, an honest index to my real character." [4] (See illustration opposite page 622.)

It was. A miscellany of geography and travel, Bible stories, copious quantities of natural history, little didactic tales, fables, dialogues, poems, and letters make up the crowded pages. Little articles about various industries and arts, and bits of curious information are in every number. There is a page of music in each issue from 1834 through 1839. Some serials were published, including pieces using the favorite "Parley" method of stringing information upon a thread of narrative. In spite of the original "Peter Parley's" defection, that worthy's *Travels in Canada* was published serially in 1841. Then the little moralized tales, like the one showing how Catherine and Martha were punished for disobedience, and though it was Martha who led her companion into temptation, how Catherine tumbled over the fence (with a woodcut showing Catherine tumbling); or the one in which Henry teaches William, the son of an intemperate father, to read. And lastly, there are poems, puzzles, games, and directions for physical exercises.

Mrs. Sigourney, Hannah F. Gould, and Grenville Mellen are among the poets, and the English Richard and Mary Howitt and Mrs. S. C. Hall. Miss Gould, especially, was a faithful contributor.

Six thousand subscribers were claimed in 1838.[5] Three years later "Peter Parley's" new *Robert Merry's Museum* was furnishing a probably disastrous competition. At the end of 1844 *Parley's* was suspended, and the *Museum* eventually took over the name and combined it with its own.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 3. No. 1, 1833.
[5] *Ibid.*, VI, 11. No. 1, 1838.

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THE LITERARY AND THEOLOGICAL REVIEW[1]

LEONARD WOODS, JR., was the son of the famous Andover theologian, and had himself won no small recognition for scholarship by the time he finished his course at Andover. It was shortly after he left that institution that he founded the *Literary and Theological Review* at New York.

The new quarterly was an organ of the Congregational and Presbyterian denominations, and its writers were chiefly preachers and teachers prominent in the pulpits and seminaries of those faiths. Woods was a man of strong personality and opinions, and he dared oppose more than a few of the reforms of the day which were dear to many of those who were naturally supporters of his journal: he disapproved the course of the abolitionists, the work of the temperance societies, the incursions of German theology, and the activities of the revivalists. The *Review* was more theological than literary; but there was some literary criticism, as well as articles on education, social questions, science, and so on. One finds a burlesque of a phrenologist's demonstration cheek by jowl with a dissertation on free will or somebody's predisposition to Pelagian views. Woods, himself an exceptional classical scholar, defended the necessity of the classics in education.

Somewhat outside the usual ranks of contributors to the *Review* were H. R. Schoolcraft, Senator Frelinghuysen, and Edward S. Gould. Calvin E. Stowe, Enoch Pond, and Lyman H. Atwater were faithful helpers.

[1] TITLE: *The Literary and Theological Review.*
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1834. LAST ISSUE: December, 1839.
PERIODICITY: Quarterly. Annual volumes I-VI. Numbers issued in March, June, September, and December, except in Vol. I, the first number of which bears January date instead of March.
PUBLISHERS (all New York): Daniel Appleton, 1834; Franklin Knight, 1835; Ezra Collier, 1836; Charles D. Pigeon, 1838-39.
EDITORS: Leonard Woods, June, 1834-37; Charles D. Pigeon, 1838-39.

In 1837, Woods, who was now a professor in Bangor Theological, disposed of his *Review* to the Rev. Charles D. Pigeon. During the two years that Pigeon edited it, the chief feature was the attack upon "the licentious and infidel philosophy of the New Haven school."

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THE LADIES' COMPANION[1]

(Snowden's)

SNOWDEN'S *Ladies' Companion* was a New York imitator of the Philadelphia *Godey's* and *Graham's*. Its list of contributors was similar, though it ran more to fiction than its rivals; and it made much of its engravings.

Its editor and publisher through all its volumes except the last was William W. Snowden, a literary adventurer who knew more about circulation building than he did about literature, and who seems to have had a faculty for making enemies. One of his associate editors, H. F. Harrington, later characterized him as "an ignorant, profane, conceited fellow," and tells how he declined a poem called "Excelsior," by a certain "literary fledgling" named Longfellow, who "had agreed to furnish the *Companion* with occasional short poems at fourteen dollars each."[2] Charles Lanman wrote a contemporary diatribe for the *New World* in which he called the *Companion* "a milk-and-water concern edited by a penny-a-liner and foreigner named Hamilton. It is a receptacle of nonsense from first to last, of picture nonsense, fashion nonsense, poetical nonsense, and prose nonsense."[3] It is easy to believe Snowden's reply that Lanman's attack was "solely attributable to our neglect of his repeated applications to publish his 'prose-*run-mad* farragos'" and to excuse the editorial

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Ladies' Companion; A Monthly Magazine Embracing Every Department of Literature, Embellished with Original Engravings and Music Arranged for the Piano Forte, Harp and Guitar*, 1834-43; (2) *The Ladies' Companion, and Literary Expositor; A Monthly Magazine Embracing* [as above], 1843-44.

FIRST ISSUE: May, 1834. LAST ISSUE: October, 1844.

PERIODICITY: Monthly. Semiannual volumes, May - October, November - April, I-XXI. Vol. XXI is N.S. Vol. I.

PUBLISHERS: William W. Snowden, New York, 1834-44; "A Company of Gentlemen," New York, 1844.

EDITORS: William W. Snowden, 1834-43; William W. Snowden, Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney, Mrs. Emma C. Embury, and Others, 1843-44.

[2] *Critic*, X, 166 (April 2, 1887).

[3] *New World*, VI, 303 (March 11, 1843).

epithet of "senseless churl" as a characterization of the critic;[4] but it is more difficult to forgive Snowden for calling Park Benjamin, editor of the *New World*, a "literary hedgehog" and "literary reptile."[5]

The Hamilton referred to by Lanman was Robert Hamilton, another of Snowden's associate editors, and a writer of some small reputation. Mrs. Ann S. Stephens was an associate editor in 1837, later going to *Peterson's;* and Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney and Mrs. Emma C. Embury appeared as editors in 1843, though they probably did little editorial work. Poe declared that "Snowden pays his editresses $2 per week each for their names solely," at this time.[6]

Snowden, like Graham, capitalized his list of contributors, printing it on his covers and in his advertisements. It was indeed a list to be proud of, including Poe, Willis, Longfellow, Halleck, Paulding, Simms, Morris, Hoffman, Woodworth, Pike, and many other lesser lights which shone brightly enough in those days but have lost their lustre long since. Snowden, who loved to toot his own horn, claimed that

> By cheerfully receiving their contributions, kindly advising, and liberally remunerating their efforts, we have succeeded in bringing forth a host of writers that now challenge competition with the most distinguished of the European press.[7]

Probably Snowden had some part with Godey and Graham in bringing out the army of third-class writers who filled the pages of the popular magazines of the times. Perhaps the most distinguished literary work that appeared in the magazine was Poe's "The Mystery of Marie Rôget," in November and December, 1842, and February, 1843.

A theatrical department runs through most of the file. Music and fashion are standard material. At the beginning about half the contents were "selected," but the proportion of original ma-

[4] *Ladies' Companion,* XVIII, 308 (April, 1843).
[5] *Ibid.,* XVII, 283 (September, 1842).
[6] James A. Harrison, biography of Poe, Virginia Ed. of Poe's *Works* (New York, 1902), I, 166. Letter by Poe to W. E. Burton.
[7] *Ladies' Companion,* XV, 49 (May, 1841).

terial increased. There were some reviews, but sentimental poetry and tales held the chief place.

Snowden repeatedly claimed to have been the first to issue a magazine with all new plates, instead of borrowing these expensive embellishments from other publications after they had been more or less worn. From the first, the *Companion* furnished a plate with each issue, later increasing the illustrations to two steel or copper engravings besides the fashion plate. A. B. Durand contributed many landscapes to the early volumes.

The magazine appears to have attained some prosperity by 1840, claiming, on its covers, as many as 22,500 subscribers; though Snowden, in dunning his delinquents in 1843, admits that he has twenty thousand dollars owing him in subscription accounts.[8] In the following year he sold out to "a company of gentlemen" who promised to make the *Companion* "far more superior"[9] in the future. But it survived only six months under the new management.

[8] *Ibid.*, XVIII, 308 (April, 1843).
[9] *Ibid.*, XX, 317 (April, 1844).

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THE SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER[1]

RICHMOND, Virginia, was a little city of less than twenty thousand souls when the *Southern Literary Messenger* was begun there in 1834. It was, of course, the state capital, and it had some importance as a commercial port. It was the seat of the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society, the State Library, and perhaps other minor cultural institutions; but the number of persons whom the founder of the *Messenger*, Thomas Willys White, would have called "literary characters" was very small indeed. Poe was in Baltimore, and the Cookes had not yet come to Richmond. But scattered through Virginia,

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Southern Literary Messenger: Devoted to Every Department of Literature and the Fine Arts,* 1834-45, 1848-64. (Beginning in 1856, subhead of half title ran: *Devoted to Literature, Science, and Art.*) (2) *The Southern and Western Literary Messenger and Review: Devoted to Every Department of Literature and the Fine Arts,* 1846-47.

FIRST ISSUE: August, 1834. LAST ISSUE: June, 1864.

PERIODICITY: Monthly. I, August, October – December, 1834, January – September, 1835 (September, 1834, October – November, 1835, omitted); II, December, 1835, January – November, 1836 (December, 1836 omitted); III-XXI, 1837-55, regular annual volumes (February, August, October, 1840, omitted, preceding numbers being doubled. May-June, 1841, single number. August, 1841, omitted); XXII-XXXIII (New Series I-XII), 1856-61, regular semiannual volumes (October-November, 1851, single number); XXXIV (title-page error says XXXVI), January, February-March, April, May, June, July-August, September-October, November-December, 1862; XXXV (title-page error says XXXVII), 1863 (November-December combined); XXXVI (title-page error says XXXVIII), January – June, 1864.

PUBLISHERS (all of Richmond): T. W. White, 1834-43; B. B. Minor, 1843-47; John R. Thompson, 1847-52; Macfarlane & Fergusson, 1847, 1853-63; Wedderburn & Alfriend, 1864.

EDITORS: James E. Heath, August, 1834 – April, 1835; Edward V. Sparhawk; May – July, 1835; Thomas W. White, August, September, 1835, February, 1837 – December, 1839(?); Edgar Allan Poe, December, 1835 – January, 1837; Thomas W. White and Matthew F. Maury, January, 1840 (?) – September, 1842; Matthew F. Maury, October, 1842 – July, 1843; Benjamin B. Minor, August, 1843 – October, 1847; John R. Thompson, November, 1847 – May, 1860; George W. Bagby, June, 1860 – January, 1864; Frank H. Alfriend, February – June, 1864.

INDEXED in *Poole* and *Jones*. (Poole uses correct volume numbers of XXXV-XXXVI instead of following title-pages.)

REFERENCES: Benjamin Blake Minor, *The Southern Literary Messenger 1834-1864* (New York, 1905); Edwin Reinhold Rogers, *Four Southern Magazines* (University of Virginia, Studies in Southern Literature, 1902).

which then extended westward to the Ohio River, and especially to be found at Williamsburg, the seat of William and Mary College, and at Charlottesville, where the University of Virginia was located, were a number of men interested in literature and writing; and moreover Richmond seems already to have been regarded as in some sort a capital of the South. It was, therefore, quite as good a place as any to found a magazine which was to be the mouthpiece of southern culture.[2]

Besides, the man who wished to start such a medium of expression was a Richmond printer and a believer in his own city. White was a man without much formal education or considerable financial means, but he had two of the characteristics of the successful editor—optimism and the capacity for making friends. He wrote little or nothing for his magazine, but such letters of his as have been preserved show a winning, though somewhat naïve, personality. Against the advice of many of his friends, as we are told in the memoirs published in the *Messenger* after his death,[3] he issued a prospectus in the summer of 1834 for a semimonthly literary journal, and printed a trial number in August.

The new magazine's first steps were halting and uncertain. The publisher, doubtless awaiting tangible results from his first number, did not feel justified in issuing a second at once, and none appeared until October 15. After that, it was decided to make the magazine a monthly, and so it continued. At the end of a first volume, with the issue for September, 1835, the publisher paused to take breath, or to consolidate his resources. He probably had less than a thousand subscribers at this time, in spite of the efforts of his friends.[4] The second volume was then begun in December, 1835, and at the end of it a briefer pause occurred, the third volume beginning in January, 1837. Thereafter there were no breaks until the troublous days of the Civil War.

[2] Charleston already had its *Southern Literary Journal.*

[3] *Messenger,* IX, 65 (January, 1843).

[4] See E. A. Poe in *Broadway Journal,* I, 183 (March 22, 1845), to be accepted *cum grano salis.* R. H. Wilde got the new magazine a hundred subscribers in Augusta, Georgia, and continued for many years to collect and remit their subscriptions. (See second cover page for December, 1843.)

The first editor of the *Messenger* was James E Heath, state editor, and author of a Virginia novel called "Edge Hill." Heath did his editorial work after office hours. "Mr. White," writes a later editor,

> used to go frequently to Mr. Heath's, with letters and contributions, over which they spent nearly the whole night. One stormy evening, Mr. Heath admitted him all buttoned up and muffled, and when he loosened his overcoat he placed upon the table a large bottle of champagne, which by no means checked their ardor in the night's work.[5]

Heath is apparently the author of the initial article in the first number on "Southern Literature," in which he issues a rallying cry to Southerners to gather around the new standard raised in behalf of literary independence in the Southland. The editorial department which he wrote during his editorship is genial but undistinguished. In his fourth number he confessed that his standards were not rigorous, and explained that he wished to encourage new writers. He was much given to printing letters commendatory of the *Messenger,* many of which came from the North. The first or trial issue had carried, in a "Publisher's Notice," some kindly good wishes from Northerners like Irving, Paulding, Cooper, and John Quincy Adams. In the number for January, 1835, the editor remarks:

> From our Northern and Eastern friends we have received more complimentary notices than from any of our Southern brethren without the limits of our own State. We say this not in a reproachful spirit, but in a somewhat sad conviction of mind, that we who live on the sunny side of Mason and Dixon's line are not yet sufficiently inspired with a sense of the importance of maintaining our just rights, or rather our proper representation in the Republic of Letters.[6]

Heath was editor of the first eight numbers of the *Messenger.* He had "volunteered his aid" at the beginning "when success was doubtful" and "at a considerable sacrifice of ease and leisure . . .

[5] Blake, *op. cit.,* p. 15.
[6] *Messenger,* I, 254 (January, 1835).

without hope or expectation of reward."[7] It must be admitted that his editorship was not brilliant. There were too many educational addresses—a species of composition from which the *Messenger* continued to suffer—and too much bad poetry. Judge Beverly Tucker's "Lecture on the Study of Law" was published in response to the polite request of his admiring students in the number for December, 1834, thus beginning a long series of contributions by that able professor at William and Mary. In the following number the same writer opens the slavery discussion in the *Messenger,* delivering himself of the apparent paradox: ". . . the existence of domestic slavery among us has been of singular advantage in preserving the free spirit of our people."[8] This gives the editor an opportunity to say:

> Whilst we entirely concur with him that slavery as a political, or social, institution is a matter exclusively of our own concern, as much so as the laws which govern the distribution of property, we must be permitted to dissent from the opinion that it is either a moral or a political benefit. We regard it, on the contrary, as a great evil, which society sooner or later will find it not only to its interest to remove or mitigate, but will seek its gradual abolition, or amelioration, under the influence of those high obligations imposed by an enlightened Christian morality.[9]

This is especially interesting in view of expressions of later editors to whom other times brought other views.

Among the best of the *Messenger* articles in these early numbers were four travel series: Lucian Minor's "Letters from New England," Robert Greenhow's "Sketches of the History and Present Condition of Tripoli," some western travels by D. D. Mitchell, of the United States Army, and "Letters from a Sister, on Foreign Travel," by one "Leontine." Peter A. Brown wrote several articles on geology, and the magazine became the repository of the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society. One "Larry Lyle" contributed verse; his penmanship was so bad that the printer recorded him as "Zarry Zyle." He later proved to

[7] *Ibid.*, I, 461 (May, 1835).
[8] *Ibid.*, I, 230 (January, 1835).
[9] *Ibid.*, I, 254 (January, 1835).

be Philip Pendleton Cooke, one of the *Messenger's* most valued writers and an elder brother of John Esten Cooke. Mrs. Sigourney contributed poems, as did Nathaniel Parker Willis, Richard Henry Wilde and others who shall be nameless here.

In the number for March, 1835, appeared a name destined to be intimately connected with that of the *Messenger*—E. A. Poe. The contribution was "Berenice—A Tale." The editor added the misinformation that the author was a native of Richmond, with this excellent comment:

> Whilst we confess that we think there is too much German horror in his subject, there can be but one opinion as to the force and elegance of his style. He discovers a superior capacity and a highly cultivated taste in composition.[10]

Poe had given John P. Kennedy, his Baltimore patron, as a reference when he submitted his story, and White's inquiry brought the following reply:

> Dear Sir: Poe did right in referring to me. He is very clever with his pen—classical and scholar-like. He wants experience and direction, but I have no doubt he can be made very useful to you. And poor fellow! he is very poor. I told him to write something for every number of your magazine, and that you might find it to your advantage to give him some permanent employ. . . . I have turned him to drudging upon whatever may make money, and I have no doubt you and he will find your account in each other.[11]

They did. The next two issues contained successively Poe's "Morella" and "Lionizing," with commendatory paragraphs by the editor; and in the April issue there was also a review of Kennedy's *Horse-Shoe Robinson* from Poe's pen. Of this critique he felt ashamed, and gave illness as his excuse to White for his failure to do the book justice. In the same letter he expressed complete satisfaction with his treatment at White's hands, saying, "My poor services are not worth what you give me for them."[12] The compensation was probably not over two dollars

[10] *Ibid.*, I, 387 (March, 1835).
[11] George E. Woodberry, *Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1885), pp. 70-71.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

a large page of small type; White was paying a dollar and a half and two dollars with difficulty five years later, as he wrote to Rufus Wilmot Griswold.[13]

Heath was unable to continue his editorial work beyond April, 1835, and was bidden farewell in a eulogistic paragraph in that number. As early as February, White had tried to induce one of his best contributors, Lucian Minor, to become editor at eight hundred dollars a year, but had failed.[14] Edward V. Sparhawk, another state official of literary proclivities, succeeded Heath for three months, after which White apparently did the August and September numbers alone, thus finishing out the volume. It should be noted that whomever White employed as literary editor, he himself acted as a kind of managing editor: he was always more than publisher. The contents continued much the same for the remainder of the volume. President Thomas R. Dew, of William and Mary, joined the heavy artillery from that direction. Poe contributed to each number; in July appeared "The Visionary," later famous as "The Assignation," and in September the marvellous prose poem "Shadow: A Parable." Commenting upon Mrs. Childs' *An Appeal in Favor of Americans Called Africans,* the editor called it "ill-judged," and confessed to "an indignant resentment against the madmen who are blindly jeopardizing the peace of the country and the lives of thousands. We cannot trust our feelings upon this subject," he adds. "We see too clearly the horrors in perspective, which fanaticism is preparing for us."[15]

The second volume, and in part the first number of the third, were edited by Poe. White had written him in June, 1835, inquiring if he would consider employment on the *Messenger* if a position opened the following winter, and Poe had replied that nothing would give him greater pleasure.[16] In December, White, though claiming the control for himself, said that he was "assisted by a gentleman of distinguished literary talents," who was undoubtedly Poe; at the end of the latter's service he acknowledged

[13] See p. 505, *supra.*
[14] Mary E. Phillips, *Edgar Allan Poe* (Philadelphia, 1926), I, 491.
[15] *Messenger,* I, 651 (July, 1835).
[16] Woodberry, *op. cit.,* p. 72.

Poe's past editorship.[17] So Poe came to the *Messenger* in December, 1835, at fifteen dollars a week.

During his editorship he wrote tales, poems, articles, and book notices in variety and abundance, besides reprinting some pieces, such as "The MS. Found in a Bottle," "Israfel," and so on, which had already appeared in other periodicals. The new tales and poems contributed to the *Messenger* during his own editorship include none of his best work, and are below his previous contributions in merit. His special articles contain material that will always interest students of Poe's intellectual development and of his character, but they are not intrinsically important. It was Poe's criticism which distinguished his service on the *Messenger,* and which did much to make that magazine famous; nor was it the more philosophical, Coleridgean criticism, of which there was a modicum, which produced this effect, but the tendency evidenced from the first to "hang, draw, and *Quarterly*" a few selected victims.

Respectable models for the tomahawk manner of reviewing had, of course, been furnished by the great English quarterlies—by Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh,* Wilson in *Blackwood's,* and Gifford in the *London Quarterly,* to name but three. In America, however, the protective policy for literary home industries had been rather generally followed. When Poe, then, in his very first number leaped upon a favorite novel by a pet of the Knickerbocker school—Theodore S. Fay's *Norman Leslie*—and, to use his own phrase, "used it up," the proceeding created a sensation. The novel in question was affected and melodramatic, but it was making a success because it used a notorious murder of the day as the center of the plot, and because its author was one of the editors of the popular *New York Mirror;* a dramatic version of it later had some success on the New York stage. Poe called it silly, and was especially severe upon its style, which was pronounced "unworthy of a schoolboy." He asserted that "the editor of the *New York Mirror* has either never seen an edition of Murray's *Grammar,* or else he has been a-Willising so long as to

[17] *Messenger,* III, 96 (January, 1837). In a letter to the Richmond *Compiler* dated Sept. 1, 1836, Poe stresses the fact that he is sole editor of the *Messenger.* The letter was apparently intended for publication, and was published. See Minor, *op. cit.,* p. 53.

have forgotten his vernacular language."[18] That Fay was "Willising" one can scarcely doubt: that was good. But naturally enough, the castigated author was resentful, and among other attacks on Poe, more or less veiled, the *Mirror* at length printed a sketch called "The Successful Novel!!" in which Poe is satirized under the name of "Mr. Bulldog." It is in the form of a dialogue between three unsuccessful writers who agree to attack the successful novelist, whom they hate because of his success. In the same issue the *Mirror* printed this paragraph:

☞ Those who have read the notices of American books in a certain southern "monthly" which is striving to gain notoriety by the loudness of its abuse, may find amusement in the sketch, on another page, entitled "The Successful Novel!" The *Southern Literary Messenger* knows ☞ *by experience!* ☜ what it is to write a successless novel! ☜[19]

This was chiefly important in that it drew from Poe a statement of his aims in which he arraigned the contemporary American criticism:

. . . we get up a hue and cry about the necessity of encouraging native writers of merit—we blindly fancy that we can accomplish this by indiscriminate puffing of good, bad, and indifferent, without taking the trouble to consider that what we choose to denominate encouragement is thus, by its general application, precisely the reverse. In a word, so far from being ashamed of the many disgraceful literary failures to which our own inordinate vanities and misapplied patriotism have lately given birth, and so far from deeply lamenting that these daily puerilities are of home manufacture, we adhere pertinaciously to our original blindly conceived idea, and thus often find ourselves involved in the gross paradox of liking a stupid book the better, because, sure enough, its stupidity is American.[20]

As a matter of fact, however, not more than a small proportion of Poe's book notices in the *Messenger* were of the cudgelling sort. In a letter to the Richmond *Compiler* dated September 2,

[18] *Ibid.*, II, 56 (December, 1835).
[19] *Mirror*, XIII, 324-25 (April 9, 1836).
[20] *Messenger*, II, 326 (April, 1836).

1836, Poe defends himself against the accusation of "cutting and slashing" and presents the following statistics:

> Since the commencement of my editorship, in December last, 94 books have been reviewed. In 79 of these cases, the commendation has so largely predominated over the few sentences of censure that every reader would pronounce the notices highly laudatory. In seven instances, viz.: in those of *The Hawks of Hawk Hollow; The Old World and the New; Spain Revisited;* the poems of Mrs. Sigourney, of Miss Gould, of Mrs. Ellet and of Halleck praise slightly prevails. In five, viz.: in those of Clinton Bradshaw, *The Partisan, Elkswatawa, Lafitte* and the Po-Drake, censure is greatly predominant; while the only reviews decidedly and harshly condemnatory are those of *Norman Leslie, Paul Ulric* and *Ups and Downs.* The *Ups and Downs* alone is unexceptionally condemned.[21]

Indeed, Poe's leading biographer believes that "his reputation as a critic would now suffer rather for the mercy he showed than for the vengeance he took." [22] One's confidence in Poe sometimes wavers, however, when one suspects him of personal animus, as in the case of the *Ups and Downs in the Life of a Distressed Gentleman,* by Colonel William L. Stone, editor of the New York *Commercial Advertiser* and a critic of Poe's criticism; but at least we can be sure that Poe did not allow the *Messenger* to fall into that besetting sin of southern periodicals—a sweet indulgence for everything of southern origin. He belabors *The Partisan,* by William Gilmore Simms of South Carolina; *Elkswatawa,* by James S. French, of Virginia; *The Swiss Heiress,* by a Baltimorean who must have been glad to be anonymous; and *Spain Revisited,* by Lieutenant Slidell, of Louisiana: nor is he wholly kind to Mrs. Ellet, of South Carolina, a *Messenger* contributor.

Aside from the Poe interest, the second volume of the magazine is not much superior to the first. Judge Tucker, President Dew,[23] and the Historical Society orators continue to be pub-

21 Minor, *op. cit.,* pp. 53-54.

22 Woodberry, *op. cit.,* p. 90.

23 Thomas R. Dew, president of William and Mary, has a long serial "Dissertation on the Characteristic Differences Between the Sexes." A casual glance at that work leads to a doubt as to whether its author had a sense of humor sufficient to make him appreciate the puns perpetrated upon his name by a later editor of

lished, with James M. Garnett's series on "Obstacles to Education." There was also a series on the British Parliament, translated from the *Revue des Deux Mondes;* as in the first volume, there was a small proportion of matter selected from books and other magazines. Judge Joseph Hopkinson, Mathew Carey, and Dr. Robert M. Bird, all of Philadelphia; as well as J. K. Paulding and Timothy Flint, became contributors.

Some years later the *Broadway Journal,* of which Poe was joint editor, published an article in which the writer, after making the obvious misstatement that Poe became editor of the *Messenger* in its seventh month, when it had six or seven hundred subscribers, goes on to assert that by the exertions of Poe and White the circulation was increased "by the end of the subsequent year to nearly five thousand—a success unparalleled in the history of five-dollar magazines." [24] Before this Poe had written to Professor Anthon, "in spite of the wretched taste of the proprietor, which hampered and controlled me at all points, I increased the circulation in fifteen months to five thousand five hundred subscribers, paying an annual profit of ten thousand dollars when I left it." [25] No doubt the circulation had increased materially, but the *Messenger* was still poor.

The precise circumstances surrounding Poe's parting with the *Messenger* are not known. The numbers for October and November, 1836, were late, as we see by apologies printed in them; and Poe's contributions in the latter months of his editorship are smaller and less regular. He later confessed that he had sometimes been "completely intoxicated" in these years.[26] An un-

the *Messenger.* B. B. Minor, while a student at William and Mary, named his dog "after the revered president"; the dog was later caught killing sheep, and summarily executed, whereupon Minor was guilty of the following:

> Dew is fallen, but not from Heaven;
> By loving hand the blow was given.
> Dew falls on flowers while we sleep,
> But this Dew fell upon the sheep.
> His paws in blood he did imbrue,
> And met the fate that was his *due.*
> (Minor, *op. cit.,* p. 173.)

[24] *Broadway Journal,* I, 183 (March 22, 1845).

[25] Poe, *Complete Works,* Virginia Edition (Jas. A. Harrison, ed.; New York, 1902), XVII, 177.

[26] Hervey Allen, *Israfel* (New York, 1927); II, 409. Letter to Dr. Snodgrass, April 1, 1841.

dated letter from White to Poe, published in Griswold's "Memoir," pleads with him to stop drinking, and while protesting "true friendship," states definitely that the writer will employ him no more if he becomes intoxicated again.[27] No number was issued for December, 1836, and in the January issue it was announced White was again sole manager, Poe having retired January 3. "Mr. P., however," the readers of the magazine are told, "will continue to furnish its columns, from time to time, with the effusions of his vigorous and popular pen."[28] He did not, however, furnish the *Messenger* any signed articles again for eight years, and he left his serial *Arthur Gordon Pym,* begun in January, unfinished after the February installment. Certain critical pieces in the February and April numbers have been thought to be Poe's;[29] they may have been left-overs from his editorship. We find Poe, however, claiming in a letter to be editor of the *Messenger* in the following October, and it is probable that he was assisting White at that time.[30] In December, White and Poe apparently parted. White remained friendly toward him, and when he became associated with Burton's *Gentleman's Magazine* spoke of him in the *Messenger* as "a gentleman of fine endowments; possessing a taste classical and refined, an imagination affluent and splendid, and withal, a singular capacity for minute and mathematical detail"—although, it was admitted, he was too much affected by German mysticism.[31]

Who White's editorial assistants were for the next two years can only be conjectured. Poe suggested to Lambert A. Wilmer, then in Baltimore, that the position was open to him; but Wilmer was unable to accept.[32] Heath or Sparhawk, or both, may have renewed their connection with the *Messenger,* or at least afforded some help to a project to which they had previously been willing to devote much of their leisure. B. B. Minor, a later editor and the *Messenger's* historian (or abstracter), quotes guesses offered

[27] Poe, *Works* (R. W. Griswold, ed.; New York, 1850), p. xxx.
[28] *Messenger,* III, 96 (January, 1837).
[29] Killis Campbell in the *Nation,* LXXXIX, 9 (July 1, 1909).
[30] *Ibid.* Professor Campbell identifies certain October and November pieces as Poe's.
[31] *Messenger,* V, 708 (October, 1839).
[32] Lambert A. Wilmer, *Our Press Gang* (Philadelphia, 1859), p. 41. "He was quite sure that I could obtain the situation."

by two "authorities" in whom he has confidence: one of them names Judge Henry St. George Tucker, president of the Supreme Court of Virginia and a *Messenger* contributor; and the other the Rev. Edwin H. Chapin, a Universalist minister from the North who was serving at Richmond his first pastorate. Chapin had already had some magazine experience; he was a man of parts, and was eventually to become one of the most popular pulpit and lyceum orators in America.[33] Whoever bore the brunt of the editorial work, however, White began to print his own name as "editor and publisher" in the number for March, 1837, and kept it there until the time of his death six years later.

Now that Poe was gone and the *Southern Literary Journal* at Charleston was tottering, William Gilmore Simms became a conspicuous contributor to the *Messenger*. Several long poems in 1837, and a series of "Early Lays" in succeeding years bear his name; in August, 1838, in an article about the Charleston writer, the unkind strictures of Poe on *The Partisan* are, as far as possible, atoned for. Professors Francis Lieber and John W. Draper, and President-to-be John Tyler are 1837 contributors—the latter furnishing nothing more exciting than a patriotic oration. The slavery question again rears its head in a review of Judge Tucker's novel, *The Partisan Leader*. This novel looks forward to 1849, when the South shall have seceded from the Union, predicts the strife of patriots against mercenary troops, and foresees ultimate victory with independence. The book is reviewed by Judge Abel P. Upshur (neither judge writes under his own name), who says, among other things:

> We sincerely hope that the future history of our country may falsify all these speculations. If, however, a change in our institutions should take place, as there is too much reason to fear, we have in the book before us a striking view of the course which events will probably take. The South, although the most patient people

[33] Minor, *op. cit.*, p. 65. Minor apparently gets most of his information directly from the file, from his own knowledge of southern men and events, and from John W. Fergusson, a boy in White's shop when he began the *Messenger*, and later one of the magazine's publishers. The Sparhawk and Chapin suggestions are Fergusson's. But Minor places the date of Chapin's advent in Richmond too early: he was not ordained until 1837.

on the face of the earth, of the abuses of government, cannot bear everything.[34]

The editors "neither claim or disclaim" these opinions. A long article with the title "Miss Martineau on Slavery" occupies the premier position in the number for November, 1837; and Judge Upshur's Historical Society address on "Domestic Slavery" is a *pièce de résistance* for October, 1839.

Little has thus far been said about fiction in the *Messenger*, except that for which Poe was responsible. From the first there was a story or two, the authorship usually being happily unknown, in each number. Heath apparently wrote some short stories, and by 1837 Mrs. Ellet had begun her career as a writer of *Messenger* fiction. There are a few "fragments," like the one by C. W. Everest in the number for March, 1838. Most of the fiction was as sentimental as anything being published at the time by *Godey's Lady's Book*. A good example is the "Constance Woodburn" of Charlotte M. S. Barnes, in which a very perfect young lady falls in love with a young man who would be equally perfect if he were not—horrifying discovery—an atheist! Later the young man is very properly injured, and loses his mind. Constance becomes "an old maid," but more perfect, if possible. Stilted, without backgrounds, the whole purpose is to train the emotions in the way they should go.[35] There were a few unsuccessful serials, as "Lionel Granby," by "Theta," in the first volume, and "Constantine," by Mrs. Harrison Smith, in the second.

The book reviews, after Poe, were irregular. An interesting feature in them is the treatment of the growing reputation of Dickens. Heath disapproved of "Boz," but Poe was inclined to his praise. In 1837 the *Messenger* set resolutely to work on the hopeless task of demolishing the new idol. "If any of our readers suffers himself to be cheated out of his money or his time by Mr. Boz it shall not be our fault," declared the reviewer of *Oliver Twist*.[36] This brought "a shower of puny missiles" upon

[34] *Messenger*, III, 73-89 (January, 1837).
[35] *Ibid.*, IV, 169ff. (March, 1838).
[36] *Ibid.*, III, 323 (May, 1837).

the devoted head of the critic of "Mr. Boz," and necessitated an eight-page review of *The Pickwick Papers,* lately pirated by a Philadelphia firm. The review was written by none other than Judge Beverly Tucker. "The republication of his vulgar absurdities," declared the judge, "was an insult to the whole country." He paired Dickens with Pierce Egan in a "triumph of grimace, obscenity and buffoonery."[37] When the *American Notes* came out, the *Messenger* was not under the necessity, as many other periodicals were, of apologizing for a change of attitude toward Dickens.[38] Under Thompson's editorship, justice was done the author of *David Copperfield,* however; and Dr. Bagby was an ardent admirer of Dickens' work.

The fifth volume of the *Messenger* (1839) introduces some new contributors and new interests. Lieutenant Matthew Fontaine Maury, who was soon to play an important part in the management of the magazine, appears for the first time in its issue for January, 1839, with "A Scheme for Rebuilding Southern Commerce." His plan was to establish steam lines connecting Norfolk with England and France. "Those who first established the packets," he wrote, "have placed New York on a commercial eminence. . . . Steamboats . . . will but make more absolute her sway."[39] A map of ocean routes illustrates the article. President Henry Ruffner, of Washington College, Virginia, contributes "Notes of a Tour to Tennessee" to several of the early numbers for that year, and later writes some fiction for the magazine. Northern writers appear, Park Benjamin most frequently of all. Charles Fenno Hoffman, Mrs. Seba Smith, and H. W. Longfellow are represented—the latter with his poem "The Beleaguered City." Combe's treatise on phrenology is reprinted serially, with a reply by Dr. Thomas Sewall.

Maury became associate editor early in 1840. He had risen from a midshipman's berth in the navy to a lieutenancy attached to a survey of southern ports. He had contributed his work on "Pacific Navigation" to Silliman's *Journal* in 1839. His name was never published as editor of the *Messenger*—indeed most of

[37] *Ibid.*, III, 532 (September, 1837).
[38] *Ibid.*, IX, 58 (January, 1843).
[39] *Ibid.*, V, 3-12 (January, 1839).

his contributions were either unsigned, or printed with the pen-name of "Harry Bluff"—but there can be no doubt of his associateship;[40] and after White's stroke of paralysis in September, 1842, he was actual though not nominal editor.

Maury's own identified contributions are chiefly of two classes: reminiscences of his life in the navy, and proposals for reforms in the service. Some of the latter were very influential. The third installment of his "Scraps from the Lucky-Bag of Harry Bluff" is generally credited with having had much to do with the founding of the Naval Academy at Annapolis,[41] and other less important pieces of constructive work received impetus from Maury's always well informed advocacy. And not only did he write of naval affairs himself, but he lured his fellow officers into pages of the *Messenger*, so that the magazine became, in the years 1840-43, a recognized but unofficial organ for naval officers and personnel. Controversies on naval subjects were admitted, and indeed encouraged. "Harry Bluff" himself aroused the ire of a high official by an article on naval reorganization in January, 1841, and the matter had to be argued out in several numbers. The famous "whisker order," designed to curb the extravagance of hirsute adornment on the part of sailors, furnished some fun a year later. Judge Upshur, one of the *Messenger's* most valued contributors, was made secretary of the navy by President Tyler in 1841—a position which he held until he succeeded Daniel Webster as secretary of state in 1843. Judge Upshur's predecessor in the naval portfolio was James K. Paulding, another *Messenger* contributor; he had strongly opposed—chiefly on sentimental grounds, it appears—the introduction of steamships as advocated by Maury and his friends. The army was also well represented in the *Messenger*. Captain St. George Cooke, for example, furnished a serial, "Scenes and Adventures in the Army," in 1842.

The magazine was not, of course, wholly given to the army and navy. A serial called "The Quakeress" furnished moral fic-

40 See Minor, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

41 See *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography* (New York, 1888), IV, 265; article "Maury, M. F.," by J. Thomas Scharf. For something of Maury's leading articles in the *Messenger*, see Diana Fontaine Maury Corbin, *A Life of Matthew Fontaine Maury* (London, 1888), Chaps. IV and IX.

tional pabulum in 1841, and "The Hunchback: A Pennsylvania Story" in 1842; while Jane T. Lomax began her long series of "Love Sketches" also in 1842. William W. Andrews, United States consul at Malta, had a serial "History of the Knights of Malta" in 1841-42; and General Lewis Cass, minister to France, wrote travel articles in 1840-41. Mrs. Seba Smith's long poem "The Sinless Child," which Poe praised so highly, was published in the January and February numbers of 1842. A. B. Longstreet appeared—not, alas, with more "Georgia Scenes,"—but with an address delivered as president of Emory College, Georgia. A good resolution to refuse to print addresses was not quite adhered to. Henry T. Tuckerman, Rufus W. Griswold, and Charles Lanman were new writers from New York; and Mrs. E. J. Eames and Miss Lydia Jane Pierson contributed tales.

The publisher of the *Messenger* suffered a paralytic stroke in September, 1842, while at supper in the Astor House, New York. He was taken home, and lived until the 19th of the following January. Maury, now in charge of the hydrographic bureau at Washington, was called upon to conduct the *Messenger* by mail from that city—which he did with liberal use of the franking privilege. White's son-in-law Peter D. Bernard, a printer in Richmond, assisted the magazine at this crisis. Thus it was carried on until it was sold in July, 1843, to Benjamin Blake Minor.

In spite of conspicuous success in two or three fields, the *Messenger* had not been prosperous. The frequent requests for the payment of arrearages had grown almost pathetic. In 1839 White had written to Griswold: "I am in great trouble . . . But I will go ahead at all hazards. God alone shall break me down. Man cannot do it."[42] Some months later he had confessed in a letter to Horace Greeley, "The truth is, my dear fellow, I am, I fear, a bad manager, and possibly a worse economist . . . Just now I am particularly beset."[43] And once more to Griswold fifteen months before his death:

For eight long years I have been toiling for naught. All my energies, all my industry, all my tact, all my funds,—all—all, have

[42] *Correspondence of R. W. Griswold*, p. 35. Letter dated Dec. 23, 1839.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 47. Dated Oct. 30, 1840.

FASHIONS IN BONNETS, BEARDS, ETC.

From a hand-colored steel engraving in *Graham's Magazine* for November, 1843.

been given to this pet of mine. And for what? For a little Fame—for having it said that I had achieved what no one else had accomplished in our Southern states. Well, I have succeeded at last, I believe, in placing my publication on a solid foundation—on a foundation that will last, at least, as long as I shall last.[44]

The comparative optimism of the last sentence was probably due to a considerable increase in the *Messenger's* subscription list; its circulation appears to have been greater under Maury than under Poe. "Never has the circulation of the *Messenger* been as great as it now is," says a statement in January, 1842.[45] And a year later: "Our subscription list is a large one; had we half of what is due by it, we should be satisfied for years to come." [46] The circulation was probably about four thousand,[47] and the subscription price was five dollars a year; but the advertising was negligible, consisting of an occasional school announcement on the cover.

Minor was a young lawyer, and a graduate of both the University of Virginia and the College of William and Mary. He kept up for a time the interest in the army and navy, publishing some articles by Maury and a series by Lieutenant Braxton Bragg called "Notes on Our Army." But later he inclined more to the historical. He published the whole of Captain John Smith's *True Relation* in February, 1845, and in 1847 Charles Campbell's serial history of Virginia. Poetry was at a low ebb in the *Messenger*. Nobody seemed to heed the "Invocation to the Southern Muse" in the number for March, 1843, which began,

Lyre of the sunny South, awake! [48]

Judge Tucker continued to write politics, criticism, and fiction: his "The Moral and Political Effect on the Relation between the Caucasian Master and the African Slave" appeared in May, 1844; and in the same year his story "Gertrude" ran serially. Tucker

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 100. Dated Oct. 20, 1841.
[45] *Messenger*, VIII, 1 (January, 1842).
[46] *Ibid.*, IX, 1 (January, 1843).
[47] See *Southern Quarterly Review*, I, 31 (January, 1842), which credits the *Messenger* with this figure.
[48] *Messenger*, IX, 145 (March, 1843). See George Frederick Holmes' declaration that poetry is unpopular in XI, 177 (March, 1845).

was not the only one who wrote on slavery; the defence of slavery was a duty demanded by southern loyalties. The annexation of Texas was also favored in an article by the editor.[49] The *Southern Quarterly Review,* recently founded at New Orleans, accounts for the interest which its Richmond contemporary took in political questions at this time by telling its readers that "Virginians are a race of politicians." [50]

Philip Pendleton Cooke became a regular contributor of verse and tales. The wife of the editor wrote much fiction; the judges of a contest for the best serial novel, held in 1844, were surprised to discover that the winning contestant was none other than Mrs. Minor. She, with Thomas C. Reynolds and Augustus A. Meyers, helped in the editing of the magazine.[51] Simms continued a regular contributor, especially notable in a controversy in which he defended international copyright in 1844. In the next year the editor made arrangements—or thought he had made them—with Poe for a critical article each month, at three dollars a page, and went so far as to announce the series in April; but it was never forthcoming. Some dispute seems to have arisen with Minor over business matters respecting the *Broadway Journal,*[52] with which Poe was now connected. However, it appears that Poe sent the *Messenger* a satire called "The Editor of the Goosetherumfoodle," which Minor paid for, though he did not like it and never published it.[53] He did, however, publish "The Literary Life of Thingum Bob" in December, 1844, and in March, 1845, at the earnest request of the author,[54] he reprinted "The Raven," with some slight changes.

In December, 1845, Minor bought the *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine,* of Charleston, from Simms, and incorporated it with the *Messenger.* During the following year the magazine bore the unwieldy title, *The Southern and Western Literary Messenger and Review.* It is plain that the consolidation had little influence upon the fortunes of the *Messenger.* In the

[49] *Ibid.,* X, 315 (May, 1844).
[50] *Southern Quarterly,* I, 30 (January, 1842).
[51] Minor, *op. cit.,* p. 128.
[52] Allen, *op. cit.,* II, 652.
[53] Minor, *op. cit.,* pp. 132-33, 139-40. The transaction is not entirely clear. Minor was eighty-seven years old when he wrote his book.
[54] *Ibid.,* pp. 138-39.

autumn of 1847 Minor accepted a position at the head of the Virginia Female Institute, and disposed of his magazine to John Reuben Thompson.

Thompson was a personable young lawyer of Richmond, and a graduate of the University of Virginia; like his predecessor, he found *belles-lettres* more seductive than Blackstone. He had, however, a more refined taste than Minor; and he was a poet of some charm as well as a critic of ability. His pleasing personality pervades the pages of the *Messenger* during his long editorship—he conducted the magazine for thirteen years, a longer time than any other editor. "Notices of New Works" and other critical articles were generally of a high character, though not regular in quantity, and sometimes too indulgent toward southern writers; and the remainder of the magazine maintained as good a standard as at any time in its history. Nevertheless, it did not succeed financially and was on the point of being given up two or three times. In 1851 Thompson wrote to Griswold of the collapse of his hopes:

> The *Messenger* is almost "gone." I look into the future to see nothing but diseases . . . Four years of hard labor find me in debt, my small patrimony almost exhausted. . . . I have followed the will-o'-the-wisp, literary fame, into the morass, and it has gone out, leaving me up to the armpits in mud.[55]

In 1853 Thompson sold the property to Macfarlane & Fergusson, who had long been the printers of the magazine and who had for a short time at the end of Minor's editorship been its publishers; but Thompson remained as editor. The new owners immediately reduced the price from five dollars to three, and claims of increased circulation are made two or three times early in 1854. What the *Messenger* needed, however, was money rather than names: its worst enemy was the delinquent subscriber. Even a former president of the United States wrote Thompson apologizing for his delinquency; John Tyler, whose speeches the *Messenger* had several times published, was in need of ready cash, and asked the editor to wait.[56] Minor had been accus-

[55] *Correspondence of R. W. Griswold*, p. 279. Letter dated Dec. 2, 1851.
[56] Joseph Leonard King, Jr., *Dr. George William Bagby* (New York, 1927), p. 86.

tomed to publish the names of those who had paid up during the past month on the inside of the cover by way of encouragement. The reduction in price was evidently disappointing in its effect, and there are indications that the magazine faltered on the verge of suspension at the end of 1854. In January, 1855, Thompson wrote in the "Editor's Table":

> *Harper's Magazine* has probably five times as many subscribers south of the Potomac . . . and even *Putnam's Monthly*, which has recently outraged the entire slaveholding portion of the Union by lending itself to the extremist views of the abolitionists, has a larger circulation among slave-holders. . . . For years past the *Messenger* has met with only the most meagre patronage and now stands in need of enlarged means, or it must share the fate of other similar works which preceded it and perished.[57]

In October, 1855, a card was published on the cover "respectfully but frankly" stating that if a large number of subscribers did not pay their arrearages, the magazine would be discontinued. In the following December, "The editor is truly gratified to announce that the apprehensions which were so seriously felt and so frankly stated by the Proprietors two months ago, as to probable discontinuance, are so far allayed" that the magazine will go on for the present.[58] In 1856 the size of the page was decreased, though the number of pages was greater.

Thompson continued the interest in southern history which Minor had made notable in the *Messenger*. Colonial and local history found place, and addresses before the Historical Society. Like Minor again, Thompson was loyal to the University of Virginia, and made the *Messenger* somewhat an organ of that institution, though he sometimes published criticism of it.

The defence of slavery also continued. Judge Tucker died in 1851, so that he was spared the affliction of reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin;* his place, however,—an important place in southern letters—was filled by scores of slavery apologists who had sprung up, especially about the time of the Compromise of 1850. "Aristotle on Slavery" in April, 1850, and "Slavery as a Moral Rela-

[57] *Messenger*, XXI, 59 (January, 1855).
[58] *Ibid.*, XXI, 762 (December, 1855).

tion" in July, 1851, may be cited as typical. In January, 1850, Editor Thompson, in a poetical "Retrospect of 1849" delivered the following warning:

> Still a fell spirit is abroad today,
> A blind fanaticism, which would wage
> A war upon her rule, and cast away
> The glorious promise of maturer age.
> Forbear, rash zealots, your ignoble rage,
> For he whose folly brings *Disunion's* train
> Shall stand upon a future Gibbon's page
> The Erostratus of a loftier fane
> Than earth, throughout all time, shall ever see again [59]

In November of the same year, he wrote another warning, in a sharper tone: "We say to the people of the North . . . that in our judgment the continued existence of the United States as one nation depends upon the full and faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Bill." [60] The publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was taken as an insult and a "scandalous libel." [61] Of all the vast amount of comment in the periodicals which that book called forth, probably the cleverest bit was Thompson's epigram in his "Editor's Table":

> When Latin I studied, my Ainsworth in hand,
> I answered my teacher that *sto* meant *to stand;*
> But if asked I should now give another reply,
> For *Stowe* means, beyond any cavil, *to lie.*[62]

In March, 1851, Thompson called upon Simms at his home at Woodlands, and there the older man tried to persuade the editor to make the *Messenger* a political organ for Virginian expression; but Thompson, wrote Simms, could not "rise to the necessity of the case." [63] Whether Simms was responsible, or whether Thompson was merely carried along by the force of events, he was soon

[59] *Ibid.*, XVI, 61 (January, 1850). Originally written for, and printed in, a northern paper, the *Literary World.*
[60] *Ibid.*, XVI, 697 (November, 1850).
[61] *Ibid.*, XVIII, 721 (December, 1852).
[62] *Ibid.*, XIX, 61 (January, 1853).
[63] Trent, W. P., *William Gilmore Simms,* p. 182.

giving larger and larger space to the great debate. "The fury of anti-slavery is now at its height," he wrote in May, 1858;[64] and probably this "fury" is what made him see "the necessity of the case." By 1856 he had gone so far as to publish an article signed "W. R. A." and called "The Duty of Southern Authors," in which it is urged that the whole American press be copiously furnished with proslavery articles.[65]

Even at its height, however, the flood of slavery material did not wholly inundate the *Messenger*. Throughout Thompson's editorship there was room for a serial story installment or two in every issue, with tales, poems, travels, and criticism. The serials were often quite unimportant, though exceptions may be made in behalf of P. P. Cooke's "Chevalier Merlin" in 1849, and his brother John Esten Cooke's "Greenway Court" in 1858—published later as *Fairfax*. There is perhaps a mild and harmless amusement in such a serial as "Vernon Grove, or Hearts as They Are," by a Lady of South Carolina, and it doubtless suited the taste of a part of the *Messenger's* public. Not all the serials were fiction: for example, Simms's blank verse "Norman Maurice, an American Drama in Five Acts" was published serially in 1851, and a very long continuation of "Notes" on a journey to China ran through the fifties. The troublous state of Europe in the late forties attracted the attention of the *Messenger*. Thompson took a trip to Europe in 1854, leaving John Esten Cooke in charge, and later published his impressions. William W. Mann contributed a Paris letter for a time, and there was some criticism of French books.[66] Cooke had received his baptism of print in the *Messenger* and became not only a close friend of Thompson's, but at times an assistant editor—usually without pay.[67] His poems, criticism, and fiction appeared frequently in the *Messenger* from 1848 to 1862.

Many of the writers Thompson inherited from Minor continued faithful to the *Messenger* through the former's administra-

[64] *Messenger*, XIX, 315 (May, 1853).

[65] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 241 (October, 1856).

[66] For French material in the *Messenger*, see Gilbert Chinard, "La Littérature Française dans le Sud des Etats-Unis," in *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, VIII, 89, January, 1928.

[67] John O. Beaty, *John Esten Cooke, Virginian* (New York, 1922), pp. 23, 28.

tion. One of the most important of these was Maury; others were Simms, Lucian Minor, Heath, Mrs. Sigourney, Mrs. Eames, Benjamin, and Tuckerman. Such southern *littérateurs* as Judge A. B. Meek, the poet; the Rev. J. C. McCabe, friend of Poe and long-time contributor to the *Messenger;* Dr. W. H. Holcombe, a young physician-poet of Lynchburg; James Barron Hope, a young poet writing under the name "the late Henry Ellen, Esq."; John P. Kennedy, the Baltimore novelist and essayist; and Thomas Dunn English, editor of the *Aristidean* and *John-Donkey,* were all prominent in the *Messenger's* pages.

Poe returned to the magazine he had once edited, and contributed to it nearly all of the important criticism he wrote in the last thirteen months of his life. This included "The Rationale of Verse," reviews of Griswold's *Female Poets,* Mrs. Osgood's *Poems,* and Lowell's *A Fable for Critics,* and the *Marginalia.* At his death, Poe left the manuscript of "Annabel Lee" in Thompson's hands, but it got into the newspapers before it was printed in the *Messenger* in November, 1849. "P. H. H.," who came later to be well known as Paul Hamilton Hayne, began in the *Messenger* in 1848, and his initials soon became familiar; his friend Henry Timrod appeared in 1851. Donald G. Mitchell, of Yale and New York, began his contributions under the name of "Ik Marvell": his "A Bachelor's Reverie," published in September, 1849, was the germ of the book of a similar name.

"Marion Harland," known in Richmond as Mrs. Virginia Payson Terhune; Margaret Junkin, later Mrs. Preston; and Thomas Bailey Aldrich and R. H. Stoddard, from the North, were other writers for the *Messenger* at this time. Joseph G. Baldwin contributed some of his racy "Flush Times in Alabama" in 1852-53, and five years later Dr. George William Bagby sent his "Letters of Mozis Addums to Billy Ivvins" to the *Messenger.* Later, when he came to write an introduction to the series in book form, Dr. Bagby had this to say of the success of "Mozis":

I had never attempted anything in what is called "Dialect," but, having a natural turn for bad spelling, thought I would try my hand. Accordingly, I sent the first letter of *Mozis Addums to Billy Ivvins* to John R. Thompson, who was then editing the *Southern Literary Messenger.* He printed it, not without misgivings, and its success

amazed both of us, for it was copied all over Virginia, and in many papers outside the State. . . .

The reader must judge for himself whether the fact be or be not creditable to the popular taste, but it is a fact that the *Letters of Mozis Addums* added several hundred names to the subscription list of the *Messenger*.[68]

After this success, Dr. Bagby of course continued to write for the *Messenger*—first a three-part satire on novel-writing, and then a serial novel of his own.

In June, 1860, Bagby became editor of the magazine, Thompson having resigned to go to the *Southern Field and Fireside*, theretofore edited by his former Paris correspondent, William W. Mann.[69] Bagby was to receive three hundred dollars a year and the books reviewed for his services.[70] He was somewhat pessimistic from the outset, as well he might be. "My fear," he wrote to a friend—"nay my assurance is that I shall have the honor of assisting at the death of the *Messenger* . . . But there is no help for it."[71]

Nevertheless, he went to work vigorously, and it is easy to believe that if conditions during his editorship had not made the magazine's very existence almost impossible, Bagby would have done a distinguished piece of work. Like Lowell, who was editing the *Atlantic Monthly* at the same time, Bagby felt a strong reaction against the sentimental and imitative literature of the day. "We desire especially," he says in his first editorial, "to obtain home-made, purely Southern articles—tales, stories, sketches, poems, that smack of the soil."[72] And near the end of his editorship he comes back to his text:

Our Southern poets all want to be like Shakespeare—and in aiming to be Shakespeare, they succeed in being nobody at all. If they

[68] King, *op. cit.*, p. 59. Bagby's comparison of the success of his *Letters* in the *Messenger* with that of Mitchell's *Reveries* in the same magazine is founded on a misconception. Not all the *Reveries* were published in that magazine, or anywhere, before they were printed in the book; only one "Bachelor's Reverie" appeared in the *Messenger*.

[69] Thompson returned to Richmond three years later to become editor of the *Southern Illustrated News*.

[70] King, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[72] *Messenger*, XXX, 466 (June, 1860).

would quit straining at the heroic and the historical, kick Tennyson and all other models into the middle of next week, or elsewhere, and if they would content themselves with the homely, and come right down to the soil that gave them birth, they might do something.[73]

This was excellent theory, but the trouble with it as a magazine policy was that writers to carry it out were not available. Bagby himself could do it well, as he demonstrated in "Good Eatings," "My Uncle Flatback's Plantation," and such sketches. W. C. Elam, who wrote under the name of "Klutz," contributed many stories and skits which had something of the qualities Bagby was seeking, but were frequently crude. Sketches of the Negroes, of the mountain folk, and of rural life in the South were in the new vein.

Bagby's realistic point of view showed itself also in his book reviews. "We have always maintained that there is much senseless clamour over Southern books," he says in one place; "many weak and trashy productions receive undue praise at the hands of Southern critics, merely because they are written and published south of the Potomac. . . . Virginia has buttered her novelists with flattery until respiration is impossible."[74] Consequently the editor is not nice to "Marion Harland" when he reviews her *Nemesis,* and even Miss Evans's *Beulah* is not found perfect.

But the chief interest of the Bagby editorship was political. Some northern magazines could go through the years 1861-65 without mentioning the war: not so the *Messenger* with a Bagby at the helm. Thompson had been forced by currents of opinion to the publishing of many articles with a political bearing; Bagby soon came to writing politics with gusto for his "Editor's Table." In December, 1860, he declared for a Southern Confederacy and called sharply for Virginia to lead the way;[75] later he claimed that the *Messenger* was the first periodical in Virginia to demand such action.[76] In the next number he again exhorted Virginia to secede. One paragraph of fiery eloquence may be cited:

[73] *Ibid.*, XXXV, 590 (October, 1863).
[74] *Ibid.*, XXI, 238 (September, 1860).
[75] *Ibid.*, XXXI, 468-74 (December, 1860).
[76] *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 688 (December, 1862).

Let us tear from the national flag the fifteen stars which the despots of the North have attempted to sully with the imputation of barbarism. Let us give these stars a double brilliance by forming them into a cross—the Southern Cross—emblem of that pure and holy religion which has been reviled, trampled and spit upon in the interest of Abolitionism. Under this sacred banner, under the Southern Cross, which symbolizes the holiness of our cause, and points the way our march of empire tends—under this sublime banner, let us fight for our honour, for our rights, for our homes; let us fight for our wives, our children, and our aged sires, whom the mercenary hordes of the North would fain deliver over to the sword of the invader and the pike of the negro insurrectionist.[77]

This continued until the secession of Virginia in April, 1861, when the editor, though not physically fit for military service, enlisted at once. He continued, with the assistance of the publishers, to edit the *Messenger* from the field until in August he found himself back in Richmond, discharged from the army on account of ill health. Throughout the next two years and a half, he followed the events of the war with a vigorous pen. The tone of the "Editor's Table" may be indicated by the declaration that "The stupendous folly and crime of Lincoln and Seward's course toward the Confederate States will amaze all future generations."[78] But he was not satisfied with attacking the enemy; he was severely critical of the southern conduct of the war. As early as January, 1861, he had proposed Jefferson Davis for the presidency of the new nation, but within a year he had lost confidence in Davis,[79] and through 1862 and 1863 he wrote freely of the incompetence and mistakes of southern leadership. "Forethought is wanting in Southern character," he said bitterly. "From the Chief Magistrate down none of us have got any common sense, any real energy, and certainly not any forecast."[80]

Bagby's frank speaking made him enemies, of course. When he advocated secession, he lost practically all his northern circulation at a stroke, as well as many of his southern readers;[81]

[77] *Ibid.*, XXXII, 71 (January, 1861).
[78] *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 73 (January, 1862).
[79] King, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-11.
[80] *Messenger*, XXXIV, 501 (July-August, 1862).
[81] *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 237 (September, 1861).

while at the same time he still felt the competition of northern magazines. "Southern patriotism," he wrote in 1861,

> never was proof against Northern newspapers and picture magazines. If the angel Gabriel had gone into the very heart of the South, if he had even taken his seat on the top of the office of the *Charleston Mercury* and there proclaimed the immediate approach of the Day of Judgment, that would not have hindered the hottest secessionist from buying the *New York Herald* and subscribing for *Harper's Magazine*. Southern patriotism is, and has always been, a funny thing—indeed the funniest of things. It enables a man to abuse the Yankees, to curse the Yankees, to fight the Yankees, to do everything but quit taking the Yankee papers. Nothing but a battery of 10-inch Columbiads can keep Southern patriotism away from Yankee papers. Even that is doubtful. We suspect that the animating impulse which will ere long carry the Army of the Potomac into Washington City, will when it is analyzed be found to be merely the inappeasable desire of Southern patriotism to obtain a copy of Bonner's *Ledger*.[82]

With the mounting war-time prices, there was more trouble than ever in collecting subscription accounts; and in spite of Bagby's initial declaration that the *Messenger* was not an eleemosynary institution, and in spite also of the sharp thrusts at delinquents, some of whom were called out by name, the magazine continued to carry a large burden of "deadheads." When the Rev. Robert R. Howison's serial "History of the War" caused a heavy demand for extra copies in 1862, the publishers had the courage to strike the names of some of these delinquents off the list, and the editor bade them an ironical goodbye: "Dear literary paupers, farewell. May you be happy. May you find someone else simple and rich enough to furnish you with reading matter free of cost." [83]

In 1863 rising costs and the state of the currency brought the price of the *Messenger* up to five dollars. That was in March; in September it was raised to six dollars, and in October to ten; the next March the price was fixed at fifteen dollars a year. In

[82] King, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.
[83] *Messenger*, XXXV, 688 (November-December, 1862).

1862 the paper used was of poor quality, but the *Messenger's* publishers were lucky to get any paper at all. Double numbers were so frequent that the magazine might almost be classed as a bimonthly in 1862.

In spite of difficulties, some attempt was made to illustrate the *Messenger* during these years. As early as 1852 there had been an English-made lithograph of Houdon's statue of Washington, but not until Bagby's advent were many pictures published. These were at first woodcuts, furnished by Harper and Brothers, of New York, which had already been used in Harper books. Later there were a few cuts badly engraved from drawings by William B. Myers. G. Brodie, of New York, promised some fashion plates in 1861, but soon broke his contract. But as late as March, 1864, when the capital of the Confederacy was cut off from the better known fashion centers, a plate showing the fashions in Richmond appeared.

Without doubt Macfarlane and Fergusson were glad to sell out in December, 1863, to Wedderburn and Alfriend, young men "with abundant means" who had ambitious plans for the magazine. Frank H. Alfriend was the editor. The paper, of course, was still poor, and "selected articles" (of which Bagby had sometimes availed himself) grew in number. Bagby's comic department, which had sometimes been rather too exuberant to please a chastened taste, now had a department to itself. The record of the war occupied a large space.

In June, 1864, the *Messenger's* printers were called to the defence of the city; and though they were soon thereafter allowed to return to their work, it was apparently decided to give up the publication of the magazine amid the alarums of battle. The June number was the last.

It remains to say something further of the *Messenger's* devotion to the South. Founded "upon the well warranted expectation of rallying Southern talents and Southern public spirit around the drooping and well-nigh prostrate banner of Southern literature,"[84] it was, nevertheless, well disposed toward other sections. White was Boston born, and in 1837 he wrote: "We apprehend that too many of our people entertain (perhaps un-

[84] "A Card" on cover for December, 1837.

consciously) some unworthy prejudices against those of New England which we should be happy to remove." [85] Therefore the "Notes" on New England by Lucian Minor. Poe, though also a native of Boston, betrayed an animosity in his criticism against both "frogpondians" and Knickerbockers. Maury, with a national and international outlook, was nevertheless an ardent Southerner and did much for distinctively southern improvement. Minor, receiving the *Messenger* from White's hands, was a Southerner in every thought, sentiment, and action; yet he was proud of his northern contributors. "The *Messenger,*" he wrote, "so long as we have control of it, shall be a distinctive, but not exclusive, Southern periodical." [86] Later he adopted the motto: "In the heart of the South and with the South in its heart." [87] Thompson, the next owner and editor, found himself, as has been shown, drawn irresistibly into the current of antagonism to the North. The mood of geniality natural to the man is discernible throughout his volumes, but it is largely neutralized by a growing irascibility in the face of northern criticism. By the time Bagby became editor, on the eve of the war, the *Messenger* was more distinctively sectional than it had ever been before.

Aside from its significance to the history of southern literature, society, and politics, the *Southern Literary Messenger* is of the first importance in the study of the development of Edgar Allan Poe, as well as in that of such minor writers as Paul Hamilton Hayne, Henry Timrod, William Gilmore Simms, Donald G. Mitchell, John R. Thompson, and George William Bagby.

[85] *Messenger,* III, 413 (July, 1837).
[86] *Ibid.,* IX, 698 (November, 1843).
[87] *Ibid.,* X, 1 (January, 1844).

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THE WESTERN MESSENGER[1]

My fathers' bones, New England,
  Sleep in thy hallowed ground;
My living kin, New England,
  In thy shady paths are found:
And though my body dwelleth here,
  And my weary feet here roam,
My spirit and my hopes are still
  In thee, my own loved home.[2]

THIS stanza, the last of a poem called "New England" in the first number of the *Western Messenger*, of Cincinnati, might well stand as a motto for the magazine. For the *Messenger* was a runaway child of New England, never quite free from the pangs of nostalgia. The Unitarian sermons which frequently occupied the place of honor in successive numbers were by such famous New England preachers as N. L. Frothingham, George

[1] TITLE: *The Western Messenger; devoted to Religion and Literature* (subtitle varies slightly).

FIRST ISSUE: June, 1835. LAST ISSUE: April, 1841.

PERIODICITY: Monthly. I, June, 1835 – July, 1836 (July, 1835, and March, 1836, omitted); II, August, 1836 – January, 1837; III, February – July, 1837 (paged continuously from II); IV, September, 1837 – February, 1838; V, April – September, 1838; VI, November, 1838 – April, 1839; VII, May – October, 1839; VIII, May, 1840 – April, 1841.

PUBLISHERS: T. H. Shreve and Company, Cincinnati, 1835-36; Western Unitarian Association, Louisville, 1836-37; J. F. Clarke, Louisville, 1837-39; J. F. Clarke, W. H. Channing and J. H. Perkins, Cincinnati, 1839; John B. Russell, Cincinnati, 1840-41.

EDITORS: Ephraim Peabody, June, 1835 – February, 1836; James Freeman Clarke, April, 1836 – April, 1839; J. F. Clarke, William H. Channing and James H. Perkins, May – October, 1839; W. H. Channing, May, 1840 – April, 1841.

REFERENCES: Ralph Leslie Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (New York, 1925), I, 178-85; W. H. Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley* (Cincinnati, 1891), pp. 71-80; James Freeman Clarke, *Autobiography, Diary, and Correspondence* (Boston, 1892; edited by Edward Everett Hale), *passim;* Clarence Gohdes, "The *Western Messenger* and the *Dial*," in *Studies in Philology*, XXVI, 67 (January, 1929).

[2] *Western Messenger*, I, 55 (June, 1835). The author was James H. Perkins, one of the editors.

W. Hosmer, and Francis Parkman; some of the poetry and criticism was by New England transcendentalists—Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Jones Very, C. P. Cranch, F. H. Hedge, J. S. Dwight, Theodore Parker, and Elizabeth P. Peabody;—and the editors were all transplanted New Englanders who had some thought of returning after a period of missionary endeavor in the West. The name should have been "The Western Examiner," after that bulwark of eastern Unitarianism, the Boston *Christian Examiner;* but there was a *Western Examiner* at St. Louis [3] which was devoted to the spread of infidelity.

The *Western Messenger* is commonly regarded as a literary periodical because of its poetry and criticism; but it was begun primarily as the organ of Unitarian religion. In the preface to the first volume it presented itself as "devoted to the spread of a rational and liberal religion," [4] and it frequently repeated that dedication. The Western Unitarian Association was for a time its publisher. The editors and their assistants were chiefly clergymen, and sermons and doctrinal essays were prominent. There was even a marked tendency to theological controversy in certain early numbers; and the trial for heresy of Lymán Beecher, of Cincinnati's Lane Seminary, was followed with some care, tinged with amused wonder at the theological hair-splitting. But after the first two years, the *Messenger* became less and less sectarian, until it could say, in 1840, "Sectarianism is heresy." [5]

Another nonliterary phase of the *Messenger* was its discussion of the slavery question, which began with James Freeman Clarke's editorship in April, 1836. The fact that Clarke was then living in Louisville, Kentucky, and editing and publishing the magazine there, adds interest to his handling of this subject. In his first comment, published in connection with extensive quotations from William Ellery Channing's early essay on slavery, he agrees that "Slavery is a wrong and evil; but it does

[3] Published by John Bobb and edited "by an association," 1834-35, in two volumes quarto; eight-page weekly numbers. Subtitle: *Embodying a full and impartial enquiry into the truth or falsity of the Christian Religion; whether philosophically or historically viewed.*

[4] *Western Messenger,* I, p. VIII.

[5] *Ibid.,* VIII, 5 (May, 1840).

not follow, that immediate emancipation is right, or that the slave-holder is a sinner. . . . It rests with the slave-holding states, and no others, to point out the time and the way in which slavery is to cease."[6] When Lovejoy was killed by the Alton mob, Clarke's outspoken condemnation of the outrage made trouble for him among his patrons. "Abolitionists," he said,

> discontinue whenever we utter a word in extenuation of slave-holders, —slavery men discontinue whenever we say anything in condemnation of the system. An article in our last number, in which we venture to call a murder in Alton by its true name, has caused half our subscribers there to discontinue the work.[7]

Clarke maintained his position, however,[8] and was proud of the fact that slavery could be debated frankly in Kentucky.[9]

As a regional magazine, the *Messenger* felt the obligation to interpret the western country; doubtless it was also affected by the fever of promotion which is always contagious in a pioneer district. Mann Butler's "Manners and Habits of the Western Pioneers" was an excellent series in 1836, with plenty of good objective exposition; there was much of religion and culture in the West; and some sketches of western preachers appeared in the first volume. A series on "Western Poetry" is of special interest: the works of William D. Gallagher, F. W. and Lewis F. Thomas, C. G. and J. G. Drake, Albert Pike, John B. Dillon, and Thomas Shreve are discussed and quoted. While too indulgent toward much of this verse, the critic shows some discrimination. The book reviews are sometimes acute and fearless, even when dealing with western productions: Mann Butler, for example, is not afraid to condemn Judge Hall's *Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the West* for its uncritical neglect

[6] *Ibid.*, I, 628 (April, 1836).

[7] *Ibid.*, IV, 431 (January, 1838).

[8] See analysis of Clarke's *Messenger* expressions on this subject in Clarke, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-24.

[9] *Western Messenger*, I, 615 (April, 1836). He continued the debate in the *Christian World*, founded in Boston as the exponent of the Church of the Disciples, of which Clarke was pastor, in 1843. Channing was editor 1843-46, and Clarke 1847-48, after which it was abandoned. John A. Andrew, later governor of Massachusetts, was a contributor. (See Clarke, *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 227.)

of facts and authorities.[10] Of the prospects of the new country, its growth and opportunities, the *Messenger* had much to say. Ephraim Peabody's Harvard Phi Beta Kappa poem on "New England Emigration Westward" was published at length in December, 1835.

Something has just been said of the *Messenger's* criticism. James H. Perkins, an assistant editor throughout the course of the magazine; Mann Butler, a Louisville teacher, and author of a history of Kentucky; Otway Curry and William D. Gallagher, the Cincinnati poets; and the editors themselves were the leading reviewers. Besides these, Margaret Fuller sent on from Boston a number of articles on English writers. The *Messenger* editors and contributors were unusually well fitted for criticism of both foreign and native writers, and their work in this field was of very high quality. They gave special attention to Wordsworth and Coleridge, and to Shelley, Tennyson, Carlyle, and Keats.[11]

The last named of this galaxy was a *Messenger* contributor. George Keats, a brother of the poet, lived at Louisville and was a friend of Clarke, to whom he gave unpublished manuscripts of a poem and letters written by John Keats. The poem was "Ode to Apollo," later called "Hymn to Apollo"; and the letters recounted, journal fashion, the poet's observations on the walking tour of 1818. The fine descriptive passages in the letters and the expressions of opinion, as well as the biographical interest involved, make the prose especially valuable.[12]

Another famous contributor was Emerson. The first four of his poems to be published appeared in the *Messenger:* they were "Each and All," "The Humble-Bee," "Good-bye, Proud World," and "The Rhodora"—four of his most important pieces. Some lines of these poems were changed in later editions; for example, the fine first line of the second poem,

Burly, dozing humble-bee,

[10] *Ibid.*, I, 675 (May, 1836).

[11] See Rusk, *op. cit.*, I, 180; II, 26-29.

[12] See Rusk, "Keats in the Wordsworth Country," *North American Review*, CCXIX, 392 (March, 1924). The Keats contributions appeared in the *Messenger* in June and July, 1836.

appeared originally in a very inferior version:

Fine humble-bee! fine humble-bee! [13]

"The chief claim of the magazine to distinction in its service to New England literature," says a recent student of the *Messenger*, "was its defense of Emerson against his critics, and its publication of 'almost the first poetical specimens of his writing which have appeared in print.' " [14]

A long letter from William Ellery Channing on diverse subjects appeared in the number for October, 1836. Jones Very sent from Boston twenty-seven sonnets, writing in regard to them: "That they may help those in affliction, for Christ's name, is ever the prayer of me, his disciple, called to be a witness of his sufferings and an expectant of his glory." [15] J. S. Dwight furnished both original poems and translations to the *Messenger*. Charles T. Brooks and J. F. Clarke were also translators for the magazine, working chiefly in German literature; Clarke translated De Wette's *Theodore*, which was published serially in the first two volumes.

It has been pointed out that at least ten of the *Messenger's* contributors were later writers for the *Dial*,[16] and that the *Dial* followed its western forerunner in art criticism, in attention to German and to oriental literatures, in its attitude toward religion, and in other particulars.[17] Beginning in the *Messenger's* last year, the *Dial* undoubtedly owed something to the earlier transcendental spokesman "out west."

The *Messenger* was founded in Cincinnati by Clarke, William G. Eliot, and Ephraim Peabody, with T. H. Shreve and W. D. Gallagher as publishers. Peabody was editor of the first eight numbers, and was then forced to go south in search of health. In his valedictory he acknowledged help in his editorial duties from James H. Perkins, Henry Howe, and Gallagher and

[13] *Western Messenger*, VI, 239 (February, 1839). The first two poems appeared in February, 1839, and the others in April and July of that year.

[14] Rusk, *op. cit.*, I, 182. His quotation is from the *Messenger*, VI, 229 (February, 1839).

[15] *Western Mesenger*, VI, 308 (March, 1839).

[16] Venable, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[17] Gohdes, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-83.

Shreve.[18] Clarke then took over the work, moving it to Louisville, where his pastoral work held him. C. P. Cranch, during a brief sojourn in Louisville, was an editorial assistant, and managed the magazine while Clarke was in the East in the fall of 1837. "Clarke just lets his offspring go to the dickens," wrote the substitute editor at that time.[19] In May, 1839, the *Messenger* was returned to Cincinnati and issued under the joint editorship of Clarke, Perkins, and William Henry Channing. After a suspension from November, 1839, through April, 1840, Channing was sole editor to the end.

It is doubtful if the circulation of the *Messenger* ever reached a thousand copies.[20] Unitarianism was not popular in the West; the slavery discussion in which the journal indulged was bad for circulation; and it was issued at the time of a financial panic. Clarke tells of the primitive way in which it was conducted:

> When the number was ready for distribution, I recollect that Cranch or Osgood, or whoever happened to be with me, and I would fold, direct, and carry the copies to the post-office. Sam Osgood and I were carrying the basketful to the post-office one evening, when we met a stout negro and offered him a "quarter" to carry it for us. He lifted the basket and put it down again, saying: "Too heavy, massa!" So we took it ourselves.[21]

The various sources of interest in the *Western Messenger* which have been set forth make it the most important magazine published in the West during the years in which that name meant the region between the Appalachians and the Mississippi.

[18] *Western Messenger*, I, 731 (May, 1836).
[19] Leonora Cranch Scott, *The Life and Letters of Christopher Pearse Cranch* (Boston, 1917), p. 38.
[20] See Rusk's analysis, *op. cit.*, I, 184.
[21] Venable, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

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THE SOUTHERN LITERARY JOURNAL[1]

DANIEL K. WHITAKER was a New Englander born, and a graduate of Harvard; but he came to Charleston, South Carolina, in the early twenties to enter upon the practice of law. His tastes were rather literary than legal, however, and in 1835 he began the publication of a modest monthly magazine under the auspices of the Literary and Philosophical Society of South Carolina. J. S. Burges was the printer, but Whitaker was the editor, owner, and (to a large extent) author of the magazine.

As the name indicated, the *Southern Literary Journal* was regional in its appeal. "The *Journal*," wrote its editor in the first number, "projected at the South, and chiefly supported by the citizens of the South, will, at all times, breathe a Southern spirit, and sustain a strictly Southern character."[2] Accordingly, it recorded in its articles the progress and achievement of southern culture, defended slavery, and encouraged southern authors.

The leading contributor was William Gilmore Simms, who was already the foremost literary figure in the South. "Simms," says his biographer, "does not seem to have liked Whitaker personally, an unusual fact in his case; but this could not keep him from aiding an enterprise that promised to develop Southern literature."[3] So Simms wrote sketches, criticisms, and verse for the *Journal* in variety and abundance. Perhaps his most important

[1] TITLE: *The Southern Literary Journal and Monthly Magazine.*
FIRST ISSUE: September, 1835. LAST ISSUE: December, 1838.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. I, September, 1835 – February, 1836; II, March – August, 1836; III, September, 1836 – February, 1837; New Series: I, March – August, 1837; [II, September – December, 1837, omitted]; III, January – June, 1838; IV, July – December, 1838.
PUBLISHERS AND EDITORS: Daniel K. Whitaker, 1835-37; Bartholomew R. Carroll, 1838.
INDEXED in *Poole.*

[2] *Southern Literary Journal*, I, 58 (September, 1835).

[3] W. P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms* (Boston, 1892), p. 102.

article was one on "American Criticism and Critics," published in the number for July, 1836.

The tone of the *Journal* was that of a review rather than of a popular magazine. Essays on fine arts and literary notices were of some importance. A new series was begun in March, 1837, with new promises of improvement. In beginning the publication of his magazine, Whitaker had written: "We believe no work of the kind was ever commenced in our country with a more numerous list of patrons,"[4] but he soon learned to discount patronage of the "promising" kind. At the end of two years he gave up the struggle, issuing his last number in August, 1837.

In the following January, Bartholomew Rivers Carroll revived the magazine, and ran it for a full year. Under Carroll it was somewhat livelier. It published fiction by Mrs. Ellet and others, and dramatic reviews—chiefly about productions at the New Theater in Charleston. The great fire in May, 1838, is recorded. The magazine ceased publication with the issue for December, 1838. The success of the *Southern Literary Messenger* may have contributed to the *Journal's* failure.

Whitaker later founded at least three other magazines,—the *Southern Quarterly Review, Whitaker's Southern Magazine,* and the *New Orleans Monthly*—none of them very successful under his management.

[4] *Southern Literary Journal,* I, 57 (September, 1835).

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THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW[1]

JAMES D. KNOWLES, founder of the *Christian Review*, was a Baptist minister, and a professor at Newton Theological Seminary. He had learned the printer's trade as a boy, and had had newspaper experience. The *Review* was founded in order to give the Baptists such a quarterly organ as most other denominations possessed at the time. It printed some articles dealing with literary topics, more dealing with education, and most bearing upon theology. History, biography, philosophy, philology, and other subjects also received occasional attention. Practically all its articles were written by clergymen. It is true that it did not print the names of its writers until 1851, but it is perfectly evident that they were clergymen before that time as well as after.

Knowles died of smallpox in 1838, and was succeeded by Barnas Sears, also a professor at Newton, later president of Brown University, and a scholar of achievement. In spite of distinguished editorship, however, the *Review* did not pay. "At no time have the receipts been equal to the expenses," said a circular issued by the publishers in 1840, though "the number of subscribers has gradually increased." Subscribers are begged to "be punctual in paying." At the end of 1839 it was decided

[1] TITLE: *The Christian Review.*

FIRST ISSUE: March, 1836. LAST ISSUE: October, 1863.

PERIODICITY: Quarterly. Twenty-seven annual volumes; in I-XIII the numbers are dated March, June, September, December, and in XIV-XXVII January, April, July, October.

PUBLISHERS: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, Boston, 1836-43; William S. Damrell, Boston, 1844-45; Rev. William Heath, Boston, 1846-49; Lewis Colby and Joseph Ballard, New York, 1850-54; James J. Woolsey, New York, 1855-56; Tract House, Baltimore, 1857-58; Sheldon and Company, New York, 1859-63.

EDITORS: James D. Knowles, 1836-38; Barnas Sears, 1838-41; Samuel F. Smith, 1842-48; E. G. Sears, 1849; Sewall S. Cutting, 1850-52; Robert Turnbull and John N. Murdock, 1853-55; James J. Woolsey and William C. Ulyat, 1856; Franklin Wilson and George B. Taylor, 1857-58; E. G. Robinson and V. R. Hotchkiss, 1859; E. G. Robinson, 1860-63.

that the work must be suspended, but the publishers were persuaded to go on.[2]

At the end of 1841 Sears found his duties as president of the Newton seminary too heavy to admit of his continuing his editorial work, and turned it over to Samuel Francis Smith, pastor of the Newton Baptist church. The new editor was the "boy" of whom Holmes wrote in one of those class reunion poems of his:

> And there's a nice youngster of excellent pith—
> Fate tried to conceal him by naming him Smith,
> But he shouted a song for the brave and the free:
> Just read on his medal, "My country . . . of thee!"

Smith is remembered as the author of "America," a student production, but he is also the author of thousands of pages in the reviews of the times. He told the historian Duyckinck that he wrote fourteen hundred pages for the *Christian Review,* besides short book notices.[3] He was editor of the *Review* for seven years, serving longer in that capacity than any other incumbent.

Smith was followed in 1849 by E. G. Sears, who served only one year, after which the quarterly was removed to New York. Said the editor:

> No essential change as to character or aims is to be inferred from the circumstance of its removal from Boston to New York. The sphere to which a quarterly review belongs is too high and comprehensive to be disturbed by influences arising from local peculiarities and influences.[4]

One trouble with the *Christian Review* was that it had too elevated a notion of a quarterly review's "sphere." The *Review* was certainly somewhat broader in New York, however. A succession of editors who served for one or two years each followed each other through the fifties, and publishers were also

[2] See circular referred to, usually bound up in Vol. V, unpaged.
[3] Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature,* II, 852.
[4] *Christian Review,* XV, 143 (January, 1850).

changed frequently. In 1857-58 the Tract House at Baltimore published the review.

The coming of the war found Edward G. Robinson, a professor at Rochester Theological Seminary, and later president of Brown, editor of the magazine. It had never paid attention to politics, except for two or three articles on the extension of slavery, union, and socialism, in 1849-50;[5] in 1861, however, a vigorous editorial on "The National Crisis" supported the war measures of the North, while expressing a sorrowful love for the South.[6] The *Review* did not survive the war, but succumbed at the end of 1863.

[5] See *ibid.*, XIV, 63 (January, 1849); XV, 271, 520 (April, October, 1850).
[6] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 491 (July, 1861).

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THE NEW YORK REVIEW[1]

(Henry's)

THE *New York Review* was founded by the Rev. Caleb S. Henry, a priest in the Episcopal church and professor of philosophy first at Bristol College and later at New York University, in the panic year of 1837. The new quarterly won respect from the first and was widely though not largely distributed. Henry succeeded in enlisting F. L. Hawks, A. B. Chapin, A. T. Bledsoe, and Bishops W. I. Kip and Alonzo Potter —all well known clergymen; such scholars as Professors Charles Anthon, William H. Allen, Edmund M. Pendleton, and Joseph Alden; as well as Edgar A. Poe, Evert A. Duyckinck, Cornelius Mathews, Hugh S. Legaré, and other men of letters. Contributions were never signed, and the *Review's* articles are very often difficult to identify. Poe's single contribution—in the number for October, 1837—was a review of Stephens' *Travels in Arabia Petræa,* in which, according to one biographer,

he goes through the methods of learned commentary and discusses at considerable length the geographical and theological aspects of the work, entering among other things into a very pretentious discussion of the appropriate translation of a Hebrew phrase concerning which his knowledge was absolutely nil. The review as a whole is carefully put together from material taken from two sources—the

[1] TITLE: *The New York Review.*
FIRST ISSUE: March, 1837. LAST ISSUE: April, 1842.
PERIODICITY: Quarterly. I, March, October, 1837; II-X, 1839 – January-April, 1842. Semiannual volumes, even-numbered January – April, odd-numbered July – October.
PUBLISHERS: George Dearborn, 1837 – July, 1838; Alexander V. Blake, October, 1838 – 1842.
EDITORS: Caleb S. Henry, March – October, 1837, July, October, 1838, October, 1839, July, 1840; Caleb S. Henry and Francis L. Hawks, January – April, 1838; Caleb S. Henry and J. G. Cogswell, January – July, 1839; J. G. Cogswell, October, 1840 – April, 1842.
Index to I-X at end of X. Indexed in *Poole* and *Jones.*

book itself and Keith's work on prophecy—while the Hebrew learning is supplied, as we have a letter in answer to Poe's request to prove, by Professor Charles Anthon.[2]

Most of the articles, however, are more authoritative.

In the number for January, 1838, Dr. Francis L. Hawks, rector of St. Thomas's in New York and one of the best known churchmen in the country, was announced as assistant editor and one of the proprietors of the *Review*. A notice enclosed in the July number of the same year, however, announced that "the state of Dr. Hawks' health, and his numerous labors, made it necessary for him, in April last, to withdraw from this connection. The work has returned again under the sole direction of its original editor and founder, the Rev. C. S. Henry." Hawks remained a contributor, however, as he had been from the beginning, and the quarterly is sometimes called "Hawks' Review."

At the beginning of the following year Joseph G. Cogswell was announced as joint editor and proprietor with Henry. Cogswell was a man of varied talents and great learning; he was well fitted for the work of editing a high-class review. He had been one of that small band of the pioneer American students in German universities, along with Ticknor, Everett, and Bancroft; and he had been professor of geology and librarian at Harvard. His interests were wide, and he had an extensive acquaintance with men of learning and affairs. The marked attention given German literature in the later volumes of the *New York Review* is but one of the traces of his influence.

For some reason that can only be suspected, partnerships in the editorial management of the *Review* were of short duration; and October, 1839, found Henry sole editor again, and Cogswell sole proprietor, while Alexander V. Blake, who had succeeded the original publisher, George Dearborn, a year earlier, was retained in the publishing department. But with the number for October, 1840, Cogswell became editor as well as owner, and remained so until the review was concluded with the issue of April, 1842.

[2] Joseph Wood Krutch, *Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1926), p. 95. As to a suspected ambition on the part of Poe to establish an editorial connection with the *New York Review*, see Hervey Allen, *Israfel* (New York, 1927), pp. 410, 412.

John Bigelow thought in 1841 that the *New York Review* "ranked quite on a level with the *North American Review*." [3] In some respects, the reader of today who thumbs through its file finds it more admirable than its predecessors of the type. Its articles were not so long or so heavy as were many in other reviews. Though it was not partisan, it was whiggish in politics. A notable feature was the interest shown in the older English writers. It also presented to its readers "as complete a list of new publications as it is possible to make out." Probably its suspension was at least partially due to the fact that it sold at a dollar and a quarter a number—a rather high price in spite of the two hundred and fifty pages each quarter.

[3] Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life* (New York, 1909), I, 57.

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THE LADIES' GARLAND[1]

THE *Ladies' Garland* is an example of the cheap periodical for women—a type which flourished in the forties. It was a sixteen-page duodecimo, illustrated with inferior woodcuts, when it began in 1837; but it later increased its offering to twenty-four pages and included hand-colored woodcuts of flowers and fashions, with some lithographs. A considerable proportion of its contents was "selected" from other magazines and books, though Lydia Jane Pierson, Lydia H. Sigourney, and T. S. Arthur were original contributors. Mrs. Pierson was the magazine's chief writer. There were poems and tales, much excellent advice to females, and no little advocacy of female education. But the *Garland* was very inferior to *Godey's, Peterson's,* and *Leslie's;* the coloring of the engavings was careless, and the selection of contents haphazard. The price, however, was only a dollar a year. It called itself a newspaper in its early numbers, presumably for postal reasons; and a year's issues were sometimes bound up and offered as an annual, or giftbook, for the Christmas trade.

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Ladies' Garland, Devoted to Literature, Amusement and Instruction, Containing Original Essays, Female Biography, Historical Narratives, Sketches of Society, Topographical Descriptions, Moral Tales, Anecdotes, &c., Poetry, Original and Selected, &c., &c.,* 1837-47; (2) *The Ladies' Garland and Dollar Magazine. A Monthly Journal,* 1848-49.

FIRST ISSUE: April 15, 1837. LAST ISSUE: June, 1849(?).

PERIODICITY: I, ten irregular issues (April 15, May 6, 22, June 3, July 15, Aug. 3, 19, Sept. 9, Oct. 7, Nov. 4, 1837) and seven monthly issues (December, 1837 – June, 1838); II-VI, annual volumes, July – June, July, 1838 – June, 1843 (all the numbers in II, and the first ten numbers in III, are undated); VII-IX, annual volumes, July – June, July, 1843 – June, 1846 (also called N.S. I-VI, semiannual volumes, July – December and January – June); X-XV, semiannual volumes, July – December and January – June, July, 1846 – June, 1849.

PUBLISHERS: John Libby, Philadelphia, 1837-38; J. Van Court, Philadelphia, 1839-46; Samuel D. Patterson, Philadelphia, 1847-49.

EDITOR: Samuel D. Patterson, 1847-49.

BURTON'S GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE[1]

WILLIAM E. BURTON was born in London, the son of a scholar and printer. At the age of eighteen, his attempt to establish a monthly magazine having failed, the boy was drawn toward the theatrical profession. After he had made a stage success in England, he came to America in 1834 and soon became popular in comedy parts in Philadelphia and New York, and later a leading manager and theater owner in those cities. "The story of Burton's Chambers Street Theater [New York] is one of the brightest passages in the chronicle of the American stage," declared William Winter, and the same critic observed further that while he was heading his own company there Burton was "the leader of the dramatic profession in the United States."[2]

It was in the midst of such employments that Burton founded and, during its life of three years and a half, edited the *Gentleman's Magazine,* or, as it was called during the latter half of its career, *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine.* Burton's plan was to produce such a magazine as the name called for, with something of art, something of literature, and much of sports and the theater. He had himself some talent as a writer (he wrote two rather successful plays); he had good friends among writers;

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Gentleman's Magazine,* 1837-38, July – December, 1840; (2) *The Gentleman's Magazine and Monthly American Review,* January, February, 1839; (3) *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine,* March – December, 1839; (4) *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine and Monthly American Review,* January – June, 1840.

FIRST ISSUE: July, 1837. LAST ISSUE: December, 1840.

PERIODICITY: Monthly. Two volumes a year regularly (I-VII). Royal octavo. Number for December, 1840, bears half title "Graham's Magazine" and is identical with the *Casket* of even date except the last eight pages.

PUBLISHERS: Charles Alexander, Philadelphia, 1837 – February, 1839; William E. Burton, Philadelphia, March, 1839 – November, 1840.

EDITORS: William E. Burton, 1837 – June, 1839, July – November, 1840; William E. Burton and Edgar A. Poe, July, 1839 – June, 1840; George R. Graham, December, 1840.

[2] *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography* (New York, 1888), I, 473.

and he had always had an ambition to edit a magazine. So he interested Charles Alexander, publisher of the weekly *Alexander's Messenger;* and, with Burton as editor and Alexander as publisher, the new magazine was launched in July, 1837. It had a large, beautifully printed page, and the contents were light and entertaining.

Burton wrote many of the articles, and much of the remainder was taken from the English periodicals, with some translations. A story by Burton, lively and often a bit sensational, appeared in each issue, and the versatile editor also contributed a serial miscellany called too ambitiously "Experiences of a Modern Philosopher" and consisting of unconnected paragraphs on morals, wines, cigars, conversation, manners, foods. His interesting reminiscences in the third volume, called "Play House People," remind one of his earlier series in the *Knickerbocker*—"An Actor's Alloquy." The book reviews were less critical reviews than mere notices accompanied by copious extracts in which the liveliest and most attractive portions of the work were set out at length. No little attention was given to the adventurous life of the West. A series by J. Milton Sanders on the Miami Valley and its life ran through three volumes; there were many western stories; and then there was Edgar Allan Poe's unfinished tale, "The Journal of Julius Rodman, Being an Account of the First Passage across the Rocky Mountains of North America ever achieved by Civilized Man."

Poe joined Burton in the editorship of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in July, 1839, at ten dollars a week for two hours' work daily.[3] "The Fall of the House of Usher" appeared in the pages of the September issue, and the sonnet "Silence" in April, 1840;, aside from these two examples of the highest reaches of his genius, Poe contributed to this magazine little that was important. True, he wrote for it a number of book reviews which were, as a rule, either perfunctory, or marred by certain characteristic crotchets; and he also reprinted several tales that had already appeared in other places.

Both Poe and Burton were sufficiently sensitive, hot-headed,

[3] Poe, *Complete Works*, Virginia Edition (New York, 1902; Jas. A. Harrison, editor), XVII, 46. Burton's letter to Poe, May 10, 1839.

and vain to make it impossible for them to work together for long. Many pages have been printed as to the causes of the disagreement in consequence of which they parted in June, 1840; the interested reader can find full accounts of the quarrel, documented with letters, in the biographies of the two principals.[4] Burton thought Poe too severe upon his "brother authors." "I cannot permit the magazine to be made a vehicle for that sort of severity which you think 'so successful with the mob,'" wrote Burton to Poe, and added a little further on: "You say the people love havoc. I say they love justice."[5] There was also somewhat, at a later date, about intemperance, and Poe's plans for a magazine of his own. On Poe's side there was an accusation of dishonesty against Burton in connection with a prize contest, and a hearty contempt.[6] At any rate, Poe angrily withdrew, or was discharged, at the end of the sixth volume.

Other contributors were Thomas Dunn English, Seba Smith, Grenville Mellen, and Joseph Holt Ingraham, along with a number of Philadelphia writers of verse and tales even less remembered than these. There were few illustrations before March, 1839, but after that a plate appeared in each issue. A few Sartain mezzotints (one of Commodore Stewart in January, 1838, is especially rich) and line engravings on steel by A. W. Graham and others were printed. Buss's sketch of the performance of *Love's Labor's Lost* before Queen Elizabeth (published July, 1839) is very interesting. There were some stipple-and-line engravings of actors and actresses.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* appears to have been a moderate success from the first. "We issued our prospectus in the very height of the commercial difficulties," wrote Burton later;[7] but he had been able to weather the storm. He tired of the magazine, however; his true vocation was upon the stage, and he needed

[4] See George E. Woodberry, *Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1885), pp. 126-42, and William L. Keese, *William E. Burton, Actor, Author and Manager* (New York, 1885), pp. 16-19.

[5] Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 128. It is interesting to note, in view of Poe's connection with the magazine, that previous to his coming it had published (September, 1838 – May, 1839) a series on Vidocq, who was perhaps the first of the "transcendental" detectives and the model for Poe's M. Dupin.

[7] Preface to Vol. I.

the money invested in the literary venture to put into his new Philadelphia theater. He therefore went to George R. Graham, editor and owner of the *Casket*, in 1840, and offered the *Gentleman's*, with its list of thirty-five hundred subscribers, for as many dollars.[8] Graham bought it, combined it with his own magazine, and called the merger *Graham's*. Thus the *Gentleman's Magazine* ended, and *Graham's* began.

Burton's Gentleman's Magazine was not a great periodical; but excellent typography and printing, and contents which succeeded in being entertaining without baseness would have given it an important place among its contemporaries even without its connection, for a twelvemonth, with one of the greatest of American writers. Burton was rather proud of the fact that articles in his first few numbers had been copied into English periodicals without credit, and then re-pirated into American magazines:[9] it was a deserved tribute to what General Morris's *Mirror* called "the raciness, humor, tact, and taste"[10] of the *Gentleman's*.

[8] Smyth, *Philadelphia Magazines*, p. 217.
[9] Preface to Vol. I.
[10] *New York Mirror*, XV, 414 (June 23, 1838).

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THE DEMOCRATIC REVIEW[1]

This magazine is designed to be of the highest rank of magazine literature, taking *ton* of the first class in England for model. . . . It is intended that nothing but matter of distinguished excellence shall appear in its pages, and that will be very handsomely remunerated. Many of the finest writers of the country are engaged. . . . As this magazine will have a vast circulation throughout the Union, and as it will occupy so elevated a rank, it will afford Mr. Hawthorne what he has not had before, a field for the exercise of his pen, and the acquisition of distinction, worthy of the high prom-

[1] TITLES: (1) *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, 1837-51; (2) *The Democratic Review*, 1852; (3) *The United States Review*, 1853-55 (*The United States Review and State Rights Register* on title-pages of numbers August, 1853 – November, 1854); (4) *The United States Democratic Review*, 1856-59. (Note.—The above is based on the files as usually found in libraries and described in bibliographies; but two questions may be raised with regard to it: (1) The *United States Review* (1853-55) was a new periodical possibly contemporaneous with a continuation of the *Democratic Review* which I have not been able to locate. An advertisement on the cover of the *United States Review* for December, 1855, says: "On the first day of January, 1856, the subscription list of the *United States Review* will be incorporated with the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*." The latter periodical for 1853-55, or whatever part of that period it occupied, is, so far as I know, always disregarded and *The United States Review*, 1853-55, used to fill the gap. (2) I have not been able to find a file of the *Review* for the months January – June, 1857, during which it was supposedly published as a newspaper, and it may not have retained the title of the monthly.—F. L. M.)

FIRST ISSUE: October, 1837. LAST ISSUE: October, 1859.

PERIODICITY: Monthly 1837-1856, July, 1857-1858; Weekly January – June, 1857; Quarterly 1859. Omitted numbers: November, December, 1837, August, 1838, January – June, 1841, October, 1853 – May, 1854, January, 1859, July, 1859. Combination number for April-May, 1840. [First Series]: I, October, 1837, January, February, March, 1838; II, April – July, 1838; III, September – December, 1838; IV, "Historical Register Department of the Review Originally Placed at the Ends of Numbers 2, 3, 7, 10, 11, 15, 16, 19, 26, 27, and 36"; V-VIII, 1839-40, two volumes a year. New [Second] Series: IX-XXIX, July, 1841-1851, two volumes a year. New [Third] Series: [XXX-XXXI], [I]-II, 1852, two volumes. [Fourth Series]: [XXXII-XXXVI], I, January – June, 1853; II, July, August, September, 1853, June, 1854; III-V, July, 1854 – December, 1855. New [Fifth] Series: [XXXVII-XXXVIII], VI, January – July, 1856; VII, August – December, 1856. XXXIX, January – June, 1857. XL-XLII, July, 1857 – December, 1859, three volumes, XLIII, April, October, 1859.

INDEXED in *Poole, Jones,* and *A. L. A. Portrait Index.*

PUBLISHERS: Langtree & O'Sullivan, Washington, 1837-39; S. D. Langtree, Washington, 1840; J. & H. G. Langley, New York (as all the following), 1841-43;

ise which the editors of the *United States Magazine* see in what he has already written.[2]

THIS optimistic, not to say fulsome, forecast of the glories of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* was written six months before the appearance of its first issue, by John L. O'Sullivan, one of its two founders, to a possible contributor, Nathaniel Hawthorne. Julian Hawthorne tells us that O'Sullivan was

> a cosmopolitan of Irish parentage on his father's side, and one of the most charming companions in the world.[3] He was always full of grand and world-embracing schemes, which seemed to him, and which he made appear to others, vastly practical and alluring, but which invariably miscarried by reason of some oversight which had escaped notice for the very reason that it was so fundamental a one. He lived in the constant anticipatory enjoyment of more millions than the Adelantado of the Seven Cities ever dreamed of; and yet he was not always able to make his income cover his very modest and economical expenditure. . . . He and Hawthorne became very dear friends; and he was godfather to Hawthorne's first child.[4]

O'Sullivan himself, looking back later on those times, confessed that he and his partner—who was his brother-in-law S. D. Langtree, once briefly editor of the *Knickerbocker*—were "both very young, very sanguine, and very democratic." [5]

A preliminary number of the new magazine appeared in October, 1837, issued from Washington, but the work was not

Henry G. Langley, 1844-45; J. L. O'Sullivan and O. C. Gardiner, 1846; H. Wikoff, 1846-49; Kettell & Moore, 1849-51; D. W. Holly, 1852; Theodore A. Foster, 1853; Lloyd & Brainard, 1854; Lloyd & Campbell, 1855; Wright, Cone & Co., 1856; Lloyd & Co., 1856; Conrad Swackhamer, 1857-59.

EDITORS: J. L. O'Sullivan and S. D. Langtree, 1837-39; S. D. Langtree, 1839-40; J. L. O'Sullivan, 1841-46; Thomas Prentice Kettell, 1846-51; George N. Sanders, 1852; Theodore A. Foster and others, 1853; D. W. Holly, 1854-55; Spencer W. Cone, 1856; Conrad Swackhamer, 1857-58; Conrad Swackhamer and Isaac Lawrence, 1859.

[2] Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1885), I, 159. Letter dated April 19, 1837.

[3] Thoreau did not share this opinion; O'Sullivan talked too much to suit him. See F. B. Sanborn, *Hawthorne and His Friends* (Cedar Rapids, Ia., 1908), p. 30. Letter of Thoreau to Emerson, Jan. 24, 1843.

[4] Julian Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[5] *Passages from the Correspondence of Rufus W. Griswold* (ed. by Wm. Griswold, Cambridge, 1898), p. 123. Letter of O'Sullivan to Griswold, Sept. 8, 1842.

begun with regularity until the next January. The October issue contained contributions from Bryant, Hawthorne, and Whittier; and these writers continued for ten years to enrich the *Democratic's* pages, doing much to give it the good literary standing which it enjoyed in the years 1837-46. Hawthorne's "Tales of the Province House" were published in the first volume; indeed the *Democratic* published more of Hawthorne's stories than any other magazine.[6] Other good stories were by James Kirk Paulding, Grenville Mellen, Joseph Holt Ingraham, and certain unidentified authors; good, comparatively lively tales, though not found in large numbers, are one of the best features of the contents of the *Democratic Review* in these early years. In poetry, besides Bryant and Whittier, and the omnipresent Mrs. Sigourney, there were A. B. Street (almost as commonly met with in the magazines of the mid-century), William Gilmore Simms, B. F. Butler, and others. J. S. Buckingham's serial *Recollections of Eastern Travel* furnished variety. The book reviews were perspicacious; the rising New England school was treated with greater understanding than was common.

But less literary articles upon questions of national policy afforded the *pièce de résistance* of each *Democratic* meal. "Old General Jackson took a great interest in it and was its first subscriber," wrote O'Sullivan later.[7] Jackson was one of the gods of the magazine's idolatry, and Van Buren was another. "Mr. Van Buren's position is a far more arduous one than was ever General Jackson's," said one of its writers.[8] "Little Van," who was not yet quite "a used-up man," relied much on "the sober, second thought of the people," and the *Democratic* rang the changes on that rather unenlivening catch-phrase. The contest against the National Bank, which one *Democratic* writer called "the second War of the Revolution," was, of course, the chief theme of the political articles.

But O'Sullivan, the magazine's political editor, disappointed at his failure to get the official printing in the gift of his party,

[6] Nina E. Browne, *A Bibliography of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Boston, 1905), lists twenty-five items from the *Democratic Review*, and fifteen from the *New-England Magazine*, the next in number of Hawthorne contributions, pp. 166-168.

[7] Griswold, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[8] *U. S. Magazine and Democratic Review*, II, 313 (June, 1838).

left Washington just before Van Buren's losing campaign against Harrison. His partner Langtree kept on through the next year, but at the end of 1840 gave it up. After six months' suspension, however, O'Sullivan, who had never disposed of his interest in the venture, enlisted New York publishers, and moved the magazine to that city.

Throughout the next five years, during which it was under the sole editorship of O'Sullivan, the *Democratic* was somewhat more literary than in any other period of its history. Whittier, Longfellow, and Lowell were contributors: Whittier's *Songs of Labor* appeared in 1845-46. Walter Whitman contributed tales, (which Lowell characterized as "à la Hawthorne,"[9]) articles, and poems beginning in 1841, before he had adopted the more unconventional form of his name or of his verse. Four installments of Poe's *Marginalia* appeared in 1844 and 1846. Joseph C. Neal's pleasant "Pennings and Pencillings about Town," with illustrations by F. O. C. Darley, were a feature in 1843. Hawthorne edited two journals for serial publication here—that of his friend Horatio Bridge, as *Passages from the Journal of an African Cruizer*,[10] in 1845; and the *Papers of an Old Dartmoor Prisoner*[11] in 1846. Some of Hawthorne's own stories appeared, though the low prices which the *Democratic* was now paying discouraged him.[12] Other contributors in this period were H. T. Tuckerman, C. P. Cranch, J. S. Dwight, W. A. Jones, Alexander H. Everett, H. W. Herbert, Epes Sargent, Catherine Sedgwick, Anne C. Lynch, and Mrs. Ellet. The last-named did many translations of French and German tales. There was a "Monthly Literary Record," as well as a "Monthly Financial and Commercial Article."

[9] *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, I, 242. Letter to C. E. Norton, dated Oct. 12, 1855.

[10] These *Passages* seem to have escaped the observation of Miss Browne, for they are not noticed in her Hawthorne *Bibliography*.

[11] These *Papers* were not published in book form until 1926, when they were united with some correlated manuscript in the hands of Hawthorne's descendants, but not in his handwriting, and published under the title, *The Yarn of a Yankee Privateer*. The author appears to have been John Lord, a great-uncle of Hawthorne.

[12] A letter written by Mrs. Hawthorne under date of Jan. 9, 1843, and published in F. B. Sanborn's *Hawthorne and His Friends* (p. 31), says: "The *Democratic Review* is so poor now that it can only offer twenty dollars for an article of what length soever, so that Mr. Hawthorne cannot well afford to give any but short stories to it; and besides it is sadly dilatory about payment."

THE NEW WORLD.

PARK BENJAMIN, EDITOR. J. WINCHESTER, PUBLISHER.

"No rent-up Utica contracts our powers; For the whole boundless continent is ours."

QUARTO EDITION OFFICE 30 ANN STREET. $3 PER ANNUM

Volume III.—No. 13 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1841. WHOLE NUMBER 77.

Original Poetry.

THE FAITHFUL DOG.

BY [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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In November, 1842, the *Boston Quarterly Review*, edited and owned by that Jovian journalist, Orestes A. Brownson, was merged into the *Democratic*, and with it came Brownson himself on an agreement for two years of freedom as a contributor. But Brownson proved a liability rather than an asset: he could not adjust himself to the political policy of the magazine. There ensued "a great deal of unnecessary newspaper and other talk . . . full of vehement objurgation . . . some subscribers withdrawing"; [13] and after an association of only one year, Brownson withdrew to start another journal of his own. O'Sullivan printed a kindly but "most emphatic disclaimer of the views" of his late contributing editor.[14]

Politically, the *Democratic* was now occupied chiefly with the antebellum questions of union versus secession, and abolitionism versus slavery, with their associated topics. It was neutral in regard to the annexation of Texas. Fighting the abolitionists at the North, it also fought Calhoun and other southern extremists. Calhoun had given himself up

> to all the childish excesses of unbridled passion. Slavery at the South, notwithstanding the declarations of Mr. Calhoun and his hot-brained and foul-mouthed followers, and in spite of the incendiary and basely-selfish strivings of the hypocritical abolitionists of the "free North," we assert—and our lives and honor on it—that slavery in the South will never break up our glorious Union.[15]

This vigorous middle-of-the-road policy, however honest, was not shrewd; there was too much hitting of heads on both sides; and the financial disaster that had been following closely upon O'Sullivan's footsteps for some years overtook him at last in 1846, when the *Democratic Review* passed into other hands.[16]

During its third lustrum the magazine was under the care chiefly of Thomas Prentice Kettell, the editor employed by H. Wikoff. Wikoff had bought the magazine from O'Sullivan for

[13] *U. S. Magazine and Democratic Review*, XIII, 653 (December, 1843).
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Ibid.*, XXI, 471 (May, 1848).
[16] Conway tells us that some years afterward, at that financial crisis of Hawthorne's career after he lost his Salem surveyor position, he received a hundred dollars from O'Sullivan, "saved out of the wreck of the *Democratic Review*." *Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Great Writers Series, London, n.d.), p. 117.

about five thousand dollars in 1846.[17] Most of the famous writers had left with O'Sullivan, though there was still some good material printed, and no little fiction and poetry. The last production of the Marchesa d'Ossoli (Margaret Fuller) was printed in July, 1850; she was drowned at sea July 19. A "Gossip" department including notes on New York theaters, art, and music ran from October, 1846, to February, 1849. There was much advocacy of a Pacific railway, much encouragement of the cause of Young Ireland, much abuse of the abolitionists, much criticism of Seward. A three-part article on Poe a year after the poet's death may be mentioned.[18]

During 1852 the *Review* was under the control of George N. Sanders, editor, and D. W. Holly, publisher. Sanders was a man of arresting personality—a big man physically, with large capacities for food and drink; a hard fighter; a man of tremendous enthusiasms.[19] His whole soul was at this time in the idealistic "Young America" movement and the Douglas candidacy. The *Review* was plunged into the midst of this "cause," and the "Old Fogies" of the party were attacked without moderation. The violence of the *Review* is believed to have contributed to the defeat of its candidate at the June convention.[20] But the magazine, though it supported Pierce, continued an advocacy of "Young America." Sanders was appointed consul to London three months after Pierce's inauguration as president.

In 1853 the *Democratic* sinks out of sight,[21] and not until the *United States Review* was united with it in 1856 did it for a few years recover a little of its former prominence.

The *United States Review* was "a new magazine, the object of which will be to explain and defend the principles and measures of American democracy."[22] Its prospectus was signed by Theodore A. Foster, and it attempted to achieve a representative

[17] *Holden's Dollar Magazine*, I, 57 (January, 1848).

[18] December, 1850, and January and February, 1851. John Savage was probably the author.

[19] See Merle E. Curti, "George N. Sanders" in the *South Atlantic Review*, XXVII, 79 (January, 1828).

[20] M. E. Curti, "Young America" in the *American Historical Review*, XXXII, 44 (October, 1826).

[21] See "Note" under "Titles" in footnote 1 to this sketch.

[22] Prospectus on cover of first issue, January, 1853.

national character by means of "traveling editors." [23] In August, 1853, it absorbed the *State Rights Register*. But the position of a northern democratic "organ of the united Democracy of the Union" was, in the face of impending disruption at the South, a difficult one. "Throughout all the East," says one article, "we see the helm of state in the hands of senseless infuriated fanatics." [24] It expects to see New England secede from the Union and join Canada. At first the *Review*, backed by influential politicians, seems to have nad some success, but in 1855 we find a confession of loss of prestige.[25]

In 1856 the merger of the *United States Review* with the *Democratic* continued the checkered career of the latter; during the first half of 1857 it was published as a newspaper; through the remainder of that year and all of the next, Conrad Swackhamer published it as a monthly. There were some *belles-lettres*, in finer print than the politics, "Jenny June" and Charles G. Halpine being vivacious contributors. In 1859 Swackhamer planned to publish quarterly, but only two numbers—those for April and October—were issued. The dying gasp was a long disquisition defending slavery in the United States.

The combination of literature of real excellence with vigorous articles on political, economic, and social questions made the *Democratic Review* under O'Sullivan an important periodical. Many years later George Parsons Lathrop referred to it as "the most brilliant periodical of the time," [26] and if the time referred to be taken as the ten years from 1836 to 1846, he was perhaps right.

A few words in closing should be devoted to the portraits which embellish the file. Etched portraits of democratic statesmen by Fenderich appeared in each number for the first year, and then for two years at the rate of one or two in a volume. There was

[23] M. H. Burr, DeWitt Allen, and William H. Young. See cover of number for July, 1853.

[24] *U. S. Review*, XXXVI, 79 (July, 1855). Article "Puritanism and Abolitionism."

[25] "Various causes combined to withdraw from the *Review* that powerful array of talent which so long placed it foremost among its contemporaries. Those causes have ceased to operate. The most distinguished statesmen and writers of the democratic party will again contribute to its pages." Statement on cover for December, 1855. The optimism does not appear to have been well founded.

[26] Lathrop, *A Study of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1876), p. 199.

some objection to this style of engraving, which should have appealed, one thinks, as a pleasing innovation; and a change to ordinary line engraved plates was made in 1840, Pease, Dodson, Langley, and others being the engravers. There was a portrait in each number for some years from 1841 on. In 1844 a few lithographed portraits appeared, and in 1846 some mezzotints by T. Doney and H. S. Sadd. The *United States Review* had no plates until 1855; in 1857 and 1858 there were two portraits to each issue. Taken altogether, the file of the *Democratic Review* furnishes an interesting portrait gallery.

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THE BOSTON QUARTERLY REVIEW,[1] AND *BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW*[2]

FEW periodicals have ever represented so adequately the activities of a diverse and energetic mind as the twenty-nine volumes of the *Boston Quarterly Review* and *Brownson's Quarterly Review* represent the intellectual exercises of Orestes Augustus Brownson. His was an intellect *sui generis*, inquiring, fearless, combative, subtle, and versatile. He never stood still. "We have been," he wrote in 1845, perhaps a little proudly, "in the course of our life 'all things by turns and nothing long.'"[3] In religion he was first a Presbyterian, then a Universalist, then a Unitarian, and after 1844 a Catholic. In "A Fable for Critics" it is said

[1] TITLE: *The Boston Quarterly Review.*
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1838. LAST ISSUE: October, 1842. Merged with the *Democratic Review.*
PERIODICITY: Quarterly, January, April, July, October. Regular annual volumes (I-V).
PUBLISHER: Benj. H. Greene, Boston (for the editor).
EDITOR: Orestes A. Brownson.
INDEXED in *Poole.*
REFERENCE: H. F. Brownson, *Orestes A. Brownson's Early Life* (Detroit, 1898).

[2] TITLE: *Brownson's Quarterly Review.*
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1844. LAST ISSUE: October, 1875.
PERIODICITY: Quarterly; January, April, July, October. Regular annual volumes (I-[XXIV]). Octavo. Suspended 1865-72. [First Series]: I-III, 1844-46. New Series: [whole number IV-IX] I-VI, 1847-52. Third Series: [whole number X-XII] I-III, 1853-55. New York Series: [whole number XIII-XVI] I-IV, 1856-59. Third New York Series: [whole number XVII-XX] I-IV, 1860-63. National Series: [whole number XXI] I, 1864. Last Series: [whole number XXII-XXIV] I-III, 1873-75. (Brownson sometimes spoke of the "Catholic Series" as beginning with the second volume of the First Series (1845). "The work properly begins with the second volume,"—III, 136 (January, 1846). The London edition began with the Third Series.)
PUBLISHERS (for the editor): Benj. H. Greene, Boston, 1844-55. E. Dunigan & Bro., New York, 1856-59. D. & J. Sadler, New York, 1860-64. Fr. Pustet & Co., New York, 1873-75.
EDITOR: Orestes A. Brownson.
INDEXED in *Poole.*
REFERENCES: Henry F. Brownson, *Orestes A. Brownson's Middle Life* (Detroit, 1899), and *Orestes A. Brownson's Later Life* (Detroit, 1900).

[3] *Brownson's Quarterly*, 1st Ser. II, 258 (April, 1845).

"He shifts quite about, then proceeds to expound
It is really the earth, not himself, that turns round."

Politically he was for a time allied with the Democratic party, with strong leanings toward a kind of Christian socialism. Philosophically he was (before he became a Catholic) a disciple of Cousin and the French eclectics, and before that he was more or less identified with the Concord transcendentalists. But wherever his alliances, he had ever a strong, vigorous personality, entire self-confidence, a remarkably incisive intellect, and a gift for self-expression.

He was always under an imperative necessity of uttering his thoughts. His style was fluent, lucid, and forceful, though sometimes careless; it was a good style for philosophical or political writing. Lowell called it "a stream of transparent and forcible prose."[4] He began the *Boston Quarterly Review,* as he explains in its first number, not because he was refused admission to other reviews[5] but because he had many things to say and did not wish to be embarrassed by editorial supervision. "I would discourse freely on what seem to me to be great topics," he said.[6] By the end of the second volume he felt the relief of having put his leading ideas into words; he might have said with Wordsworth that a timely utterance had given his thoughts relief and he again was strong. "This number completes the present volume and ends the publication of the *Boston Quarterly Review,*" he wrote for October, 1839. "The *Review* is discontinued not for the want of patronage but because its editor has said his word, and because he finds that his excessive labors have impaired his health."[7] But when the time came around for the next number he found that he had something more to say, so he continued for another volume. Then, his articles on the labor question having drawn attacks, he went on with two more volumes. In those articles he temerariously advocated the

[4] In "A Fable for Critics."

[5] He had contributed to the *Christian Examiner* and other periodicals, and in 1830 had been a publisher and corresponding editor of the *Free Enquirer* of Robert Dale Owen and Francis Wright (previously the *New Harmony Gazette*). In 1831 he began *The Philanthropist,* a weekly.

[6] *Boston Quarterly,* I, 5 (January, 1838).

[7] *Boston Quarterly,* II, 517 (October, 1839).

abolition of hereditary descent of property and of the Christian priesthood.

Brownson wrote most of his review himself, but occasionally printed articles by Alexander H. Everett, George Bancroft, George Ripley, Bronson Alcott, Margaret Fuller, Anne C. Lynch, Elizabeth Peabody, and Albert Brisbane—a true galaxy of reviewers. The editor and publisher had not expected to extend his quarterly to many volumes, exhausting as it was financially and physically. In 1840 he invited the Transcendental Club to write for it instead of starting the *Dial*,[8] which, he later said with some justice, "wants manliness and practical aims." At the end of 1842 he made over his subscription list to the *Democratic Review*, of New York. "Never had a periodical a better list of subscribers," he said yearningly in after years. "They were few, but they were serious, honest, earnest, affectionate." They stood by him through all his controversies.[9] The editor of the *Democratic Review*, on taking over the list of the *Boston Quarterly*, agreed to give its former editor free access to the pages of the *Democratic*. But Brownson, who had once written, "I belong to no party under heaven, to no sect on earth, and swear allegiance to no creed, no dogma,"[10] was sure to have trouble as a contributor to a political review; both the length and the doctrines of his articles met with objection from the *Democratic Review's* readers, and the new arrangement lasted only one year. At the end of that time Brownson started a new quarterly review in Boston to which he very properly gave his own name.

In the first number of *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, he says with relief: "This is my review. I am its proprietor; its editor; intend to be its principal, if not its sole, writer, and to make it the organ of my own views of truth."[11] In the fourth number he emphasized this declaration: "Our pages are not open to contributions from others. The *Review* is intended to be sub-

[8] The offer was made to Alcott, who communicated it to Emerson and Margaret Fuller. Alcott's MS. *Diary*, XIV, 79, quoted in Higginson, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (Boston, 1885), p. 148.

[9] *Brownson's Quarterly*, 1st Ser., I, 2 (January, 1844).

[10] *Boston Quarterly*, I, 5 (January, 1838).

[11] *Brownson's Quarterly*, I, 1 (January, 1844).

stantially the product of one mind, and its editor is both author and editor."[12]

In his salutatory, Brownson says, "There is no truth in the report that I have joined or am intending to join the Roman Catholic Church." It was not long, however, until there was some truth in it. Several months before Newman, in England, took that step, Brownson entered the Catholic fold. "At the request of a large number of distinguished American prelates,"[13] however, he decided not to cease the publication of his review, but to make it a Catholic periodical and depend upon the Catholic public for support. Later he wrote:

> The noise made by our conversion and the efforts made by our Catholic friends soon procured for our *Review* a wide circulation, which, however, fell off considerably at the end of 1845, and continued to decrease until the Spring of 1849, when our friends in Canada, especially Montreal and Quebec, came to our relief and saved the *Review* from failure.[14]

By 1853 it had reached its highest circulation. The cause of its variable but rarely prosperous fortunes may doubtless be found in the controversies in which Brownson engaged within the Catholic church. He warred first on "radicalism" in the church, to use his own terms, then on "despotism," then, to some extent, upon the Jesuits.[15] Other Catholic journals regularly attacked him, and he once remarked that their "quarterly assaults" had become an institution.[16] In the second phase of his controversies just noted, he quarrelled with the Bishop of Philadelphia in 1861,—a controversy that nearly ruined him. Since 1853 the *Review* had been published in a London edition,[17] but in the year of this quarrel his London publisher failed and the English edition was discontinued. Brownson had many enemies outside his church as well: in 1852 the *Democratic Review* called Brown-

[12] *Ibid.*, I, 416 (October, 1844).

[13] *Ibid.*, New Ser., II, 564 (October, 1848). Also 3rd Ser., II, 537 (October, 1854).

[14] *Ibid.*, Third Ser., II, 537 (October, 1854).

[15] *Ibid.*, *Nat'l Ser.*, I, 470 (October, 1864).

[16] *Ibid.*, N. Y. Ser., IV, 416 (July, 1855).

[17] It was not the first American review to be republished in England, as is often claimed, since Walsh's *American Quarterly* had had that distinction.

son's journal an "abominable sheet, libellous, illiterate."[18] In 1856 he left his beloved Boston to seek greater prosperity in New York. But the beginning of the war and the consequent loss of two-thirds of his subscribers added to his misfortunes, and it would seem as though the editor's spirit might well be broken at last; but Brownson was not so constituted. He was most distressed about what seemed to him a phase of disloyalty to the union among Catholics. He sent his two sons to the war, and though he confessed to bad eyes and to growing old and stout, he jokingly talked about applying for a major general's commission in 1863.[19]

Brownson's situation at this time has some of the elements of high tragedy. Undoubtedly he was in many respects a great man. He was utterly sincere, and intellectually he was the peer of any living American; but his very honesty and frankness made him the victim of continual petty attacks from those whom he expected to be his chief friends, and now he was torn between love of church and love of country. A large man in stature, he felt his physical powers declining. His sons had been killed in the war; darkness closed about him. He was an old lion at bay.

In 1863, Brownson wrote: "Some papers have published our death, but we are not yet dead personally or as a review."[20] In 1864, though remaining a Catholic, he withdrew his journal from the ranks of religious publications, and started a new "National Series" with political intent, to be devoted to the "interests of American civilization irrespective of religious differences."[21] This series lasted for only one year, after which the review was suspended. That the later volumes had left him under a cloud of Catholic distrust, Brownson keenly felt, and nine years after he had closed the "National Series" with its first volume, he resumed his review with what he called from the first the "Last Series," and which, as he frankly said, was designed to rehabilitate him among Catholics with whom

[18] *Democratic Review*, N.S. II, 615 (November-December, 1852).
[19] *Brownson's Quarterly*, 3rd N. Y. Ser., IV, 127 (January, 1863).
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] *Brownson's Quarterly*, Nat'l Ser., I, 1 (January, 1864).

he was under a cloud and to "vindicate our reputation as an uncompromising Catholic and thorough Papist." [22] At the end of the third volume of the "Last Series" he affixed a brave valedictory, and laid aside his pen. A few months later he died in Detroit, whither he had gone to make his home with children.

Brownson's work is marred by his over-readiness for a fight, by his indifference to tact, by a style which, excellent though he made it at times, he was too likely to abandon to carelessness, and by the faults of his qualities of energy and enthusiasm. For pure literature he had little regard, though his volumes are full of comment on the more intellectual masters of letters. History, politics, sociology, and literature shared the attention given philosophy and religion.

The *Christian Examiner*, a polemical opponent, while confessing that "his style is, almost beyond example among our journalists, clear and nervous," [23] complains that "his egotism grows wearisome," and rebels also against his "constant reiteration and repetition. One-fifth of his published pages would amply present the substance of all of them." [24] The *Examiner* touches upon the objection most generally held against him when it says with delicate irony that one may find "a complete cyclopedia of religion in the statements which he has published of his own opinions"; [25] while Dr. Bledsoe, who was the only editor of his time quite comparable to him, said irascibly in his *Southern Review* that Brownson thought himself "the autocrat of the intellectual universe." [26]

But his admirers—and they were notable both in number and in standing—were usually very ardent admirers. George Ripley said of the *Boston Quarterly Review* in the first number of the *Dial* that "the best indication of the culture of philosophy in this country, and the application of its speculative results to the theory of religion, the criticism of literary productions, and the institutions of society, we presume no one will dispute, is to be

[22] *Ibid.*, Last Ser., I, 1 (January, 1873).
[23] *Christian Examiner*, XLII, 465 (May, 1847).
[24] *Christian Examiner*, LIII, 284 (September, 1852).
[25] *Christian Examiner*, LVII, 471 (November, 1854).
[26] *Southern Review*, IV, 408 (October, 1868). See another adverse criticism in Griswold's *Prose Writers of America* (New York, 1846), p. 422.

found in this journal." [27] And thirty years after his death George Parsons Lathrop wrote in the *Atlantic Monthly* that Brownson had "one of the most powerful minds, the most intense personalities in America literature. . . . His intellect . . . seems to many of us to have surpassed in depth and sincerity every other philosophic mind that this country has produced." [28]

Certainly his reviews are remarkable journals. Their influence is difficult to estimate. Their circulation, like that of nearly all the reviews, was small; but undoubtedly they were followed by many thinking minds on both sides of the Atlantic. An opponent wrote of him: "Other writers may have a larger number of readers, but no one has readers of such various character. He has the attention of intelligent men of all sects." [29] An English critic wrote in 1871 that he was "intellectually without a peer among Romish editors." [30]

At the end of his *Boston Quarterly* he wrote some lines which sum up very well the twenty-nine volumes of the two reviews:

> The *Review* now completed, the greater part of which we have ourselves written, must be taken very much in the light of a private journal. . . . In these volumes we have embodied five years of our life, of our thoughts, our likes and dislikes, our loves and our hates, our aspirations and hopes. . . . Crude, ill-tempered, hasty, rash, impetuous they may be at times; but when criticism has done its work, when the mists of prejudice have been dissipated, and they stand forth for what they really are, they will be seen to bear the marks of one who, to many faults, joined at least the virtue of being able, in good report and in evil, in weakness and in strength, in poverty and in disgrace, to be true to the great Idea which has possessed him almost from the cradle—that of man's moral, intellectual and physical amelioration on earth.[31]

[27] *Dial*, I, 22-23. Alcott called it "the best journal now current on this side of the Atlantic," but thought "it fell far below the idea of the best minds among us." *MS. Diary*, XII, 464, quoted in Higginson, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

[28] *Atlantic*, LXXVII, 770 (June, 1896).

[29] G. H. Emerson, editor, in the *Universalist Quarterly*, XIII, 400 (October, 1856). But Dr. Emerson thinks Brownson seldom convincing. See also the praise of an opponent in the *Mercersburg Review*, N.S. IV, 191 (April, 1850).

[30] *British Quarterly Review*, LIII, 5 (January, 1871).

[31] *Boston Quarterly*, V, 513 (October, 1842).

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THE HESPERIAN[1]

THAT industrious magazinist and loyal son of the West, William D. Gallagher, who had recently edited two magazines neither of which had outlived six months,[2] showed his courage and perseverance by undertaking a new venture in May, 1838. It was called the *Hesperian; or, Western Monthly Magazine,* and was published at Columbus, Ohio. Gallagher had the assistance for six months of Otway Curry, a young poet and journalist, who left him in the fall to study law.

Taught by experience, the editor, in his salutatory, doubts the possibility of extensive financial reward; but, speaking in the third person, he says he has entered upon this new project

> because he loves the pursuit—because he thinks he can be useful in it—because he is convinced that there is throughout the whole West a great demand and a growing necessity for labor in it—and because he believes that under present auspices it can be made to yield at least a quid pro quo.[3]

In form the new magazine was a royal octavo of eighty or ninety pages. It depended much upon materials garnered from other printed sources, nearly half its pages being eclectic. Among its more important contributors of original material were William Gilmore Simms, C. P. Cranch, Mrs. Sigourney, Mrs. Amelia B. Welby, and J. F. Meline. A critical department was occupied

[1] TITLES: *The Hesperian; or, Western Monthly Magazine,* May – October, 1838. *The Hesperian; a Monthly Miscellany of General Literature, Original and Select,* November, 1838 – November, 1839.

FIRST ISSUE: May, 1838. LAST ISSUE: November, 1839.

PERIODICITY: Monthly, in volumes as follows: I, May – October, 1838; II, November, 1838 – April, 1839; III, May – November, 1839.

PUBLISHER: John D. Nichols (I-II in Columbus, III in Cincinnati).

EDITORS: William D. Gallagher and Otway Curry, May – October, 1838; William D. Gallagher, November, 1838 – November, 1839.

[2] See p. 387, *supra.*

[3] *Hesperian,* I, 91 (May, 1838).

chiefly with the slender output of the literature of the frontier, though it occasionally noticed other and more widely circulated books.

After a year at Columbus, Gallagher sought a warmer hospitality at Cincinnati; but the magazine survived there for only seven months.

THE CONNECTICUT COMMON SCHOOL JOURNAL[1]

WHEN Henry Barnard was appointed secretary of the Connecticut Board of Commissioners of Common Schools in June, 1838, he immediately began to make plans for an educational journal by which he could speak to the teachers of his state at monthly intervals. Published irregularly, unsystematic as to contents, the *Connecticut Common School Journal* which Barnard edited for fifteen years was nevertheless of incalculable value to the cause of common school education in its state; and it eventually won a reputation far beyond state limits. Studies of education in Europe and Barnard's annual reports were features. Some pieces were clipped from books and journals, and there was an occasional moral tale; but the matter was chiefly professional pedagogy.

The Board of Commissioners appeared as sponsors for the work, but Barnard was the actual publisher. "I have devoted a portion of my time and salary, in the absence of all legislative aid, and of any general coöperation of teachers, to sustain a monthly periodical devoted exclusively to the dissemination of educational documents, and articles of permanent value and interest,"[2] he wrote upon relinquishing the responsibility to other hands in 1854. In January of that year the *Journal* was taken over by the State Teachers' Association of Connecticut, and for thirteen years more it was published at Hartford, John

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Connecticut Common School Journal*, 1838-53, 1859-66; (2) *The Connecticut Common School Journal and Annals of Education*, 1854-58. (Also carried in half title 1859-66.)

FIRST ISSUE: August, 1838. LAST ISSUE: December, 1866.

PERIODICITY: First Series: I-VIII, 1838-53, irregular volumes. New Series: I-XIII (whole number IX-XXI), 1854-66, regular annual volumes.

PUBLISHERS: Henry Barnard, Hartford, 1838-53; State Teachers' Association, Hartford, 1854-66.

EDITORS: Henry Barnard, 1838-53; John D. Philbrick, 1854-58; Charles Northend, 1859-66. (Philbrick and Northend were aided by several associate editors who were responsible for different numbers.)

[2] *Connecticut Common School Journal*, IX, 2 (January, 1854).

D. Philbrick and Charles Northend being successively resident editors. A committee of teachers was appointed annually to aid these men, and the custom was for each member of the committee to edit one number in the course of the year. The magazine was changed from a quarto to an octavo and made somewhat more eclectic in this New Series.

The *Connecticut Common School Journal* was always definitely an organ—first of the Board, and then of the Teachers' Association. Its chief importance comes from the editorship of Henry Barnard, who later became United States Commissioner of Education.

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THE MERCHANTS' MAGAZINE AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW[1]

FREEMAN HUNT had been associated with various publishing enterprises before he founded the *Merchants' Magazine.* He had been one of the publishers of Mrs. Hale's *Ladies' Magazine,* and he had been editor and director of the Bewick Company, publishers of the *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge.* These and other experiences with magazines and newspapers had taught him much about the periodical business before he established the *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* in New York in 1839. Ten years later, upon presenting to the readers of his magazine a portrait of himself engraved on steel, he wrote:

If the labors of the editor in this broad field have availed anything, if in particular he has done aught to direct literary effort into the hitherto neglected department of Commerce, to promote the study of it as a science, and to establish something worthy of the name of the Literature of Commerce, he will deem it a matter for rejoicing but not for boasting.[2]

This statement gives a good conception of what Hunt believed his contribution to the field of business to have been. In his prospectus he promised:

One of our prominent objects will be to raise and elevate the commercial character. . . . Every subject that can be interesting

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review,* 1839-50, 1860-70; (2) *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine,* 1850-60. (Caption 1839-60.)
FIRST ISSUE: July, 1839. LAST ISSUE: December, 1870.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. Sixty-three regular semiannual volumes.
PUBLISHERS: Freeman Hunt, July, 1839 – April, 1858; George W. and John A. Wood, May, 1858 – March, 1861; William B. Dana, April, 1861 – December, 1870.
EDITORS: Freeman Hunt, July, 1839 – April, 1858; Thomas P. Kettell, May, 1858 – March, 1861; Isaac Smith Homans and William B. Dana, April, 1861 – February, 1862; William B. Dana, March, 1862 – December, 1870.
INDEXED in *Poole,* and *Jones' Index of Legal Periodicals.*

[2] *Merchants' Magazine,* XXI, 144 (July, 1849).

or useful to the merchant, will be embraced from time to time; for it is our intention to render the *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* a standard work.

Accordingly, the first number began with an address by the Hon. Daniel D. Barnard, of New York, upon "Commerce as Connected with the Progress of Civilization," after which came an article on the currency by Charles F. Adams, and one on protection by Horace Greeley. But famous names, if they were a part of the original plan, were soon abandoned as a chief attraction, though Francis Wharton, George Tucker, James H. Lanman, J. W. Scott, and George S. Boutwell were among the most valued contributors to the earlier volumes. The chief materials were statistics, mercantile law, the currency, insurance, banking, navigation, treaties, mercantile libraries, and biographies of successful merchants. The troubles of the United States Bank occupied some space in the early volumes. A series on "The Morals of Trade" by J. N. Bellows ran through the years 1842-43.

"A perfect *vade mecum* to the merchant, the manufacturer, and the Banker, as well as to the Statesman, Commercial lawyer, and Political Economist" was what the *Merchants' Magazine* represented itself to be.[3] It was, in fact, an encyclopedia of commercial subjects, remarkable for its orderly arrangement of masses of material. For ten years, from 1840-1859, the semi-annual volumes were supplied with steel engraved frontispieces; in 1864-65 the plates were resumed with greater frequency, and then dropped.

The *Merchants' Magazine* was clearly a distinguished success up to the death of Hunt, which was followed soon by the beginning of the war; like other periodicals, it had its difficulties during the great conflict. It was decided toward the end of the war that the infrequency of its issue "prevented its keeping pace with the growing wants and necessities of the community." Out of this feeling grew the weekly *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* founded by the owners of the *Merchants' Magazine* in 1865. Five years later the publishers wrote:

[3] *Ibid.*, XX, 696 (June, 1849).

In undertaking the publication of the *Chronicle* we expected it to fill the place which the monthly issue of the *Magazine* was originally intended to occupy. As it now does that, the necessity for the monthly does not exist, and we shall not therefore issue any number of the *Magazine* in that form after the present.[4]

That was in December, 1870. The *Chronicle* still prospers.

[4] *Ibid.*, LXIII, 402 (December, 1870).

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THE MAGNOLIA; OR, SOUTHERN APALACHIAN[1]

IN January, 1840, George F. Pierce and Philip C. Pendleton founded the *Southern Ladies' Book,* a Methodist miscellany, in Macon, Georgia. It was a modest pamphlet, partly eclectic, and received some local support. William Gilmore Simms, who had attained a leadership in southern letters, and who had learned something of the difficulties attending the publishing of southern magazines from his connection with the *Southern Review* and other periodicals, did not offer the editors of the new venture much encouragement. "The plan," he wrote to Pierce, upon reading the prospectus,

> is well conceived, will go into operation, progress twelve or eighteen months, and expire because subscribers won't pay, though dunned from the first number to the last. . . . You have run up to five hundred so fast that you'll almost wish you had made three thousand the minimum—from five hundred to seven hundred you'll begin to think the prospectus has not been half circulated, from seven hundred to a thousand you'll begin to fret about the lack of public spirit in the South, and between a thousand and fifteen hundred it will gradually ease out of notice.[2]

Simms's predictions were correct in general, though the magazine lasted twice as long as he expected it to, and he himself was destined to edit it in its last year.

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Southern Ladies' Book; A Magazine of Literature, Science and Arts,* 1840; (2) *The Magnolia; or, Southern Monthly,* 1841 – June, 1842; (3) *The Magnolia; or, Southern Apalachian. A Literary Magazine and Monthly Review,* July, 1842 – June, 1843.

FIRST NUMBER: January, 1840. LAST NUMBER: June, 1843.

PERIODICITY: Monthly. [First Series]: I-IV, January, 1840 – June, 1842. New Series: I-II, July, 1842 – June, 1843.

PUBLISHERS: George F. Pierce and Philip C. Pendleton, Macon, Georgia, 1840; Philip C. Pendleton, Savannah, Georgia, 1841-42; Philip C. Pendleton and Burgess & James, Charleston, S. C., 1842-43.

EDITORS: George F. Pierce and Philip C. Pendleton, 1840; Philip C. Pendleton, 1841-42; William Gilmore Simms, 1842-43.

[2] J. D. Wade, *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet* (New York, 1924), p. 196.

Abandoned as a Methodist parlor magazine after ten months at Macon, it was taken to Savannah at the beginning of 1841, the name being changed to the *Magnolia; or, Southern Monthly*. At Savannah it was little more successful, and its career there lasted for only eighteen months. Southern readers and southern writers alike neglected it. But in July, 1842, Simms, who had already become a contributor and associate editor, was induced to assume the editorship, and the *Magnolia* was moved to Charleston.

Published in a center of southern culture and edited by Simms, the magazine immediately achieved a position of some importance. "A permanent magazine is now established in the South, and placed under the editorial management of one confessedly at the head of her literature," wrote the publishers.[3] Judge Augustus B. Longstreet became a leading contributor, publishing in it certain of the *Georgia Scenes* and other pieces. Dr. William A. Carruthers, A. B. Meek, and Mary E. Lee wrote for it. Simms himself wrote much for his magazine—now fiction, now poetry, now criticism, showing many facets of his active mind. He betrayed an enthusiasm for hydropathy; he was impressed by mesmerism; he believed in phrenology. One of his tales, "The Loves of a Driver," appears to have got the magazine into trouble because of the objection to its portrayal of the amours of a Negro.[4] His literary criticism was more or less dominated by sectional prejudices, but some of it was rather brilliant. His article on "The Writings and Genius of Bulwer" (December, 1842) attracted some attention.

On the cover for March, 1843, the publishers appeal for six thousand dollars in subscriptions arrearages, which would pay off all debts. P. C. Pendleton signs the address. "But for the aid which a few friends furnished me," he writes, "the *Magnolia* would long ago have ceased to exist. It was continued up to the time of its removal to Charleston by their loans rather than by cash proceeds of the work." The appeal was apparently fruitless, for the magazine ceased with the issue for June, 1843.

In its last phase, the *Magnolia* was a comparatively entertain-

[3] See cover, March, 1843.
[4] W. P. Trent, *Simms* (Boston, 1892), pp. 131-32.

ing periodical, though its criticisms both of art and literature were inclined to be more vigorous than trustworthy. It carried an insert of "advertising miscellany." It was fairly printed, but had no illustrations.

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THE DIAL[1]

(Boston)

THE *Dial* is one of three American magazines which have been discussed at some length by historians of our literature and writers of memoirs and reminiscences; it has probably received more attention from the literary historian than any other periodical published in this country. And this in spite of the fact that its circulation never exceeded three hundred, and probably never quite reached that figure; and that there were only sixteen numbers issued, with a total of little over two thousand pages. The reason for this unwonted interest in a mere magazine, and a small one at that, on the part of serious commentators upon American letters is, of course, the fact that the *Dial* was spokesman for four years of that important literary phenomenon known as New England transcendentalism.

There was much discussion of the possibility of establishing a transcendental journal long before definite steps were taken in the matter. In these first *pourparlers*, Frederick Henry Hedge, a young Unitarian clergyman, appears to have been the leader, and it was planned that he should edit the journal. Margaret

[1] TITLE: *The Dial: A Magazine for Literature, Philosophy, and Religion.*
FIRST ISSUE: July, 1840. LAST ISSUE: April, 1844.
PERIODICITY: Quarterly: January, April, July, October. Regular annual volumes, octavo (I-IV). Reprint (Rowfant Club, Cleveland, 1901-02) in sixteen volumes in wrappers.
PUBLISHERS (all Boston): Weeks, Jordan & Company, July, 1840 – April, 1841; Jordan & Company, July, October, 1841; Elizabeth Peabody, January, 1842 – April, 1843; James Monroe & Company, July, 1843 – April, 1844.
EDITORS: Margaret Fuller, July, 1840 – April, 1842; Ralph Waldo Emerson, July, 1842 – April, 1844.
INDEXED in *Poole.* Tables of Contents with authors assigned in Rowfant Club edition, and in *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, XIX, 261-65 (July, 1885).
REFERENCES: George Willis Cooke's article, "The *Dial:* An Historical and Biographical Introduction, with a List of the Contributors" (2 vols.), in Rowfant Club edition and in *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, XIX, 225-65, 322-23; Chaps. IX and X of Thomas Wentworth Higginson's *Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (American Men of Letters Series, Boston, 1885); James Elliot Cabot, *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1893), II, 401-08; etc.

Fuller wrote to him March 5, 1835: "Your periodical charms me; I think you will do good, and, what is next best, gain favor." [2] Just a week later Emerson wrote Carlyle about a periodical to be called the *Transcendentalist* which "some young men" were planning.[3] But Hedge was called to a pulpit in Bangor, Maine, about that time, and his removal from Boston made him ineligible for the editorship. We then find Emerson writing to Carlyle proposing that he should himself come to America to have charge of the proposed journal.[4] It is interesting to speculate upon a *Dial* by Teufelsdröckh; but Carlyle, interested though he was in emigration to America, refused to consider Emerson's offer. The matter was thereupon dropped for more than a year. "In September, 1836," wrote Hedge much later,

> on the day of the celebration of the second centennial anniversary of Harvard College, Mr. Emerson, George Ripley, and myself, with one other [George Putnam], chanced to confer together on the state of current opinion in theology and philosophy, which we agreed in thinking very unsatisfactory. Could anything be done in the way of protest and the introduction of deeper and broader views? What precisely we wanted it would have been difficult for either of us to state.[5]

Out of this informal conference came two others successively, in which such sympathizers as Brownson, Parker, Alcott, Dwight, Clarke, and the Misses Elizabeth Peabody and Margaret Fuller were added to the group—and finally the informal organization of what came to be known as the Transcendental Club. This gathering together of like-minded thinkers tended to solidify the movement, and toward the end of 1839, by the insistence chiefly of Margaret Fuller and George Ripley, it was decided to publish a periodical which should stand for the ideals of the group. The success (among Boston transcendentalists at least) of Heraud's *New Monthly Magazine,* of London, stimulated the project. Alcott's suggestion of the name *Dial* was accepted, and Miss Fuller

[2] Higginson, *op. cit.,* p. 141.
[3] *Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson* (rev. ed., Boston, 1888), I, 48.
[4] *Ibid.,* I, 148.
[5] Cabot, *op. cit.,* I, 244.

was chosen as the editor. It was planned to issue the first number in April, 1840,[6] but it proved impossible to get the necessary material together in time, and the beginning of the magazine was consequently postponed until July. A prospectus was issued which stated, among other things, that

> The purpose of this work is to furnish a medium for the freest expression of thought on the questions which interest earnest minds in every community. It aims at the discussion of principles rather than the promotion of measures. . . . It will endeavor to promote the constant evolution of truth, not the petrifaction of opinion. . . . [It] will be furnished to the subscribers at Three Dollars per annum.[7]

But just a month before the appearance of the first number, the editor wrote Emerson that "there are only thirty names on the Boston subscription list of the *Dial*." [8]

It was not for transcendentalists to be daunted by a difficulty of this kind, however. The magazine appeared in July. It contained an editorial introduction by Emerson, followed by essays and poems by Miss Fuller, Emerson, Parker, Ripley, Thoreau, Cranch, Dwight, Alcott, W. H. Channing, and others. For Thoreau, Dwight, and Cranch, it was a first appearance in print. One of Emerson's contributions was his poem "The Problem," and Alcott had sent some of his "Orphic Sayings." But the number was more or less unsatisfactory to the editor, projectors, and public. Miss Fuller writes to Emerson, "I feel myself how far it is from that eaglet motion I wanted. I suffer in looking it over now." [9] Emerson writes to Carlyle that it contained "scarce anything considerable or even visible," and he adds, "It is honored by attacks from almost every newspaper and magazine." [10] The *Knickerbocker* may speak here as a representative of the magazines: "It is devoted to that refinement upon common-

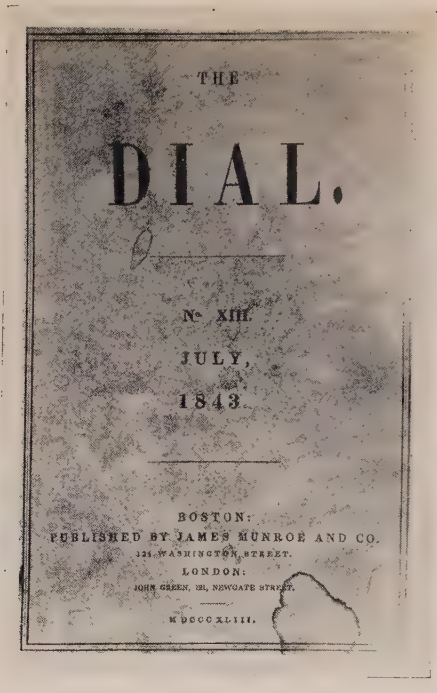
[6] Letter of Miss Fuller to W. H. Channing, dated Jan. 1, 1840, in Higginson, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

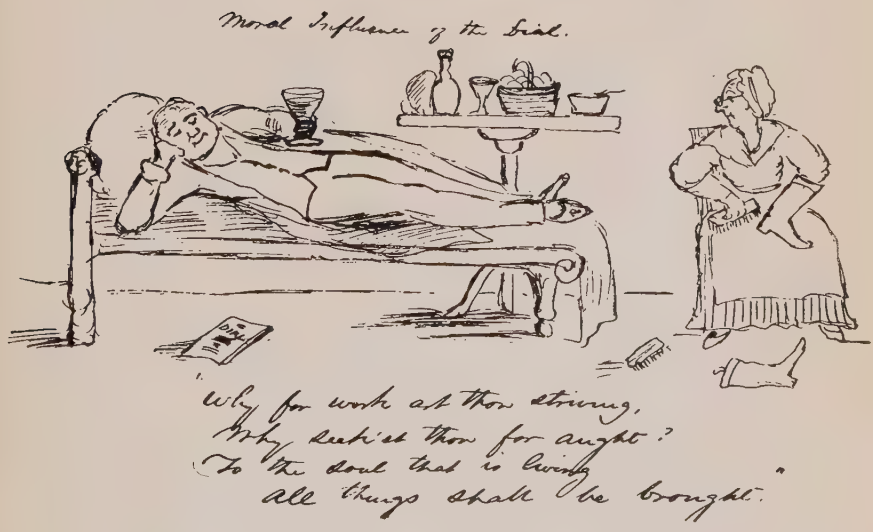
[7] Printed on the cover of most of the numbers of the *Dial*. Also in Higginson, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-53.

[8] Higginson, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

[9] Higginson, *op. cit.*, p. 155. Letter July 5, 1840.

[10] Carlyle-Emerson *Correspondence*, I, 324. Aug. 30, 1840.




Moral Influence of the Dial.
DIAL
"Why for work art thou striving,
Why seek'st thou for aught?
To the soul that is living
All things shall be brought."

THE "DIAL" AND ITS INFLUENCE

The sketch was drawn by Christopher Pearse Cranch, himself a *Dial* contributor, and appears in L. C. Scott's life of Cranch. The severely plain *Dial* cover is shown above.

sense literature just now so much in vogue at the East. . . . There are good thoughts in several of the *Dial* papers, but they are smothered in words, words."—And something more, rather malapropos, comparing the *Dial* broth to turnip soup, with a very few turnips.[11] A Boston newspaper mimics the *Dial* manner: "Why is it that the proboscis of the individual man protrudeth itself so far forth toward the Infinite?"[12] But the Philadelphia *Gazette's* epithets, "zanies" and "bedlamites," are more characteristic of newspaper comment.[13] It was after the second number came out that Theodore Parker, the fighting member of the group, cartooned the *Dial* as follows:

I would represent a body of minute philosophers, men and maidens, elegantly dressed, bearing a banner inscribed "The Dial." A baby and a pap-spoon and a cradle should be the accompaniment thereof. The whole body should have "rings on their fingers, and bells on their toes," and go "mincing as they walk," led by a body of fiddlers, with Scott's Claude Halcro "playing the first violin and repeating new poetry." This body of the excellent should come out of a canvas city of Jerusalem set upon a hill.[14]

This criticism was quite in line with that of Carlyle, who found that "it is all spirit-like, aëriform, aurora-borealis-like. Will no *Angel* body himself out of that; no stalwart Yankee *man* with color in the cheeks of him, and a coat on his back?" But for Alcott the *Dial* was not aurora-borealis-like *enough*. "It measures not the meridian but the morning ray; the nations wait for the gnomon that shall mark the broad noon." Emerson himself swung between two ideals for the magazine. At one time we have him on the Carlyle-Parker side, writing in his *Journal*, "And now I think that our *Dial* ought not to be a mere literary journal, but that the times demand of us all a more earnest aim. It ought to contain the best advice on the topics of Government,

11 *Knickerbocker Magazine*, XVI, 190 (August, 1840).
12 Quoted in the *Knickerbocker*, XVI, 452 (November, 1840).
13 Higginson, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
14 O. B. Frothingham, *Theodore Parker* (Boston, 1874), p. 139. Letter to Converse Francis, Dec. 18, 1840. C. P. Cranch, another contributor and friendly critic, drew some cartoons poking fun at the *Dial*, one of which is reproduced opposite p. 704.

Temperance, Abolition, Trade, and Domestic Life."[15] But again, fired by a comment in the *Boston Daily Advertiser,* he takes the more transcendental Alcott attitude: "The *Dial* is poor and low and all unequal to its promise; but that is not for you to say, O *Daily Advertiser!* but for me. It is now better *after your manner* than anything else you have . . . I see with regret that it is still *after your manner,* and not after mine, and that it is something which you can praise."[16] It was doubtless Emerson's friend W. H. Channing who wrote in the last number of the *Western Messenger,* of Cincinnati, concerning the first number of the *Dial:*

> Believe not the Geese, who have hissed their loudest at this new comer. Such foolish creatures cannot save the Capitol. The *Dial* marks an Era in American Literature; it is the windflower of a new Spring in the western world. For profound thought, a pure tone of social and personal morality—wise criticism,—and fresh beauty, the *Dial* has never been equalled in America.

In brief, the criticism of the first few numbers of the *Dial,* which is representative of the criticism of the whole work indeed, was of three kinds: (1) that of the general periodicals and average readers, who objected to its obscurity, laughed at it, and parodied its poems and "Orphic Sayings"; (2) that of reformers and more robust transcendentalists like Carlyle, Parker and Brownson, who deplored its "vague, evanescent, aërial" qualities and lack of worldly contacts; and (3) that of Alcott and (now and again) Emerson and Miss Fuller and others of the elect, who wished for more of the "eaglet motion" and a greater faithfulness to the more esoteric principles of their movement.

This diversity of criticism points to what may seem a weakness in the *Dial* plan: there was no consensus of ideals. Those in control of the magazine were like Hedge and his co-founders of the Transcendental Club: what precisely they wanted none of them would have been able to state. And even when more or less definite aims were from time to time condensed out of vapor, the distillates of the various editors-contributors reacted

[15] Emerson's *Journal,* V, 448 (July 31, 1840).
[16] *Ibid,* pp. 471-72 (Oct. 17, 1840).

upon each other with violence. A note from Alcott which is not quite sagely calm is prefixed to his "Days from a Diary" in the April, 1842, number. "The *Dial* prefers a style of thought and diction not mine; nor can I add to its popularity with its chosen readers. A fit organ for such as myself is not, but is to be." And yet if one cast off the hobgoblin yoke of "a foolish consistency," and take at face value the declaration of the *Dial's* prospectus for "the freest expression of thought," one finds a controlling principle which is admirable if not always satisfying in its results. "I put in," wrote the editor, "what those connected with me liked, even when it did not well please myself, on this principle, that I consider a magazine was meant to suit more than one class of minds." [17]

Margaret Fuller, with the aid of George Ripley as a kind of office editor, superintended the first two volumes of the magazine. Those already mentioned as contributors to the first issue became the chief writers during Miss Fuller's editorship. The name of the editor herself appears no less than twenty-eight times in Cooke's list of contributors to these eight numbers,[18] and that of Emerson twenty-nine times; though it must be stated that many of the contributions of both were brief notices or paragraphs. Mention of Parker's "German Literature," Miss Fuller's "Goethe," Thoreau's "Friendship," Emerson's "Man the Reformer" and "Woodnotes," Alcott's "Orphic Sayings," and Elizabeth Peabody's "Christ's Idea of Society" may serve to give some idea of the nature of the subject matter.

In April, 1842, Miss Fuller resigned the management. It had been a heavy burden for her. Late in the preceding year Jordan and Company, her publishers, had failed. The subscription list was showing an alarming shrinkage. Ripley had left to take up his work at Brook Farm. The meagre salary of two hundred dollars a year originally promised Margaret was not forthcoming. She had difficulty in getting contributions on time, and had to fill last-minute gaps with hurried and ungrateful writing. And with it all, her health grew worse, the severe headaches to which she was subject prostrating her with increasing frequency. "I

[17] Higginson, *op. cit.*, p. 166. Letter to Emerson, Nov. 12, 1843.
[18] *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, XIX, 261-63 (July, 1885).

am in a state of extreme fatigue," she writes her mother on Christmas day of 1841. "This is the last week of the *Dial,* and, as often happens, the copy did not hold out, and I have had to write in every gap of time. . . . I have barely scrambled through, and am now quite unfit to hold a pen."[19] So in March, 1842, she wrote a valedictory for the magazine and sent it to Emerson with leave either to insert or omit it; but for herself she could do no more.

"I will never be editor," Emerson had said with resolution in the days when the magazine was first determined upon,[20] but now he found that "The *Dial* is to be sustained or ended, and I must settle the question, it seems, of its life or death. I wish it to live, but do not wish to be its life. Neither do I like to put it in the hands of the Humanity and Reform men [Margaret had suggested Parker], because they trample on letters and poetry; nor in the hands of the Scholars, for they are dead and dry."[21] So, with the best grace he could, he accepted the editorship, and his name appears on the cover of the July number. "Perhaps I shall rue this day of accepting such an intruder on my peace as a *Dial,"* he writes to Miss Fuller. But, he adds, "you have played a martyr a little too long alone; let there be a rotation in martyrdom."[22] Miss Elizabeth Peabody had already assumed the work of distribution, upon the failure of Jordan and Company, announcing at the same time that "the proprietorship of the *Dial* has now passed into the hands of the editors," and observing that "it is desirable that subscribers should endeavor to aid them by immediate payment at the time specified."[23] Miss Peabody, in thus appealing to transcendentalist subscribers, disregarded that dictum ascribed to a daughter of "Father" Taylor: "The transcendentalists soar into the illimitable, dive into the infinite, and never pay cash!"

Under Emerson the *Dial* had somewhat more unity, for its

[19] Higginson, *op. cit.,* p. 165. Letter is said by Higginson to belong either in 1840 or 1841, but the "often" seems to fix it in 1841.

[20] Cabot, *op. cit.,* II, 401. Letter to Emerson's brother William, Sept. 26, 1839.

[21] *Journal,* VI, 163-64 (March 20, 1842).

[22] *Journal of Speculative Philosophy,* XIX, 232 (July, 1885). Letter dated March 20, 1842.

[23] *Dial,* third cover page, April, 1842.

editor consulted nobody's tastes but his own in the acceptance of his articles; or, at least, he regarded other tastes but little. The leading contributors were Emerson himself, William Ellery Channing, and Thoreau; Miss Fuller, Theodore Parker and Charles Lane were also prominent. Emerson greatly admired Ellery Channing's poems, but he found himself in a very small minority in this opinion. It was of these poems that Poe said, "They are not precisely English, nor will we insult a great nation by calling them Kickapoo; perhaps they are Channingese." [24] Margaret's effective presentation of the feminist side of the "woman question" in "The Great Lawsuit" appeared in July, 1843. Extracts from oriental religious writings appeared in various numbers under the title "Ethnic Scriptures," and Emerson's "Lectures on the Times" also appeared in series.

The story of the ups and downs of the *Dial* under Emerson—chiefly downs, alas—is well told by George Willis Cooke:

> Emerson not only acted as the editor, but also as the banker of the *Dial*. He was obliged to endorse Miss Peabody's notes for the current expenses, and when the publication went into the hands of James Monroe and Company, at the end of the third year, she notified him that she might require him to pay $120 due on its account. Monroe led Emerson to believe that with a more careful business management, and in connection with his own publishing business, the *Dial* could be made to succeed. It was therefore put into his hands; but the subscription list did not increase, while the expenses did. Monroe charged one-third of the selling-price for its management, and the result was the abandonment of the enterprise at the end of the first year under his control. Emerson took two years of the "martyrdom," and then the *Dial* came to its end. It probably cost him some hundreds of dollars, besides the time he gave to it. In September, 1854, Miss Peabody wrote to him that a large number of copies of the *Dial* were lying in her brother's store, and asked him what should be done with them. He carried many of them to his own house, stored them in his attic, and distributed them where he thought they were desired or would do good. The last of them were burned or sold to the ragman in 1872.[25]

[24] Poe, *Works* (edited by Stedman and Woodberry), VIII, 207. *Graham's Magazine*, August, 1843.

[25] *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, XIX, 233-34 (July, 1885).

Thus ignominiously in the bag of the ragman ended the *Dial*. Yet, from the transcendental viewpoint, at least, there was little that was ignominious about any part of its career. "It is much," observes James Elliot Cabot, Emerson's biographer and himself a contributor to the *Dial*, "to have uniformly taken the highest tone upon all subjects; and whatever may be said of the *Dial*, this praise abundantly belongs to it." [26]

[26] Cabot, *op. cit.*, II, 403. An interesting tribute to the *Dial* by Horace Greeley is to be found in his *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1873), p. 170.

77

ARCTURUS[1]

THOUGH its career covered only a year and a half, with eighteen monthly numbers, *Arcturus* shone with a brilliance which warrants a brief chapter here.

Arcturus, a Journal of Books and Opinion was founded in December, 1840, by two young critics of New York, Cornelius Mathews and Evert A. Duyckinck. It was designed to have "the mixed character of a Review and a Magazine," and its purpose was set forth in the first number as "the cultivation of good literature, honest mirth, and truth."[2]

In its first number it printed a satirical sketch of "the politician" by Mathews, and out of this grew *The Career of Puffer Hopkins,* which ran serially through most of the magazine's file, with illustrations by "Phiz," (H. K. Browne, of England) who had gained fame as the illustrator of Dickens. *Puffer Hopkins* attained wide popularity, striking off, as it did, one of the chief fads and abuses of the day, then known as "puffing." It contained good rollicking satire.

The most famous contributors to *Arcturus* were Hawthorne, Longfellow, and Lowell. Hawthorne printed "The Old Maid in the Winding Sheet," "The Man of Adamant," and "The Canterbury Pilgrims" in the first three numbers for 1842. The *Knickerbocker* was unkind enough to point out that the first of these had already appeared in the *New-England Magazine* seven years before.[3] Several of Lowell's sonnets appeared in *Arcturus.* Among other contributors were Francis L. Hawks, A. Cleveland

[1] TITLE: *Arcturus, A Journal of Books and Opinion.*
FIRST ISSUE: December, 1840. LAST ISSUE: May, 1842.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. I, December, 1840 – May, 1841; II, June – November, 1841; III, December, 1841 – May, 1842.
PUBLISHERS: Benjamin G. Trevett, New York, 1840-41; George L. Curry and Company, New York, 1841-42.
EDITORS: Cornelius Mathews and Evert A. Duyckinck.

[2] *Arcturus,* I, 2 (December, 1840).

[3] *Knickerbocker,* XIX, 190 (February, 1842).

Coxe, and William A. Jones. Jones was one of the most constant and one of the best of the *Arcturus* writers. He had already written literary criticism for Benjamin's *American Monthly Magazine* and Hawks' *Church Record;* for *Arcturus* he furnished some sound and well written articles on the contemporary American writers. Poe said of him in the *Broadway Journal* a few years after *Arcturus* had passed on: "His most reprehensible fault is that he can see nothing excellent out of Boston Common. . . . He lacks vigor, consecutiveness, and originality."[4] But Poe was prejudiced. The literary criticism of Jones is one of the best features of *Arcturus*.

There was a fine arts department in the magazine in which painting, the theater, and the lecture platform were treated. In "The City Article" the life of New York was passed in review monthly.

Altogether, *Arcturus* was a civilizing and cultural influence in America during its short life. But its subscription price was five dollars, and its proprietors did not have the resources properly to meet their competition. It was combined with the *Boston Miscellany* in June, 1842.

[4] *Broadway Journal*, II, 183 (Sept. 27, 1845).

78

MERRY'S MUSEUM[1]

SAMUEL G. GOODRICH, the original "Peter Parley," wrote, in his *Recollections,* the following sentences in regard to *Merry's Museum:*

> This work was begun and established by me, under the title of [*Robert*] *Merry's Museum,* but after the discontinuance of *Parley's Magazine,* the latter title was added. The work continued under my exclusive editorship until I left for Europe in 1850; from that time, while I had general charge of the work, Rev. S. T. Allen was the home editor. At the close of the fourteenth year (the twenty-eighth semi-annual volume, 1854) my connection with the work entirely ceased.[2]

Another member of the staff was Samuel Kettell, later editor of the Boston *Courier,* who was an assistant on the *Museum* as well as in some of "Peter Parley's" own publishing ventures.

The most important part of the sixteen-page *Museum* during the years of the Goodrich editorship was that occupied by the tales of the famous "Parley." They were moral and didactic to repletion; but apparently the children never tired of them, for the publishers of the paper claimed a circulation of thirteen thou-

[1] TITLES: (1) *Robert Merry's Museum,* 1841-51; (2) *Merry's Museum and Parley's Magazine,* 1851-57; (3) *Merry's Museum, Parley's Magazine, Woodworth's Cabinet, and the Schoolfellow,* 1858-66; (4) *Merry's Museum, and Woodworth's Cabinet,* 1867; (5) *Merry's Museum for Boys and Girls,* 1868 (?)-72 (?).

FIRST ISSUE: February, 1841. LAST ISSUE: June, 1872 (?).

PERIODICITY: Monthly. I, February – July, 1841; II, August – December, 1841. Thereafter regular semiannual volumes. A new series numbering begins with 1868.

PUBLISHERS: Bradbury and Soden, Boston, 1841-46; G. W. and S. O. Post, New York, 1847-48; MacDonald and Company, New York, 1849; S. T. Allen and Company, New York, 1849-55; J. N. Stearns, New York, 1855-66; H. B. Fuller, Boston, 1867-72 (?).

EDITORS: Samuel G. Goodrich, 1841-54; Stephen T. Allen, 1855-57; John N. Stearns, 1858-66; Louisa M. Alcott, 1867-70.

[2] Samuel G. Goodrich, *Recollections of a Life Time* (New York, 1857), Appendix, II, 543.

sand in 1852. The successive numbers were especially strong in "Parley's" specialty, geography; and a favorite means of imparting geographical as well as historical lore painlessly was that of the story of travels by balloon. A group of children would set off with Robert Merry to tour Europe in this novel fashion. Thomas would look down and see Greece: "Ah, there is Greece!" he would exclaim. Then Uncle Robert would say, "Harriet, what can you tell us about Greece?" And Harriet would be ready with an extraordinary flow of information which would last until someone spied Turkey and thus changed the subject if not the nature of the conversation.

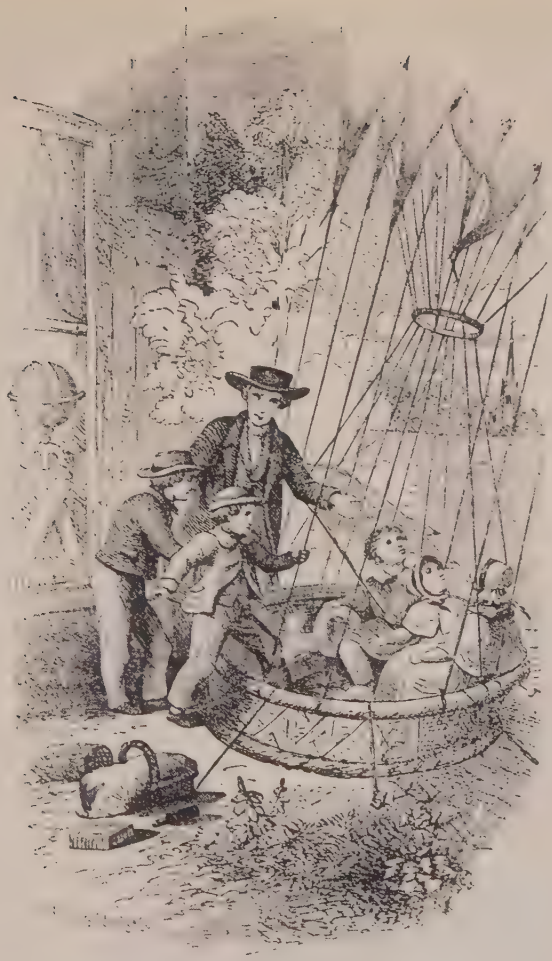
The woodcuts which illustrated the *Museum* made it attractive to its readers. They were badly printed at first, but improved as the publication progressed. They were done by such engravers as J. D. Felter, N. Orr, and William Baker. Pieces of music were also printed, and puzzles furnished further amusement. A prominent feature was the series of natural history articles, illustrated with pictures of wild animals. Poems of the school-reader type appeared in every number. The *Museum,* however, contained more adventure and thrills than *Parley's.*

Allen succeeded Goodrich as editor; he was already both publisher and editor *de facto,* and continued the little periodical in the beaten track. In 1855 he sold out to John N. Stearns, who three years later assumed the editorship. Stearns was active in the organization known as the Sons of Temperance, and when he was made Most Worthy Patriarch of the society in 1866 his new duties forced him to relinquish the *Museum* to Horace B. Fuller. Fuller engaged Louisa May Alcott as editor.

In September, 1867, Miss Alcott, who had already published *Hospital Sketches,* a novel called *Moods,* and some stories in *Our Young Folks,* wrote in her journal:

> Niles, partner of Roberts, asked me to write a girls' book. Said I'd try.
>
> F[uller] asked me to be the editor of *Merry's Museum.* Said I'd try.
>
> Began at once on both new jobs, but didn't like either.

In October she wrote:



ROBERT MERRY, AND HIS YOUNG FRIENDS, SETTING OUT ON THEIR BALLOON TRAVELS.

GEOGRAPHY TAUGHT PAINLESSLY

Once in the sky and floating over the countries of the world, the members of the party would talk fluently of the rivers, mountains, cities, and countries beneath them. From a woodcut in *Merry's Museum* for March, 1856.

Agreed with F. to be editor for five hundred dollars a year. Read manuscripts, write one story each month and an editorial. On the strength of this engagement went to Boston, took a room—No. 6 Hayward Place—furnished it, and set up housekeeping for myself.[3]

The book which she wrote for Roberts Brothers at Niles's request was *Little Women;* that courageous "I'll try" presaged a great success. She kept to her work for the *Museum,* however, until she went abroad in 1870. Fuller evidently required little of her. "F. pays me five hundred dollars a year for my name and some editorial work on *Merry's Museum,*" she wrote in January, 1868.[4] After she went abroad she refused Fuller's offer of ten, fifteen or twenty dollars "for any little things" she would send him.[5]

The last few years of the Museum are obscure; it was probably suspended in 1872. Such anonymities as "Hiram Hatchet," "Uncle William," "Aunt Sue," and "Robert Merry" himself were named as editors in the final years.

[3] *Louisa May Alcott, Her Life, Letters and Journals* (Boston, 1890. Edited by Ednah D. Cheney), p. 186.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 193.
[5] *Ibid.,* p. 243.

79

THE UNITED STATES CATHOLIC MAGAZINE[1]

THE Rev. Charles Ignatius White founded the *Religious Cabinet* January, 1842, in that American capital of Catholicism, Baltimore. A talent for compilation had already led Father White into the publication of the annual *Catholic Almanac,* which he had edited since 1836. He was assisted in the new venture by the Rev. James Dolan.

The *Cabinet* was composed largely of selections from religious writings. It was a sixty-four page eclectic, and sold at three dollars a year. After twelve months the name was altered to the *United States Catholic Magazine,* and it became progressively less eclectic. Some fiction of a religious cast was published, with devotional poetry, and a considerable amount of "ecclesiastical intelligence." Everything in the magazine was religious in nature; for example, the editor stated in 1846 that "mere literary criticism is never a primary object with us."[2] As the official organ of the archbishop of Baltimore, the magazine became important as an interpreter of news; and such articles as the one in January, 1845, on the anti-Catholic riots, and that on the conversion of O. A. Brownson a little later[3] are of permanent value.

The *Magazine* was illustrated by several plates each year—portraits of church dignitaries, pictures of church schools, and so forth.

In 1849 it became a weekly, without much change in the nature

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Religious Cabinet: A Monthly Periodical,* 1842; (2) *The United States Catholic Magazine: A Monthly Periodical,* 1843; (3) *The United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review,* 1844-48; (4) *The United States Catholic Magazine,* 1849.
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1842. LAST ISSUE: December 26, 1849.
PERIODICITY: Monthly 1842-48; weekly 1849. Regular annual volumes, I-VIII.
PUBLISHER: John Murphy and Company, Baltimore.
EDITOR: Charles I. White.
INDEXED in *Poole.*

[2] *U. S. Catholic Magazine,* V, 122 (March, 1846).

[3] *Ibid.,* IV, 152 (March, 1845).

of its contents; and in the following year it became the *Catholic Mirror,* which persisted until 1908.

The *United States Catholic Magazine* had no connection with the *Catholic Magazine,* also published in Baltimore 1842-47, or with the *Catholic Youth's Magazine,* Baltimore, 1857-61.

80

THE BOSTON MISCELLANY[1]

WHEN the firm of Bradbury, Soden and Company decided to undertake a monthly magazine in Boston, they came to Nathan Hale, editor of the *Daily Advertiser*, of that city, and asked him to suggest an editor for the projected periodical. Hale named his own eldest son and namesake, a graduate of Harvard, and just turned twenty-one.[2]

It was a happy suggestion. Nathan Hale, Jr., was in the very midst of Boston literary circles, and Boston was just beginning a literary dominance that was to continue for some three decades. The first number of the *Boston Miscellany*, as the new magazine was called[3] contained two poems by James Russell Lowell and one by W. W. Story, both of them Harvard classmates of the editor; two translations by Sarah Preston Everett Hale, the editor's mother; a story by Edward Everett Hale, his younger brother; and an article by his uncle, Edward Everett. Thus the editor could get out a highly creditable initial number without going outside of his family and class. Lowell makes some fun of the cover of the magazine in a contemporary letter, but he was rather proud of it all. "The figure with wings, etc.," he says

> is intended, saith the artist, to portray the Genius of Literature. But how any man in his senses could set forth such a fat, comfortable-looking fellow as the vera effigies of what is hungriest,

[1] TITLE: *Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion.*
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1842. LAST ISSUE: February, 1843.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. I, January – June, 1842; II, July – December, 1842; III (incomplete), January – February, 1843.
PUBLISHER: Bradbury, Soden and Company, Boston.
EDITORS: Nathan Hale, 1842; Henry T. Tuckerman, 1843.

[2] E. E. Hale, *Memories of a Hundred Years* (New York, 1903), p. 335.

[3] The first number (January, 1842) was issued in November, 1841. See *Letters of J. R. Lowell* (New York, 1894), I, 63. To W. A. White, Nov. 2, 1841.

leanest, empty-pursiest, and without-a-centiest on earth I am at a loss to say.[4]

But the *Miscellany* paid, or at least promised, Lowell fifteen dollars a poem.[5]

Lowell continued a *Miscellany* contributor throughout the year, or as long as Hale was editor. Perhaps his most notable contribution consisted of three articles of the "Old English Dramatists" series, but there were other prose sketches, too, and several poems, including "The Shepherd of King Admetus" and the ode beginning "In the old days of awe and keen-eyed wonder."

Hawthorne contributed "A Virtuoso's Collection" to the May number, and N. P. Willis, T. W. Parsons, W. A. Jones, and Alexander H. Everett were also writers for the magazine. Mrs. Hale's translations of German tales were among its most pleasant features. Poe's review of Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America* appeared in the November number.

The full name of the periodical was *Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion,* and it published colored fashion plates in each number, quite in the Philadelphia magazine tradition. Edward Everett Hale explained the matter well many years later:

> If Messrs. Bradbury and Soden had been questioned, they would have said, what was true, that there was no class of readers who could sustain creditably a purely literary magazine. . . . But they would have said that there were a great many factory-girls in the country for whom there was no journal of fashion. They would have said that these girls could be relied upon to float a literary magazine, if in each number there was a love-story which they would be glad to read. And I remember that there was a great glee in the counting-room when it was announced that a thousand copies of the magazine had been sold in Lowell.[6]

The music in each issue was also perhaps a concession to the factory girls. But the magazine was a handsome one, and, as has been shown, it had real literary distinction. "The most

[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, I, 70. To G. B. Loring, Sept. 20, 1842.
[6] E. E. Hale, *Lowell and His Friends* (Boston, 1899), p. 83.

classic magazine of New England," wrote W. A. Jones of it in the *Democratic Review* the next year after its decease.[7]

At the end of 1842, Hale resigned the editorship to Henry Tuckerman. The *Arcturus,* of New York, had been combined with the *Miscellany,* bringing to it such writers as E. A. Duyckinck, Charles Fenno Hoffman, and Mrs. Kirkland, as well as Elizabeth Barrett; but there were only two issues in 1843. Edwin P. Whipple's essay on Macaulay, the first appearance in print of that critic,[8] was in the last number of the magazine.

Thus one more attempt was added to the graveyard of Boston misadventures in magazinedom.

[7] *Democratic Review,* XV, 247 (September, 1844).
[8] *Correspondence of R. W. Griswold,* p. 205. Letter of Whipple to Griswold, Aug. 3, 1846.

81

THE SOUTHERN QUARTERLY REVIEW[1]

DANIEL K. WHITAKER, northern born and educated, but now a Southron of twenty years' standing and fully committed to what had come to be known as the "cause" of the South, began in January, 1842, the publication of the *Southern Quarterly Review* at New Orleans. Whitaker had already tempted fate with the monthly *Southern Literary Journal* at Charleston, South Carolina, but had given it up after about a year and a half of struggle. The new quarterly was intended to fill the gap left in southern periodical journalism after the discontinuance ten years before of the *Southern Review*, which had issued sixteen quarterly numbers in Charleston between 1828 and 1832.

Whitaker is not spoken of kindly by the few who have left printed impressions of him. Whether it was because his northern birth was resented in the editor of a magazine for Southerners, whether his northern "hustle" was repellent to the more leisurely

[1] TITLE: *The Southern Quarterly Review.*

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1842. LAST ISSUE: February, 1857.

PERIODICITY: Quarterly; semiannual volumes. [First Series]: I-XVI, January, 1842 – January, 1850 (Regular semiannual volumes 1842-48; then January, 1849, is omitted, April and July, 1849, form XV, and October, 1849, and January, 1850, form XVI). New [2d] Series: I-XII (XVII-[XXVIII]), April, 1850 – October, 1855 (April and July, 1850, form XVII; September and November, 1850, form XVIII; thereafter regular semiannual volumes with numbers for January, April, July, and October. Whole numbers dropped in 1853). New [3d] Series: I-II (XXIX-XXX), April, 1856 – February, 1857 (April and August, 1856, form XXIX; November, 1856, and February, 1857, form XXX).

PUBLISHERS: Daniel K. Whitaker, 1842-47 (in New Orleans 1842, thereafter in Charleston, S. C.); Burges and James, Charleston, 1847-50; Walker and Richards, Charleston, 1850-52; Walker and Burke, Charleston, 1853; C. Mortimer, Charleston, 1854-55; Edward H. Britton and Company, Columbia, S. C., 1856-57.

EDITORS: Daniel K. Whitaker, 1842-47; J. Milton Clapp, 1847-49; William Gilmore Simms, 1849-55; James H. Thornwell, 1856-57.

INDEXED in *Poole* and *Jones*.

REFERENCES: W. P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms* (Boston, 1892. American Men of Letters Series), *passim;* Edward R. Rogers's *Four Southern Magazines* (University of Virginia Studies in Southern Literature, 1902), pp. 61-91.

aristocracy with which he had to deal, or whether the trouble was simply an unpleasant personality, certain it is that Whitaker lacked that necessary quality of the successful editor which may be called personal magnetism. James D. B. DeBow, who was associate editor with Whitaker in 1844 and 1845 and a frequent contributor from the beginning to the end, gave Whitaker this bantering praise in his own *Review* a few years later:

> It is due to the then editor to say that he proved himself a most redoubtable canvasser for subscriptions, and has won a reputation for that sort of skill, in every counting-house or hamlet throughout the South. It is a part of tradition, that no man ever succeeded in resisting the insinuating blandishments of his manner, and that many were induced to forget they were already subscribers, from the pleasure it would give them to subscribe anew, and respond with their purses to the call of the South.[2]

By the end of his first year in New Orleans, Whitaker seems to have decided that Charleston was a better home for his review than New Orleans; at any rate, he moved it to that city in spite of protests from the region he was deserting.[3]

The *Southern Quarterly* under Whitaker was a well printed review, containing a somewhat various offering of articles. By 1846 the editor claimed a circulation of two thousand,[4] which would undoubtedly have afforded a remunerative basis for the publication if the subscribers had paid their dues faithfully; but Whitaker also stated that he was carrying ten thousand dollars of arrearages upon his books.

In its opening article, the *Quarterly* was committed to the defence of slavery, opposition to British aggression, and advocacy of states' rights and free trade. There was less of the slavery debate under Whitaker than later—a fact which may be explained by the less inflamed condition of the public mind before 1850, and also by the following editorial note which accompanied a review of Alexander McCaine's *Slavery Defended from Scripture:* "The folly and impropriety of Abolitionism . . . we con-

[2] *DeBow's Review*, IX, 125 (July, 1850).

[3] *Ibid.* "The removal from New Orleans to Charleston," says DeBow, "was regarded, to some extent, an infraction of the editor's and subscribers' treaty."

[4] *Southern Quarterly*, IX, 523 (April, 1846).

sider . . . past the cure of argument." [5] It would be difficult, however, to find a number of the *Southern Quarterly Review*, from one end of the file to the other, which does not contain some discussion, incidental or direct, of the slavery question. "E. G." has a fifty-page article on the general subject in the issue for October, 1845. The annexation of Texas was favored in October, 1844.

In literary criticism, Whitaker started out with some use of the slashing method, but soon became more conservative. Francis Lieber was lambasted in the first number, but the *Review* made it up to him in the third number in the criticism of another work; and Lieber became one of its most faithful contributors. A conservative, though generally disapproving review of the *Dial* appeared in the issue of October, 1842; two years later the transcendentalists were called "a harmless generation, dealing in sayings which they call orphic, and vague, unsubstantial analogies." [6] A later article is more severe upon Emerson and Channing.[7] The list of publications which the *Review* began in its early numbers was soon abandoned, but there were usually a few pages of short book notices at the end of each issue.

Besides the slavery debate and literary criticism, there were discussions of the tariff and other political questions, some elaborate historical articles, legal and economic essays, something of education, science and philosophy, and a few theological comments. Some of the articles were very long. The *Review* opened its career with a sixty-page article on periodicals, and in January, 1844, an unknown but ambitious writer occupied one hundred and two pages with remarks on the French Revolution. Long articles are no sin in a review, if the writer has much of importance to say; but the custom of length is apt to encourage thinness and verbosity. In this respect there is a great disparity in the *Southern Quarterly* articles. DeBow's articles on political and economic questions, Simms's discussion of Washington Allston in October, 1843, Mrs. Ellet's criticisms of European literature, and the work of Francis Lieber, Dr. J. C. Nott, D. F.

[5] *Ibid.*, III, 252 (January, 1843).
[6] *Ibid.*, VI, 259 (July, 1844).
[7] *Ibid.*, XI, 493 (April, 1847).

Jamison, Mitchell King, and many others who cannot now be identified, are of real value in certain fields. There are numbers of the *Southern Quarterly* under Whitaker which will compare well enough with numbers of even date from the file of the *North American*. But Whitaker either was not at all critical, or he had to take what he could get (probably both suppositions are true); and some numbers are so weak and wordy and superficial as to exhaust the most patient of readers. Whitaker's own articles [8] are about as bad as any. In an essay on "American Poetry" in the second number he has this tirade:

> Poetry! Why, America is *all* poetry! The pages of our Constitution—the deliberations of our sages and sires—the deeds of our patriot sires—the civilization and progress of our people—the wisdom of our laws, the greatness of our name—are all covered over with the living fire of poetry; and such poetry, too, as no single brain could conceive or pen delineate. What is the machinery of rhymes and metre, and strophes and apostrophes, compared with the living and breathing soul of the ideal made practical, which dwells within every American bosom, and sheds a halo of immortal glory over this free soil! Sickly tapers, going out in the sunshine! [9]

Whitaker was assisted in the editorial work not only by DeBow, but also (probably before DeBow's service) by George Frederick Holmes, a young Englishman who began practicing law in Charleston in 1842 and later served on the faculties of William and Mary and the University of Virginia. He wrote historical and literary articles for the *Quarterly*.

In 1847, Whitaker sold his review to a joint company organized by his printers. DeBow says Whitaker tired of soliciting new subscribers,[10] who probably afforded the chief cash income: the *Review* claimed a circulation of two thousand in 1846,[11] but a check of the paid subscriptions (which were printed, with names and amounts, in a supplement for that year) shows receipts from almost exactly half that number. Professor Trent

[8] They are identifiable only by guesswork; but with the opening article and early book notices to go by, one can be moderately sure.

[9] *Southern Quarterly*, I, 496 (April, 1842).

[10] *DeBow's Review, loc. cit.*

[11] *Southern Quarterly*, IX, 523 (April, 1846).

suggests as a further reason for the change in ownership that it was thought unbecoming that a northern-bred man should edit the leading southern review.[12] Probably certain criticisms of Calhoun brought the dissatisfaction to a point.[13]

DeBow says that six or seven thousand dollars were paid for the *Review* by the new owners, "and we have learned that much of it was raised by voluntary contributions, of fifty to one hundred dollars, made up by the friends of the South in Charleston."[14] The new editor selected was J. Milton Clapp, who had been junior editor of the Charleston *Mercury*. His opening address, in April, 1847, states his purposes to promote southern literature, defend slavery temperately but fully and without deviation, and to advocate free trade and internal improvements. Clapp was editor for two years. His numbers represent no advance over those of Whitaker; if anything, they have less of distinction and value. Certainly they lack brilliance.

In 1849 William Gilmore Simms became editor at a salary of one thousand dollars a year, not the least arduous of his duties being the collection of that amount annually from his publishers. Some of the contributors were paid, under similar conditions, at the rate of a dollar a page.[15]

The 1850 crisis in the slavery debate, and Simms's own extreme convictions, joined to bring sectional matters to the fore in the *Quarterly* during his editorship. More than once Simms was emphatic in the warning proclaimed to the North; "The writing is luminous upon their walls," he wrote in 1850, "and they still have time for safety."[16]

The far West received much attention in 1849-52, with articles on California, a new center of world interest, by Major M. C. M. Hammond, Colonel D. J. McCord, and others. "The Cuban Question" was treated by William H. Trescot in April, 1854. Major Hammond had some articles of first importance on the

12 Trent, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

13 DeBow points out that there was dissatisfaction because "several articles, highly political in their character and reflecting on distinguished public men, with hosts of admirers at the South, found place in the pages of the *Review*." This probably refers, *inter alias*, to the criticism of Calhoun in October, 1846 (X, 516).

14 *DeBow's Review, loc. cit.*

15 Trent, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

16 *Southern Quarterly*, XVIII, 232 (September, 1850).

battles of the Mexican War in 1851 numbers. Dr. Nott's theory of the disparate origins of the human family, or families, which had already been aired in the *Southern Quarterly*, continued the subject of controversy between Nott and his critics. Simms himself wrote some politics, including the article on "The Southern Convention," the end of which has just been quoted; but his leading papers were on literary subjects. Two articles on fiction, in April, 1849, and July, 1850, and others based upon Guizot's *Democracy in France* (April, 1849), Kennedy's *Life of Wirt* (April, 1850), and Tuckerman's *Essays and Essayists* (July, 1850) may be mentioned. "Summer Travel in the South" was a pleasant Simms essay in the issue for September, 1850. The number of books noticed in the department of brief reviews is extraordinary, and shows much patience on the part of Simms and his friends. The reviewing is uneven, betraying not a little prejudice and bias. An article on "Northern Periodicals Against the South" in the October, 1854, number is devoted almost wholly to a blast against *Harper's New Monthly*.

Professor Trent gives a partial list of contributors to the *Quarterly* during Simms's editorship, based upon correspondence which he has examined: it includes M. F. Maury, Brantz Mayer, G. F. Holmes, H. T. Tuckerman, W. A. Jones, Beverly Tucker, A. B. Meek, and W. J. Grayson.[17]

One C. Mortimer purchased the *Review* in 1854; whereupon the paper stock became poorer—an index to a more general deterioration. Mortimer and Simms quarrelled; [18] and while Simms remained as nominal editor through 1855, he did much less writing for the magazine. The number for October, 1854, was published in Columbia, South Carolina, "because of the prevailing epidemic in Charleston." In 1856 the *Review* was moved to the former city and placed under the editorship of the Rev. James H. Thornwell, who had been president of South Carolina College, but in that year became a professor in the Presbyterian

[17] Trent, *op. cit.*, p. 165. Other names not before mentioned herein are James H. Hammond, Joel R. Poinsett, Mrs. D. J. McCord, Father P. N. Lynch, Rev. James W. and William P. Miles, B. F. Perry, Fred A. Porcher, R. W. Gibbes, John A. Campbell, J. W. Lesesne, B. F. Porter, Henry R. Jackson, William H. Simmons, J. W. Cartwright, and W. G. Minor.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 211-12.

Theological Seminary at Columbia. Though an able writer and an ardent champion of southern political opinions, Thornwell did not have a fair chance with the *Southern Quarterly*. The mark of death was upon it, and only four numbers were issued, at irregular intervals, in Columbia. Articles on slavery and colonization, published respectively in April and November, 1856, may be mentioned.

The *Southern Quarterly Review* was not equal to its predecessor, the *Southern Review,* in the average ability shown in their respective articles; but it is an important periodical. Entertainment was seldom in any degree an aim of its writers, and many of its articles must have seemed as dull to its public as they seem to a reader today; but it certainly wielded some influence, and it reflected the thought and the feeling of the South from 1842 to 1857 strikingly and faithfully.

82

THE AMERICAN AGRICULTURIST[1]

FEW if any of the hundreds of agricultural periodicals which have been published for longer or shorter terms in the United States have had more important careers than the *American Agriculturist*. In the era of periodical expansion immediately after the Civil War, while the *Agriculturist* was under the direction of Orange Judd, it reached what was perhaps the most distinguished position ever held by an American agricultural journal.

It was founded in 1842 by A. B. and R. L. Allen, two brothers who had been engaged in the live-stock business in Buffalo. New York City was chosen as the place of publication, because here was "the seat of our great agricultural fairs, where the highest sources of information on all subjects connected with this great

[1] TITLES: (1) *The American Agriculturist*, April, 1842 – May 18, 1912; May 21, 1921-current; (2) *The Orange Judd American Agriculturist*, May 25, 1912 – May 14, 1921. (Prospectus only, July, 1848: *The American Agriculturist and Farmers' Cabinet*. Subtitles vary.)

FIRST ISSUE: April, 1842. Current.

PERIODICITY: Monthly, April, 1842 – September, 1843, 1848-51, 1856 – August, 1894; semimonthly, October, 1843 – 1847; weekly, Sept. 14, 1853-55, Sept. 1, 1894-current. I, April, 1842 – March, 1843; II, April – Dec. 15, 1843; III-X, 1844-51 (yearly volumes). Suspended 1852 – August, 1853; XI, Sept. 14, 1853 – March 8, 1854; XII, March 15, 1854 – Sept. 6, 1854; XIII, Sept. 13, 1854 – March 7, 1855; XIV, March 14, 1855 – Dec. 26, 1855; XV-LII, 1856-93 (yearly volumes); LIII, January – August, 1894; LIV, Sept. 1, 1894 – Dec. 29, 1894; LV-current, 1895-current, semiannual volumes. Octavo 1842-51; quarto 1853-current.

PUBLISHERS: George A. Peters, April – July, 1842; Saxton & Miles, August, 1842-1846; C. M. Saxton, 1847 – May, 1850; C. M. Saxton & E. Blanchard, June, 1850-1851; Allen & Company, 1853-55; Orange Judd, 1856-64; Orange Judd & Company, 1865-1921; American Agriculturist, Inc., 1921-current. (The names of various cities have appeared in the datelines of various editions, but there has always been a New York edition.)

EDITORS: A. B. Allen and R. L. Allen, 1842-51; A. B. Allen and Orange Judd, 1853-55; Orange Judd, 1856-64; George Thurber, 1864-85; F. M. Hexamer, 1885-91; Herbert Myrick, 1891-1910; Charles William Burkett, 1911-22; William H. Bullock, 1922; E. R. Eastman, 1922-current.

REFERENCES: Semicentennial Number, January, 1892 (Vol. 51); "Sixty Years Old," LXXI, iii; William E. Ogilvie, *Pioneer Agricultural Journalists* (Chicago, 1927), pp. 29-37.

interest are at hand." [2] The plan of the new publication was a large one. "Our object," said the prospectus, "is to make a work suited to every latitude and longitude in America"; and throughout its life the *Agriculturist* has grappled with the difficult task of making a national agricultural journal for a country whose variations in climate, soil, and topography would seem to forbid such an attempt. It paid attention to the South and West as well as to the East; its subtitle said it was for the "planter" as well as for the "farmer"; it promised to consider such crops as "Cotton, Sugar, Rice, Tobacco, Hemp, Indigo, Cochineal, Coffee (Tea, if it can be raised), Oranges, and Tropical Fruits." [3] At the end of its first year it boasted a "fair quota" of subscribers from every state and territory, and its patronage was widespread throughout its subsequent history.

At the first it printed more than a little material condensed from European agricultural journals, but this grew less as time went on. "The Editor's Table," with its notices of other farm papers, furnishes a fairly adequate history of the agricultural journalism of the times. There were departments for the ladies and for the boys; and some rhymes,—though little poetry. But farming was the great topic: "Our hearts are embarked in the great and glorious cause of agriculture," the editor said.[4] One of the leading contributors was Solon Robinson, who was an assistant editor and traveling correspondent in 1851.

The paper was published monthly at a dollar a year; and in order that its subscribers might preserve it by binding, it departed from the usual quarto of farm journals and adopted the royal octavo size. It prospered moderately from the first, and claimed a circulation of ten thousand—large for those days—at the end of its second year. In 1848 it absorbed Josiah Tatum's *Farmer's Cabinet and American Herd Book* of Philadelphia.

In 1852 a radical change was attempted. The Allens, who had been editing but not publishing the *Agriculturist,* had gone into the implement business, and in January, 1852, started the *Plow,*

[2] *American Agriculturist,* I, 2 (April, 1842). The phrase is quoted from a resolution passed by the Board of Agriculture of the American Institute of the City of New York.

[3] *Ibid.,* I, 2, (April 1842).

[4] *Ibid.,* I, 353 (March, 1843).

with Solon Robinson as editor, at fifty cents a year.[5] Having purchased the *Agriculturist,* they merged it in the new paper. But this arrangement did not last, and in September, 1853, the *Agriculturist* was resumed, after a suspension of twenty months, as a weekly of quarto size.

Of paramount importance at this juncture was the introduction of Orange Judd, a young agricultural chemist, as co-editor with A. B. Allen. Judd almost at once made the *Agriculturist* a valuable contribution to scientific farming, and its circulation rose as his fame increased, though it was probably not a paying venture for some years. He became agricultural editor of the New York *Times* in 1855; and in the next year he became sole owner and editor of the *Agriculturist,* which had a circulation of 812, paying $226 for it. He immediately changed it back to a monthly. He inaugurated a German edition of his paper in 1858, and in the following year swore to a circulation of 45,125. The use of premiums to stimulate circulation was becoming popular at that time, and Judd offered seeds, pieces of the broken Atlantic cable, microscopes, and sewing machines for subscription clubs; later he offered melodeons, farm implements, and even fancy livestock. By the end of 1864 he claimed a circulation of a hundred thousand and raised his subscription price to a dollar and a half, with the advertising rate at a dollar an agate line. Advertising occupied a fourth of the *Agriculturist's* pages in the sixties, and—something exceptional for that day—was censored. The editor's activity in combatting fraud, his popularization of scientific knowledge, and his enterprise in promoting new methods earned him a high place in agricultural journalism.

Judd was a man of many activities. During the war he was a sanitary officer; afterward he was the chief projector of the New York & Flushing Railroad and president of the company; he was the founder of the sorghum industry; he devised the schematized Sunday-School lessons which developed into the International system; he was active in the affairs of Wesleyan University, of which he was an alumnus and a benefactor. In the meanwhile he had turned the editorship of the *Agriculturist* over to Pro-

[5] The *Plow* took the place of the *New York Agricultor and Farm and Garden,* which Allen & Company had been publishing but which they now suspended.

fessor George Thurber, a botanist from Michigan Agricultural College, and had organized the Orange Judd Company to publish the *Agriculturist* and *Hearth and Home* (of which latter his brother Henry W. Judd became editor) and to issue scientific books. The *Agriculturist* developed a voracious appetite for competitors, absorbing twenty-six of them in the thirty years before 1872.[6] Its circulation in 1869 was quoted by Rowell at 160,000, which equalled the combined lists of any six of its rivals. It emphasized not only scientific authority, but practicality: "Every member of our staff lives upon a farm and works with his own hands," it said in 1870. Joseph Harris's "Walks and Talks" were a valuable feature, and the Rev. William Clift's "Timothy Bunker" papers were also prized. Mason C. Weld, A. S. Fuller, Byron D. Halsted, and Henry Stewart were on the editorial staff. From the first the *Agriculturist* had featured its woodcuts, and by 1870 it had attained real distinction in these embellishments.[7] "The best journal of its sort in the world," said the *Printer's Circular* sincerely in 1868.[8]

But in the seventies the competition of the sectional farm papers bore hard upon the *Agriculturist,* and its circulation went down. In 1883 Orange Judd withdrew from the company which continued to bear his name to go to Chicago to manage the *Prairie Farmer;* five years later he, with his sons, bought the St. Paul *Farmer,* changed its name to the *Orange Judd Farmer,* and moved it to Chicago, where Judd managed it until his death in 1892. Meantime D. W. Judd, another brother of Orange, succeeded him as president of the Orange Judd Company and served in that capacity until his death in 1888. It was at this juncture that the *Agriculturist* was purchased by the owners of the *New England Homestead* of Springfield, Massachusetts, who issued it from that city while retaining New York with Springfield in the date-line. In 1894 they made it a weekly. The *Homestead* eventually bought the *Orange Judd Farmer* of Chicago also and divided the three papers up into as many as thirteen different editions for various sections of the whole country,

[6] *American Agriculturist,* XLVI, 1. Supplement to November, 1887.

[7] See comment on the *Agriculturist's* wood engraving in the *Aldine,* III, 92 (August, 1870).

[8] *Printers' Circular,* III, 211 (September, 1868).

trying by such means to keep the features of both a national and a local farm paper. The aggregate circulation of these editions was over half a million in 1917. Herbert Myrick's name was the chief one connected with the *Agriculturist* from 1890 to 1910; he was both owner and president of the company during most of that time.

During the period after Orange Judd left the paper and before the localization scheme was begun the *Agriculturist* did much to encourage experimental farming, and crop contests. It continued to publish "Walks and Talks" until Harris's death the same year as that in which Orange Judd died; it printed articles by Asa Gray on insect and plant fertilization, George E. Waring's Ogden Farm papers, and Frank G. Carpenter's series on farming in eastern countries. From the beginning of Myrick's editorship in 1891 much attention was given to political discussion.

In 1921 the *Agriculturist* recovered its identity and its original name (it had been called the *Orange Judd American Agriculturist* during part of the multi-edition experiment) under a reorganized publishing company called "The American Agriculturist, Inc." E. R. Eastman has been editor since 1922, and the publication office has been New York.

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MISS LESLIE'S MAGAZINE AND *ARTHUR'S LADIES' MAGAZINE*[1]

A TYPICAL literary character of the first half of the nineteenth century was Miss Eliza Leslie. She was a daughter of Robert Leslie, a Scotch watchmaker and mechanical genius who listed Franklin, Rush, and Barton among his friends, and a sister of the portrait painter Charles R. Leslie. Eliza early wrote schoolgirl verses, which she fortunately burned; her first success was with a cookbook. She followed this up with other cookbooks, and with a series of juvenile tales. But she won a prize in an early number of *Godey's* with her story, "Mrs. Washington Potts," and from that time on she was most popular as a writer of sketches and stories. Her forte was the depiction of quaint or semi-humorous characters against a background of a rather primitive society. Always interested in social behavior, she came to be counted an authority on etiquette and propriety. (See portrait facing page 546.)

Miss Leslie had passed her fifty-fifth birthday when she undertook the editorship of a monthly magazine in January, 1843. *"Miss Leslie's Magazine!"* exclaimed the publisher in his prospectus. "There is something in the very name that foretokens a prosperous career. It is a name associated with the pleasantest passages of our current American literature—with the most brilliant triumphs of our most brilliant periodicals." In the second number the publisher was even more exuberant, assuring his

[1] TITLES: (1) *Miss Leslie's Magazine; Home Book of Fashion, Literature and Domestic Economy,* 1843; (2) *The Ladies' Magazine of Literature, Fashion and the Fine Arts,* 1844 (Half title and caption in January: *Miss Leslie's Magazine*); (3) *Arthur's Ladies' Magazine of Elegant Literature and the Fine Arts,* 1845-46. (Caption August, 1844 – July, 1846: *Arthur's Magazine.*)

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1843. LAST ISSUE: July, 1846.

PERIODICITY: Monthly. Regular semiannual volumes. I-II, of *Miss Leslie's Magazine;* I-IV, of the *Ladies' Magazine,* and four numbers of Vol. V.

PUBLISHERS: Morton McMichael (?), January, 1843 – January, 1844; E. Ferrett and Company, February, 1844 – July, 1846.

EDITORS: Eliza Leslie, 1843; T. S. Arthur, February, 1844 – July, 1846.

readers that the magazine was already a great success in every way. It was handsomely printed after the style of *Graham's* and *Godey's,* with at least two engraved plates in each issue, and with N. P. Willis, T. S. Arthur, Morton McMichael, Mrs. Lydia Sigourney, and Mrs. S. C. Hall assisting Miss Leslie as the leading contributors.

But whether Miss Leslie wearied of the editorial grind, or whether, as is more likely, the rosy prospects of February had given place to more dismal financial realizations of December, certain it is that she retired at the end of the year, and that after an interregnum of one month, T. S. Arthur became editor of the newly christened *Ladies' Magazine of Literature, Fashion and the Fine Arts* in February, 1844. Arthur had come to Philadelphia from Baltimore three years before, filled with the desire to write, to edit, and to publish—a desire that he proceeded to gratify extensively. He had attracted attention already by his temperance tales in *Godey's* and other magazines—forerunners of his more famous *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room*—and had published two collections of such stories before he became editor of the *Ladies' Magazine.*

Arthur was an active editor, bringing many of the better known magazinists of the times into his pages. Longfellow's "The Village Blacksmith" appeared in the August, 1844, number, illustrated by a poor woodcut. Willis contributed occasionally, with Park Benjamin, J. G. Percival, and A. J. H. Duganne. Miss S. A. Hunt furnished sentimental short stories, and Mrs. Ellet sent many translations from the German. And Arthur himself wrote and wrote.

All his writing, and all his editorial activity, however, did not save the magazine; and in July, 1846, it was merged into *Godey's Lady's Book,* with many compliments to Arthur, who was again welcomed as a *Godey* contributor. A few years later Arthur was to make another and more successful magazine attempt of his own.

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THE PIONEER[1]

(Lowell's)

IN 1843, when James Russell Lowell was young, in love with the idealistic and poetical Maria White, and filled with ambitions for literary success and ideas to renovate the world, he devoted himself for a short time to a project for the establishment of a magazine of higher literary tone than any which had yet appeared in America. Young Nathan Hale's *Boston Miscellany* had just come a cropper; but that counted for nothing, since the *Miscellany* had in some degree surrendered to the powers of darkness in the shape of fashion plates and other gewgaws dear to the rabble.

Associated with Lowell in the venture was Robert Carter, later an editor of *Appleton's Journal,* but now a young man of Lowell's age living in Cambridge. The two youths entered into a contract with Leland & Whiting, of Boston, by which Lowell and Carter were to furnish five hundred copies of the new magazine to the publishers on the twentieth of each month at a stated price under penalty of five hundred dollars forfeit, Leland & Whiting to dispose of them at a profit if possible.[2] The prospectus which was thereupon issued states so frankly the high ideals of the young editors, and its promises were, moreover, so well performed, that it is quoted here:

The contents of each number will be entirely Original, and will consist of articles chiefly from American authors of the highest reputation.

[1] TITLE: *The Pioneer.*
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1843. LAST ISSUE: March, 1843.
PERIODICITY: Three monthly numbers only.
PUBLISHERS: Leland and Whiting, Boston.
EDITORS: James Russell Lowell and Robert Carter.
REFERENCE: Horace E. Scudder, *James Russell Lowell* (Boston, 1901), I, 99-114.

[2] George E. Woodberry, "Lowell's Letters to Poe," in *Scribner's Magazine,* XVI, 171 (August, 1894).

The object of the Subscribers in establishing the *Pioneer,* is to furnish the intelligent and reflecting portion of the Reading Public with a rational substitute for the enormous quantity of thrice-diluted trash, in the shape of namby-pamby love tales and sketches, which is monthly poured out to them by many of our popular magazines,—and to offer instead thereof, a healthy and manly Periodical Literature, whose perusal will not necessarily involve a loss of time and a deterioration of every moral and intellectual faculty.

The Critical Department of the *Pioneer* will be conducted with great care and impartiality, and while satire and personality will be sedulously avoided, opinions of merit and demerit will be candidly and fearlessly expressed.

The *Pioneer* will be issued punctually on the day of publication, in the principal cities of the Union. Each number will contain 48 pages, royal octavo, double columns, handsomely printed on fine paper, and will be illustrated with Engravings of the highest character, both on wood and steel.

Terms: Three Dollars a year, payable, in all cases, in advance. The usual discount made to Agents. . . .[3]

When the first number appeared in January, 1843, it bore upon its cover a motto from Francis Bacon: "Reform, therefore, without bravery or scandal of former times and persons; but yet set it down to thyself as well to create good precedents as to follow them." In Lowell's "Introduction" he continues in somewhat the same strain as that of the prospectus; pleading, in addition, for a literature which should really speak for America—not a national literature, to be sure, but a natural literature of America. In this first number were poems from Jones Very, T. W. Parsons, and Lowell himself; art criticism by I. B. Wright; musical comment by J. S. Dwight; book reviews by the editors; Poe's "The Tell-Tale Heart"; and an "Old English Dramatists" paper by Lowell. It was an excellent initial number, beautifully printed, and carrying engravings by Joseph Andrews.

The *Pioneer* was greeted by lively commendations from most of the newspaper press. The *Brother Jonathan,* however, printed a criticism by Willis which is interesting because it appears to be a reaction to the indictment of cheap periodicals expressed in

[3] Quoted in Scudder, *op. cit.,* I, 99-100.

the prospectus, and also because it lays down a principle which has much truth in it:

> J. R. Lowell, a man of original and decided genius, has started a monthly magazine in Boston. The first number lies before us, and it justifies our expectations, viz.:—that a man of genius, who is merely a man of genius, is a very unfit editor for a periodical. A man of taste and common sense is worth twenty men of genius for any such undertaking. In the first number of the *Pioneer* are half a dozen articles which will fall still-born . . . yet they are articles of a very refined and elevated character.[4]

Willis later told Lowell that he wrote this article "as the most judicious way of helping the magazine,"[5]—a sophistry which seems to have been accepted.

Shortly after the first number was out, Lowell was forced to go to New York to have his eyes treated, and the burden of the work was left to Carter. The second number was perhaps below the first in merit, but it too was notable, containing Parsons, Neal, Dwight, and Lowell again, as well as Hawthorne's "Hall of Fantasy." Lowell was still held in New York as the third number was being prepared, and such was the state of his eyes that he was unable to be of much help. His letters to Carter are almost frenzied.[6] In the third number appeared Hawthorne's "The Birthmark," Poe's "Notes upon English Verse," and verse by Whittier, W. W. Story, and Elizabeth Barrett. At the end of this number for March the following announcement appeared:

> The absence of any prose in the present number of the *Pioneer* from the pen of Mr. Lowell, and the apparent neglect of many letters and contributions addressed to him personally, will be sufficiently explained by stating that, since the tenth of January, he has been in the city of New York in attendance upon Dr. Elliot, the distinguished oculist, who is endeavoring to cure him of a severe disease of the eyes, and that the medical treatment to which he is necessarily subjected precludes the use of his sight except to a very limited extent. He will, however, probably be enabled, in time for the

[4] Quoted on the cover of the *Pioneer* for February.
[5] Scudder, *op. cit.*, I, 112.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

fourth number, to resume his essays on the Poets and Dramatists, and his general supervision of the magazine. R.C.

But there was no fourth number. "The March number was eight days late," writes Woodberry,

and the publishers, in the face of what was probably seen to be an unfortunate speculation, claimed the forfeit but offered to waive it if the contract should be altered so as to require them to take only so many copies as they could sell. The result was that the editors were obliged to stop printing from a lack of credit, and were left with a large indebtedness for manufacture as well as to contributors.[7]

They had expected to pay ten dollars an article, or two dollars a page for short pieces, for which Lowell had promised his personal credit. He was eighteen hundred dollars in debt when the magazine was abandoned,[8] and this debt crippled him financially for several years.[9]

Thus ended a high-souled adventure in magazinedom, garroted by the cord of a commercial contract. Willis had already written the magazine's epitaph.

[7] Woodberry, *loc. cit.*

[8] George Willis Cooke, *John Sullivan Dwight* (Boston, 1898), p. 70. See also Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[9] See C. E. Norton, *Letters of James Russell Lowell* (New York, 1894), I, 73, 82.

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THE BIBLIOTHECA SACRA [1]

ANDOVER Theological Seminary was founded in 1808 as a protest against Unitarianism in the Harvard Divinity School, and as a representative of orthodox Calvinism. It is such a position that the *Bibliotheca Sacra* represents.

In February, 1843, Edward Robinson, the philologist and topographer of the Holy Land, issued in New York the first number of this review. Professor Robinson's researches in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German, however, crowded out his work on the new quarterly, after he had issued but three numbers in New York, and he handed it over, with its pleasures and liabilities, to his friend, Professor Edwards of Andover.[2] Edwards associated himself with his colleague Edwards A. Park, and until the former's death in 1852, these two men edited the quarterly, giving it a high standard for scholarship and ability in contro-

[1] TITLES: (1) *Bibliotheca Sacra; or, Tracts and Essays on Topics Connected with Biblical Literature and Theology,* 1843; (2) *Bibliotheca Sacra and Theological Review,* 1844-50; (3) *Bibliotheca Sacra,* 1851-70, 1876-94; (4) *Bibliotheca Sacra and Theological Eclectic,* 1871-75; (5) *Bibliotheca Sacra. A Religious and Sociological Quarterly,* 1895-current.

FIRST ISSUE: February, 1843. Current.

PERIODICITY: The numbers for February, May, and December, 1843, constitute a first, or preliminary series; the serial numbering of the regular file does not begin until 1844. Quarterly, with annual volumes, regularly, beginning with 1844. (LXXVIII has only three numbers, the third being for July – October, 1921.)

PUBLISHERS: Allen, Merrill and Wardwell (Andover), 1844-49; W. F. Draper (Andover), 1850-83; E. J. Goodrich (Oberlin), 1884-94; Bibliotheca Sacra Co. (Oberlin), 1895-1921; Bibliotheca Sacra Co. (St. Louis), 1922-current.

EDITORS: Edward Robinson, 1843; Bela B. Edwards and Edwards A. Park, 1844-52; Edwards A. Park and S. H. Taylor, 1852-71; Edwards A. Park and George E. Day, 1871-83; G. Frederick Wright, 1884-1921, with Judson Smith (1884), W. H. Ballantyne (1884-91), Frank H. Foster (1885-92), Z. Swift Holbrook (1894-99); Melvin Grove Kyle, 1922-current, "under the editorial supervision of Xenia Theological Seminary."

INDEX *to Vols. I-XXX,* Andover, 1874.

REFERENCE: Edwards A. Park, *The Writings of Professor B. B. Edwards with a Memoir of His Life* (Boston, 1853).

[2] Robinson had followed the same course with the *Biblical Repository,* having started it in 1831, only to turn it over to Edwards in 1834.

versy. This reputation Park sustained and increased during the remainder of the *Bibliotheca's* life at Andover. Of course he did not do this single-handed, for besides his co-editors Samuel H. Taylor and George E. Day, he had as associates such theologians as Moses Stuart, Henry B. Smith, J. M. Sherwood, W. G. T. Shedd, Austin Phelps, and Barnas Sears.[3]

Soon after it was started Orestes A. Brownson, newly turned Catholic, wrote of the *Bibliotheca* in his *Quarterly Review:*

> It is the most elaborate, erudite and authoritative organ of the Puritan or Calvinistic denomination of Protestants we are acquainted with, though it wants the lively and interesting character of the *New Englander*. . . . It is able, but on the whole rather heavy. It appears to be made up, in great part, from translations, learning, and ideas from the modern Rationalists, Supernaturalists and Evangelicals of Germany.[4]

The characterization is excellent. The review long bore a reputation for dullness—even for deadness, if we may take the word of Mark Twain, who refers to it as "that literary museum."[5] But it was not made for Mark: "It will endeavor to consult the needs of theological students and clergymen," said its first prospectus; and the *Index* of 1874 contained lists of Greek and Hebrew terms used in its learned pages. As to Brownson's observations on the *Bibliotheca's* denominationalism, it must be noted that while it remained Calvinistic in management, and was of course particularly hospitable to Calvinistic articles, it came at length to a very liberal understanding of its duties as a great review. In 1857 appeared the statement: "This review is not sectarian or partisan; it is the organ of no school or clique; it is a library of essays which represent the views of differing theologians attached to different evangelical denominations."[6] Throughout the sixties it published a series of papers summing up the theologies of the different sects, each written by a leader

[3] Other associate editors while the review remained at Andover were D. H. Allen, S. G. Brown, J. N. Putnam, Charles M. Mead, H. B. Hackett, D. W. Simon, S. I. Curtis, Calvin E. Stowe, E. P. Barrows, Joseph P. Thompson.

[4] *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, II, 442 (October, 1845).

[5] *New Princeton Review*, V, 49 (January, 1888).

[6] *Bibliotheca Sacra*, XIV, 460 (April, 1857).

in his own denomination—Whedon for the Methodists, Bishop Burgess for the Episcopalians, Atwater for the Old School and George Duffield for the New School Presbyterians, and so on. This series heightened the *Bibliotheca's* reputation. The *British Quarterly Review* said in 1871 that the articles of the *Bibliotheca* "are generally marked by a high style of ability and thoroughness. . . . The spirit of its management is exceedingly liberal." The English observer called the *Bibliotheca* and the *Princeton Review* "the two most powerful reviews."[7] For many years the two were pitted against each other in theological controversy.

In 1871 the *Theological Eclectic* was merged with the *Bibliotheca Sacra.* The *Eclectic* was, as its subtitle explains, "a repertory chiefly of foreign theological literature; a series of papers selected from the periodical and other literature of Great Britain, France, Germany, Holland, etc." It was edited by George E. Day, Dean of the Yale Divinity School. The *Bibliotheca Sacra* had already absorbed the *Biblical Repository,* which Edwards had formerly conducted. in 1851; and in 1864 it took in the *Christian Review.*

In the eighties came the dissensions at Andover, followed by the trials for heresy before ecclesiastical and civil courts of the president and part of the faculty; and the *Bibliotheca Sacra* was sent westward into the quieter halls of Oberlin.[8] There it was under the editorship of G. Frederick Wright, a scholar of varied attainments, especially in theology and geology. While it kept to the views that had become its tradition, it grew more western in tone and management. Besides the Oberlin co-editors named in our bibliographical note, such men as Charles F. Thwing, Newell Dwight Hillis, Frank Gunsaulus, and H. W. Magoun were associates.[9] For the last third of its long life (as lives run among magazines) it has been less a professional journal and more what the subtitle (adopted in 1895) says: "A Religious and

[7] *British Quarterly Review,* LIII, 8 (January, 1871).

[8] Immediately after the departure of the *Bibliotheca,* the *Andover Review* was started in December, 1883, and continued through 1893 (Vols. 1-19). Its prospectus declared for "progressive orthodoxy." It ended with the "Andover controversy."

[9] Also Wm. Barbour, E. C. Bissell, F. B. Denis, B. J. Curtis, J. E. Dwinnell, C. V. Spear, A. A. Berle, W. E. Barton, E. H. Johnson, E. W. Bemis, Jacob Cooper, Jas. Lindsay, Hugh M. Scott, H. A. Stimson, W. E. Park, John E. Wishart, A. S. Root, W. H. G. Thomas, Geo. E. Hall, L. F. Gruber.

Sociological Quarterly." The World War made life difficult for it as for most magazines. In 1921 it was made over to the faculty of Xenia Theological Seminary, a United Presbyterian Institution now located at St. Louis, where it is under the editorship of Melvin Grove Kyle.

"That prince of theological quarterlies!" the *Lutheran Review* called it in 1871.[10] For eighty years, and especially during its Andover period, it had exercised a very great influence upon biblical scholarship and theology, and, sometimes more indirectly, upon the life of New England and of the West. The *North American Review's* prophecy of 1864 that the *Bibliotheca's* volumes issued before that time "will possess a permanent historical interest and importance" appears to have been sound.[11]

[10] *Lutheran Review*, N.S. I, 9 (January, 1871). The *Review* evidently got the phrase from the *Lutheran Observer*, which had uttered its praise of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* in the same words three years before.

[11] *North American*, XCVIII, 87ff. (January, 1864). A highly laudatory comment.

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THE COLUMBIAN LADY'S AND GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE[1]

JOHN INMAN was a brother of the famous portrait printer, Henry Inman. He was a contributor to many of the periodicals of the day, and served in editorial capacities on several of them. He succeeded William L. Stone as editor of the New York *Commercial Advertiser,* one of the chief newspapers of that city.

Shortly before he assumed this last responsibility he had been chosen by the publisher Israel Post as editor of a new magazine. The *Columbian Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine* was designed as a competitor of *Graham's,* which had just made a phenomenal success. It was modeled upon *Graham's* in format, and drew upon many of the same contributors.

H. T. Tuckerman was one of the magazine's most prized writers; his "Thoughts on the Poets" ran through 1844 and 1845, and his "Leaves from a Dreamer's Diary" through 1846 and 1847. James K. Paulding, Park Benjamin, John Neal, T. S. Arthur, Thomas Buchanan Read, Charles Fenno Hoffman, and Alfred B. Street were familiar in the *Columbian's* pages. There were also the leading female magazinists of the times: Mrs. E. F. Ellet, Lydia Maria Child, "Fanny Forrester," Elizabeth Oakes Smith, Catherine M. Sedgwick, Mrs. Osgood, Mrs. Kirkland, Mrs. Sigourney, and so on. Poe's "To ——— ——— ———," beginning

[1] TITLE: *The Columbian Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine, Embracing Literature in Every Department: Embellished with the Finest Steel and Mezzotint Engravings, Music and Colored Fashions.* (Half title and running head: *The Columbian Magazine.*)

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1844. LAST ISSUE: February, 1849.

PERIODICITY: Monthly. I-VIII, 1844-47, regular semiannual volumes: IX, 1848, twelve numbers; X, January, February, 1849, incomplete in two numbers.

PUBLISHERS: Israel Post, New York, 1844-46; Ormsby and Hackett, New York, 1847-49.

EDITORS: John Inman, 1844; John Inman and Robert A. West, 1845 – April, 1848; Stephen M. Chester, May – December, 1848; Darius Mead, 1849.

> Not long ago the writer of these lines,
> In the mad pride of intellectuality,

appeared in the number for March, 1848.[2]

Inman wrote much for the magazine himself, and is said once to have written an entire number of it.[3] Robert A. West became associated with him in the editorship in 1845, and also contributed copiously. Post disposed of the magazine at the beginning of 1847 to Ormsby and Hackett, and a few months later joined Mrs. Kirkland in founding the *Union Magazine*. Inman and West withdrew in 1848, to be succeeded by Stephen M. Chester for a few months, and then by the Rev. Darius Mead, founder of the *Christian Parlor Magazine*. Mead had the task for only two numbers in 1849, when the magazine was discontinued.

The *Columbian* published two mezzotints and a colored fashion plate in each number for the first two years, but in 1846 it renounced the fashions. Thomas Doney, S. H. Gimber, H. S. Sadd, and A L Dick were among the engravers. A piece of music also appeared in each number.

[2] *Columbian*, IX, 138
[3] Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, II, 244.

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THE CHRISTIAN PARLOR MAGAZINE[1]

THE *Christian Parlor Magazine* was a part of the movement by which the religious press attempted to compete with the lady's books and popular family magazines of the time. It aimed to "combat the overwhelming flood of impure and corrupting literature, which has come in upon us."[2] It looked very like *Graham's,* and was well illustrated. For some time, each number contained a plate of a Bible scene by Prud'homme and one other plate—a landscape by James Smillie, a flower plate colored by hand, or (later) a full-page woodcut. It also published a piece of music with each issue. Thus its "embellishments" were, in general, those of the average lady's book.

The Rev. Darius Mead was the founder. In the magazine's second year he enlisted the aid of the Rev. Dorus Clarke, who had been engaged in editorial work at Boston. In 1847, the Rev. Joel T. Headley, who had been on the staff of the New York *Tribune,* and who was later to achieve a considerable reputation as a historian and biographer, took over the editorship. The periodical is sometimes called "Headley's Magazine."

Among the contributors were the indefatigable Mrs. Sigourney, the brothers Jacob and J. S. C. Abbott, T. S. Arthur, Lyman Beecher, Noah Porter, Anne C. Lynch and Richard Henry Stoddard. This is a distinguished but rather preachy list, and the tendency of the magazine is almost wholly didactic. In its later

[1] TITLES: *Christian Parlor Magazine,* 1844-49; *Christian Parlor Book,* 1849-54. FIRST ISSUE: May, 1844. LAST ISSUE: April, 1854.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. Annual volumes beginning in May of one year and ending in April of the following year, I-X.
PUBLISHERS (all New York): Darius Mead, 1844-47; George Pratt, 1847-52; James H. Pratt, 1852-54.
EDITORS: Darius Mead, 1844-45; Darius Mead and Dorus Clarke, 1845-47; Joel T. Headley, 1847-54 (?).

[2] *Christian Parlor Magazine,* I, 2 (May, 1844).

volumes it relented somewhat in the antagonism to fiction which characterized its earlier years.

The volumes were sometimes bound up to use as gift books, with the title "Gems for the Fireside."

It was a rather good magazine—too terribly "good," in fact.

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LITTELL'S LIVING AGE[1]

"THE veteran Littell!" exclaimed the New York *Times* in 1853.[2]

> Age cannot wither nor custom stale
> His infinite variety!

Though pleased, of course, by the reference of the *Times* to his periodical, Littell was a little nettled by the reference to his age in this notice. He was in fact less than sixty, and he had before him seventeen years more of service on the periodical which he had founded, before death should force him to relinquish it entirely to his son. The *Living Age* was only nine years old, but the young writer on the *Times* had probably been reading other eclectic periodicals edited by Eliakim Littell and his brother in

1 TITLES: (1) *Littell's Living Age*, 1844-96; (2) *The Living Age*, 1897-current.
FIRST ISSUE: May 11, 1844. Current.
PERIODICITY: Weekly, 1844-1927; monthly, 1927-current. Octavo: royal I-XXXVI, medium XXXVII-current. Voluming: I, May 11 – Aug. 3, 1844 (May 18 omitted); II, Aug. 10 – October, 1844; III, November – December, 1844; IV-current, four volumes yearly (three months to volume). Series: [First Series]: I-XXXVI, 1844 – March, 1853; Second Series: I-XX (whole number XXXVII-LVI), April, 1853 – March, 1858; Third Series: I-XXXII (whole number LVII-LXXXVIII), April, 1858 – March, 1866; Fourth Series: I-XXVII (whole number LXXXIX-CXV), April, 1866 – 1872; Fifth Series: I-LXXXIV (whole number CXVI-CXCIX), 1873-93; Sixth Series: I-XIX (whole number CC-CCXVIII), 1894 – September, 1898; Seventh Series: I-LXIX (whole number CCXIX-CCLXXXVII), October, 1898 – 1915; Eighth Series: I-current (whole number CCLXXXVIII-current), 1916-current.
PUBLISHERS (all Boston): T. H. Carter & Company, 1844-45; Waite, Peirce & Company, 1845-46; E. Littell & Company, 1846-53, 1879-96; Littell, Son & Company, 1853-66; Littell & Gay, 1867-79; The Living Age Company, 1896-current.
EDITORS: Eliakim Littell, 1844-70; Robert S. Littell, 1870-96; Frank Foxcroft, 1896 (?)-1919; Ellery Sedgwick, 1919; Henry Sheahan and Victor S. Clark, 1920; Victor S. Clark, 1920-current.
INDEX: Edward Roth, *A Complete Index to Littell's Living Age* [Vols. I-C only, 1844-68. Issued in 21 parts]. Also indexed in *Poole, Poole Abridged, Readers' Guide, Library Index, Cumulative, Jones' Index of Legal Periodicals, and Contents-Subject Index.*

2 Quoted in Preface to Volume XXXVII (2d. Ser. I), 1853.

Philadelphia or Boston ever since babyhood; for Littell had entered the business of making up American magazines from "the cream of foreign literature" as early as 1818, when he was just turned twenty-one.[3]

In 1844 Littell had disposed of his interest in the *Museum of Foreign Literature* at Philadelphia, and had gone to Boston to begin the *Living Age*, "under the cordial approval and encouragement," we are assured, "of Judge Story, Chancellor Kent, Mr. Prescott, John Quincy Adams, and other leading men of taste and judgment."[4] With the patronage of these great men, and under the skilful scissors of Littell, the new weekly had prospered. It appears never to have attained a large circulation, keeping well below ten thousand until 1880, and not much above that figure thereafter; but with nothing to pay for contributions beyond the price of subscriptions to English periodicals, the *Living Age* could subsist on a smaller list than could many of its contemporaries. When Eliakim Littell died in 1870, his son Robert, who had been trained in his father's publishing rooms and had been for some years a partner, took up the editorship without altering the policy of the weekly in the least.

That policy provided for the printing of sixty-four pages of varied material, chiefly from British periodicals, each week. There was some poetry, and a liberal allowance of fiction. The more famous English novelists, however, commonly sold their advance sheets to other American periodicals, and there is a great deal of second and third class fiction in the *Living Age*. It was the more serious material from the *Edinburgh*, the *Quarterly*, the *Westminster*, *Blackwood's*, *Fraser*, and later the *Cornhill* that was responsible for the great appeal of *Littell's*. It was never heavy, however, the lighter weeklies such as Dickens' *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, Bentley's *Temple Bar* and Trollope's *St. Paul's* being freely drawn upon. Weeklies, too, as the *Athenæum* and the *Saturday Review* were regularly laid under tribute, and even newspapers were quoted. There was a special effort made, of course, to select material which would interest

[3] See p. 306, *supra*.

[4] *Living Age*, CV, 706 (June 18, 1870). The commendations of these men are quoted in advertisements.

American readers; and nearly all the comment of British periodicals on American affairs appeared in the *Living Age*.

Robert Littell died in 1896, after a quarter century of editorship, and Frank Foxcroft came into control of the property. The scope of the weekly was thereupon somewhat broadened. For two years there was a supplement containing material from American magazines and new books, and for two years longer an appendix from new books alone. In 1898 the *Living Age's* New York rival, the *Eclectic Magazine,* was consolidated with it (as *Every Saturday* had been many years earlier), and thereafter until 1900 there was both a monthly and a weekly edition of the *Living Age,* the former being a continuation of the *Eclectic*. A department of notes on books and authors was added to the weekly fare in 1897.

The Atlantic Monthly Company purchased the *Living Age* (which had dropped the name *Littell's* on Robert Littell's death) from Colonel Du Pont in 1919, though the name of the publisher remained as formerly "The Living Age Company." After brief periods of editorship by Ellery Sedgwick, president of the company, and Henry Sheahan, Victor S. Clark succeeded to the editorial chair. The scope and variety of sources was broadened, selections being made from the periodical literature of France, Germany, Italy, and Spain—and latterly from that of oriental countries as well. It was made a monthly in 1927.

"Few men," wrote the literary historiographer Allibone, "have laboured so long and so successfully in the great cause of public education, and few therefore are so well entitled to the gratitude of their countrymen" [5] as Eliakim Littell. The same tribute may perhaps be paid to two other conductors of the *Living Age,* each of whom guided its fortunes for about a quarter century—Robert S. Littell and Frank Foxcroft. The file of this periodical at the end of 1928 consisted of 338 quarterly volumes, usually of 824 pages each. It is difficult to open any volume without coming upon articles which are readable and arresting even today; and the mass of material—now piling up well toward a second hundred million words—is of inestimable value to the student.

[5] Allibone, *Critical Dictionary of English Literature,* article on Littell.

THE AMERICAN WHIG REVIEW[1]

THE first number of the *Whig Review,* though it bore the date of January, 1845, was "issued preliminarily in the autumn." It was not uncommon for a new magazine to issue a preliminary number in order to make its bid for future patronage during the regular subscription season in November and December, but there was an additional reason for the publication of the *Whig Review* at the latter end of October. Henry Clay was a candidate for president against James K. Polk, and one of the chief purposes of the new magazine was to help elect all good Whigs, and Henry Clay, of course, in particular. But Clay went down in defeat, which was an unkind welcome for the bantling review. The party in defeat needed an organ of opinion, however, more than it would have had Clay been elected. Its leaders felt the necessity for a Whig journal to correspond to their opponents' *Democratic Review.* Some of the leading Whig members of the Twenty-Seventh Congress had signed their names to the following resolution:

> Earnestly approving the plan of such a National organ, long needed and of manifest importance, the undersigned agree to contribute for its pages, from time to time, such communications as may be necessary to set forth and defend the doctrines held by the United Whig Party of the Union.[2]

[1] TITLES: (1) *The American Review: A Whig Journal of Politics, Literature, Art and Science,* 1845-47; (2) *The American Review: A Whig Journal Devoted to Politics and Literature,* 1848 – April, 1850; (3) *The American Whig Review,* May, 1850 – December, 1852.

FIRST ISSUE: January, 1845. LAST ISSUE: December, 1852.

PERIODICITY: Monthly; regular semiannual volumes. First Series: I-VI, 1845-47; New Series: I-X (whole numbers VII-XVI), 1848-52.

PUBLISHERS (all New York): Wiley and Putnam, January – June, 1845; George H. Colton, 1845-47; D. W. Holly, 1848-52.

EDITORS: George H. Colton, 1845-47; James D. Whelpley, 1848-49; George W. Peck (?), 1850-52.

INDEXED in *Poole.*

[2] See fourth page of cover through 1851.

Among the signers were Daniel Webster, Rufus Choate, Alexander H. Stephens, George P. Marsh, Daniel D. Barnard, Hamilton Fish and J. P. Kennedy. And so the *American Review: A Whig Journal of Politics, Literature, Art and Science,* which nearly everybody came to call the "Whig Review," was continued.

George H. Colton, the man who took the work in hand, was a Yale graduate, twenty-seven years old. He was the author of *Tecumseh,* a long narrative poem after the style of Sir Walter, which had been much praised. The poem had been actuated largely by a political purpose: it was intended for the glorification of the Whig hero, General Harrison. In the new review, Colton hoped again to marry politics with literature profitably.

The editorial declaration that "Our literature has never been sufficiently earnest" [3] was not very reassuring, but the review did not turn out to be wholly dull. In its second number it published a poem called "The Raven," whose by-line named the author as "——— Quarles." The editor had a pedantic note prefixed to the verses calling attention to their prosody. The *Evening Mirror,* as it happened, had printed the poem by permission in advance of the actual appearance of the *Review,* ascribing it to Edgar Poe. Two months later the *Review* published two other poems by the same author, together with "Some Words with a Mummy," all in one issue; and "The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar" and "Eulalie" appeared in later issues.[4] It was in August of this first year that Lowell's "Orpheus" appeared. George P. Marsh's papers on "Old Northern Literature" ran serially through the year. There were also tales by Mrs. E. F. Ellet, and translations of German and French poetry. The literary criticism was vigorous, and rather belligerent. Comment upon American plays was a feature, and there were many

[3] *American Review,* I, 4 (January, 1845).

[4] Too much is made in Hervey Allen's *Israfel* (New York, 1927), II, 628, of a possible antagonism between Colton and Poe. The whole seems to be based upon "some wry faces" which Lowell reported Colton as making when he first suggested Poe as a contributor to the *Whig Review.* (See letter, Lowell to Poe, *Scribner's Magazine,* XVI, 175, August, 1894.) But Poe did proceed to send work to Colton, and Colton to publish it. It should be noted further that the illustration in *Israfel* by which it is made to appear that "The Raven" was published in the *Weekly Mirror* is at fault: the poem actually appeared in the *Evening Mirror* for January 29, 1845.

articles about the arts in New York which aimed to bring out the true elements of criticism.

Of course, politics were prominent. The chief political writer was Daniel D. Barnard, who had just completed a conspicuous term of service in Congress. In its third year the *Review* printed an article on "The Life and Services of Daniel Dewey Barnard," in a footnote to which the editor called him "Our most valued *contributor* and *counseller*," but made it plain he was not the editor.[5] He wrote most of the political articles for the *Review* up to 1850, when he was appointed minister to Prussia. It was after Barnard's departure that the *Review* got into trouble on the slavery question. "The ground which they have taken," said the magazine in behalf of its conductors, "they esteem to be strictly whig and constitutional, and therefore intermediate and conciliatory between the extreme positions of North and South." [6] Pursuant to this plan, they admitted articles on both sides of the controversy. Calhoun of South Carolina opposed Davis of Massachusetts. The inevitable result was criticism from both parties to the quarrel. The next year the *Review* got involved in the Native American movement, and its pages were filled with anti-British matter; but at the beginning of 1852 it cleaned house, and after a resignation or two among the managers no more of this particular kind of propaganda was heard.

The *Whig Review* undoubtedly suffered from a lack of unity in its policy and management throughout its short career of eight years. Colton died just as the magazine was finishing its third year, and was succeeded by Dr. James D. Whelpley. But Dr. Whelpley became interested in 1849 in the commercial exploitation of Honduras, and this project took him away from the *Review*, first to San Francisco and later to Honduras, where he was impressed into the army of that famous soldier of fortune, William Walker, as a surgeon. An associate editor with Dr. Whelpley was the picturesque adventurer and writer, Charles W. Webber. His best known story, "Shot in the Eye," was, by a curious error, published simultaneously in the *Whig Review* and the *Democratic Review* in February, 1845. It was followed by a

[5] *American Review*, VII, 521, footnote (May, 1848).
[6] *Ibid.*, XI, 555 (June, 1850).

series of papers called "Adventures on the Frontier of Texas and Mexico" and signed "Charles Winterfield." At the time of the rush to the California gold-fields in 1849, Webber suffered losses in attempts to take a party across the plains and conceived the idea of camel transport—an idea which he spent much time in promoting. In 1855, after the *Review* had perished, he joined Walker in Central America. Unlike his former chief, Whelpley, he enlisted under that irrepressible adventurer of his own free will: he was shot in Walker's service and died in his thirty-seventh year. Another associate editor under Whelpley was the journalist George W. Peck. Peck was a contributor of literary criticism from the beginning of the magazine, and may have been editor-in-chief through its last few years.[7]

Many of the articles in the *Whig Review* were anonymous, and in its later volumes all of them were; but it is evident that the roll of contributors is no mean one. Poe and Lowell have been mentioned, as have Marsh, Mrs. Ellet, and the editors. Old John Quincy Adams was a contributor, with Webster, Everett, Calhoun, Greeley, and Raymond. Henry T. Tuckerman, Grant White, and "Carl Benson" were a trio of notable critics.

The *Review* was famous for its biographies of statesmen, illustrated by engraved plates in line or mezzotint. T. Doney, C. Burt, and F. M. Whelpley were among the engravers for the *Review*. Another specialty of this journal was its defence of American literature against attacks at home and abroad. Its "Critical Notices" were always important, as were its reports of current events, the proceedings of Congress, and so on. Its fiction, which at times was rather copious, seldom rose above mediocrity.

The *Review's* circulation mounted during its first months to nearly three thousand,[8] and upon the death of Colton his heirs are said to have asked ten thousand dollars for the property.[9] Throughout most of its life the *Review* carried several pages of

[7] The editor is nowhere named after Colton's death. But C. F. Briggs, writing in *Holden's Dollar Magazine* (I, 57) in January, 1848, says that Dr. Whelpley succeeded Colton, assisted by Peck. In January, 1852, the editor of the *Review* speaks of "the twelve previous volumes of the *Review, all* of which the present editor has been intimately associated with" (XV, 2). This seems to point to Peck.

[8] *American Review,* verso of title-page, June, 1845.

[9] *Holden's Dollar Magazine,* I, 57 (January, 1848).

general advertising each month. In its last year it claimed "about five thousand" subscribers.[10] In spite of these figures, which represented a fair degree of prosperity in those times, the *American Whig Review,* as it was now called, did not long survive the overwhelming defeat of the Whigs in the presidential canvas of 1852.

[10] *American Whig Review,* XV, 1 (January, 1852).

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THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN MAGAZINE[1]

WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS had already been the editor of two Charleston literary periodicals, both of which died very young, when he founded his *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review* in that city in January, 1845. The name was heavy and ungainly; it advertised a wish to encourage and capitalize the natural political and industrial alliance between the South and the West, and to correlate the more ponderous and solid virtues of a review with the entertaining variety of a magazine. The periodical was commonly called "Simms's Magazine."

It was fitting that it should be called after the name of its editor, for Simms certainly wrote most of it. Always prolific, he was at this time thirty-nine years old and at the height of his productivity. Not only did he write the "Editorial Bureau" at the end of each issue, in which a dozen or more books are reviewed; but he supplied most of the articles, stories and poems. He used various initials, though most of his articles were unsigned; to many of the poems he subscribed the name "Adrian Beaufain."[2] A genealogical treatise on the family of Francis Marion, exceptionally unsuitable for magazine publication, and a somewhat more entertaining disquisition on "The Epochs and Events of American History, as Suited to the Purposes of Art in Fiction" were the two chief serials. More attractive were the tales, among which were some of Simms's best—such as "Those Old Lunes!" and "The Snake of the Cabin." A good sketch of Daniel Boone, and one of Chevalier Bayard ran through two or three numbers each.

1 TITLE: *The Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review.* (Half title each number: *Southern and Western Magazine and Review.*)
FIRST ISSUE: January, 1845. LAST ISSUE: December, 1845.
PERIODICITY: Monthly. Two regular semiannual volumes, octavo.
PUBLISHERS: Burges and James, Charleston.
EDITOR: William Gilmore Simms.
2 W. P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms* (Boston, 1892), p. 134.

The slavery theme touches articles, stories, and reviews at many points. Especially to be noted are three articles headed "Slavery" in July, October, and November, which discussed some recent antislavery publications. Reviews of northern writers seem to be fair. The *North American Review* is attacked at length in May for its provincialism; but this criticism, though too bitterly expressed, was just.

A few contributors came to Simms's assistance. Mrs. E. F. Ellet, Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz, Evert A. Duyckinck, Albert Pike, J. M. Legaré, Dr. T. H. Chivers, and several others helped from time to time, though none of them consistently.

In the November number, the editor, who had been away on a visit to New York, announced his intention of giving up his position after the next issue. "It has not answered our expectations," he wrote, "and it takes too greatly from the time which we should find more profitably bestowed upon independent individual labors. Its duties are irksome, and it is compensative neither in money or other reward."[3] Accordingly, the magazine was merged in the *Southern Literary Messenger* after the December issue.

[3] *Southern and Western*, II, 344 (November, 1845).

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THE BROADWAY JOURNAL[1]

I have made arrangements for publishing the first of my long-talked-of paper in January. It will be published by John Bisco, a shrewd Yankee from Worcester, who has been a school-teacher in New Jersey, and was once the publisher of the *Knickerbocker*.[2]

THUS wrote Charles F. Briggs to his friend James Russell Lowell on December 7, 1844. Briggs was an ambitious young *littérateur* who had written a good deal for the *Knickerbocker*. His forte was New York life, depicted in a light and amusing way; and his *Harry Franco: A Tale of the Great Panic*, published five years before the date of this letter, had made something of a hit.

The promised paper appeared in due time under the name of the *Broadway Journal*. Literary reviews were the chief subject matter, but art criticism, comment on theaters and music, political articles, and poetry came in for a share of the new paper's space. There was an extensive review of the exhibition of the National Academy of Art which ran serially through the early numbers, and writers were much concerned with the state of art in America. William Page, the portrait painter, wrote a series on the use of color in painting for the February and March issues. The political comment, in which opposition to the Mexican War

1 TITLE: *The Broadway Journal.*
FIRST ISSUE: January 4, 1845. LAST ISSUE: January 3, 1846.
PERIODICITY: Weekly; two semiannual volumes. I, Jan. 4 – June 28, 1845; II, July 12, 1845 – Jan. 3, 1846. No issue for July 5.
PUBLISHERS: John Bisco, New York, Jan. 4 – Oct. 18, 1845; Edgar A. Poe, New York, Oct. 25 – Dec. 27, 1845.
EDITORS: Charles F. Briggs, Jan. 4 – Feb. 22, 1845; Charles F. Briggs, Edgar A. Poe, and H. C. Watson, March 1 – June 28, 1845; Edgar A. Poe and H. C. Watson, July 12 – Oct. 18, 1845; Edgar A. Poe, Oct. 25 – Dec. 27, 1845.
REFERENCES: George E. Woodberry, *Edgar Allan Poe* (American Men of Letters Series, Boston, 1885), pp. 225-47; Mary E. Phillips, *Edgar Allan Poe* (Philadelphia, 1926), II, 984-1082.

2 Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

was pronounced, was occasionally illustrated by cartoons engraved on wood. The musical articles and probably part of the art criticism were done by Henry C. Watson, who had been musical critic of the New York *World* and was to continue for many years to be prominent in the journalism of art and music. From March to October Watson's name appeared as one of the editors of the *Journal*.

Lowell, whose *Pioneer* had failed the year before, hastened to compliment Briggs on his paper,[3] and to help him with contributions. He had poems in the first two numbers, and both he and his wife continued to contribute, though with diminishing interest, as long as Briggs had control of the paper. The cause of the lapse of Lowell's interest was the *Journal's* failure to take a strong position politically. Himself caught up in the high spirit of a crusade, Lowell complained to his friend Carter: "The *Journal* shut its doors in the face of every subject in which I was mainly interested." [4]

Edgar Allan Poe, whom Lowell had introduced to Briggs as a possible contributor,[5] also wrote for the first two numbers. Briggs was much taken with Poe. "I like Poe exceedingly well," he wrote to Lowell, and this in spite of the fact that Griswold had told some "shocking bad stories about him." [6] Poe had been writing chiefly for the *Mirror*, but now he came over to the *Journal*. "I have taken a third interest in the *Broadway Journal*," he wrote to Griswold February 24th, "and would be glad if you could send me anything for it." [7] His "third interest" represented no investment, but was a salary arrangement by which he was to receive a third of the editorial share of the profits. His name appeared with those of Briggs and Watson as editors on March first. Briggs explains the relationship in a letter to Lowell:

> Poe is only an assistant to me and will in no way interfere with my own way of doing things. It was requisite that I should have

[3] *Letters of J. R. Lowell* (New York, 1894), I, 83.
[4] H. E. Scudder, *James Russell Lowell* (Boston, 1901), I, 169.
[5] Letters in *Scribner's Magazine*, XVI, 175 (August, 1894).
[6] Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 226.
[7] Poe, *Complete Works* (Harrison, ed.), XVII, 202.

his or some other person's assistance, on account of my liability to be taken off from the business of the paper, and as his name is of some authority I thought it advisable to announce him as an editor. Mr. Watson's name will command the respect of a good portion of the musical interest in this city and in Boston, and by putting forth his name as musical editor I can gain his time for a pro rata dividend on the amount of patronage which he may obtain. He is the only musical critic in the country, and a thorough good fellow. Poe has left the *Mirror*. Willis was too Willisy for him. Unfortunately for him [Poe] he has mounted a very ticklish hobby just now, Plagiarism, which he is bent on riding to death, and I think the better way is to let him run down as soon as possible by giving him no check.[8]

Poe had got started in full career on this hobby in connection with what is sometimes called "the Longfellow war." He had begun it in Burton's *Gentleman's Magazine,* renewed it in the *Mirror,* and now transferred it to the *Journal.* The main body of the controversy consisted of a reply to some of Poe's strictures signed "Outis," published in the *Mirror* and then reprinted in the *Journal,* with a long serial rejoinder in the latter paper by Poe. There is reason for believing that Poe himself wrote the Outis article to keep the merry war going.[9] A writer in the *Democratic Review* for April, observing this continuing discussion, warned the *Journal* that there was "great danger that the thing may be carried too far."[10] It was undoubtedly carried too far: Briggs was right when he called Poe "a monomaniac on the subject of plagiarism."[11] But Poe's own conception of the figure he was cutting is undoubtedly that of the writer of the following verses, which the *Journal* reprinted from the *New World:*

With his keen sardonic smiling, every other care beguiling,
Right and left he bravely wielded a double-edged and broad claymore.
And with gallant presence dashing, 'mid his confreres stoutly clashing,

[8] Woodberry, *op. cit.,* p. 227.
[9] Phillips, *op. cit.,* II, 955-83.
[10] *Democratic Review,* XVI, 413 (April, 1845).
[11] Woodberry, *op. cit.,* p. 228.

He unpityingly went slashing, as he keenly scanned them o'er,
And with eye and mien undaunted, such a gallant presence bore
As might awe them evermore.[12]

Aside from his Longfellow warfare, Poe contributed a considerable number of stories and poems previously printed elsewhere to the *Journal,* but little that was new. There were, however, contributions from a number of other well known writers: Richard Henry Dana, William Gilmore Simms, Thomas Dunn English, William A. Jones, Evert A. Duyckinck, Park Benjamin, Margaret Fuller, Caroline M. Kirkland, Frances S. Osgood, Mary E. Hewitt, and Lydia Maria Child.

A crisis in the *Journal's* affairs came with the end of the first volume in June. Two letters from Briggs to Lowell tell one side of the story:

I have arrangements on foot with a new publisher for the *Journal* who will enable me to give it a fresh start, and I trust soon to be able to give you an earnest of its profits. I shall haul down Poe's name; he has latterly got into his old habits and I fear will injure himself irretrievably.[13]

Two weeks later he accounts for the failure of the paper to appear during the first week in July as follows:

The non-appearance of the *Broadway Journal* has probably surprised you. I had made arrangements with a new publisher—a very good business man,—and had agreed upon terms with Bisco to buy his interest; but when I came to close with him he exacted more than I had stipulated for, and finding that he was determined to give me trouble I refused to do anything with the *Journal.* I had the first number of the new volume all ready to be issued, with a handsomely engraved title, etc.; but I could not put the new publisher's name upon it without Bisco's consent, so I let it go a week, meaning to issue a double number—not doubting that I could agree with him upon some terms; but he had fallen into the hands of evil advisers, and became more extortionate than ever. Poe in the meantime got into a drunken spree, and conceived the idea that I had not treated

[12] *Broadway Journal,* I, 266 (April 26, 1845).
[13] Woodberry, *op. cit.,* p. 234.

him well, for which he had no other grounds than my having loaned him money, and persuaded Bisco to carry on the *Journal* himself. As his doing so would give me a legal claim upon him, and enable me to recover something from him, I allowed him to issue one number, but it is doubtful whether he issues another. Mr. Homans, the publisher, with whom I agreed to undertake the publication of the *Journal,* is an educated man and a thorough good fellow, with a very extensive book-selling connection. He is still desirous of taking hold of the *Journal,* and has made me a very liberal offer to go on with him if he can purchase Bisco's share. But I do not yet know how the affair will terminate.[14]

It terminated by Bisco, Poe, and Watson going on with the paper, and leaving Briggs out permanently. As Charles Fenno Hoffman wrote Griswold, "The *Broadway Journal* stopped for a week to let Briggs step ashore with his luggage, & they are now getting up steam to drive ahead under Captains Poe & Watson."[15] On July 12, the *Journal* carried the following notice: "The editorial conduct of the *Broadway Journal* is under the sole charge of Mr. E. A. Poe—Mr. H. C. Watson as heretofore controlling the Musical Department."[16] In September Poe had a very unkind dig at "Harry Franco" Briggs, calling him a "vulgar driveler."[17]

Throughout this second volume there was much of Poe, but most of it consisted of reprints. Some of his pieces were signed "Littleton Barry."

By October Bisco had evidently given up hope of making any adequate profits from the *Journal,* so he sold it to Poe for fifty dollars. Poe could not pay cash, but gave Bisco a note which Horace Greeley had endorsed for him. In his *Recollections* Greeley has something to say about this note:

A gushing youth once wrote to me to this effect:

"Dear Sir,—Among your literary treasures you have doubtless preserved several autographs of our country's late lamented poet,

[14] *Ibid.,* 234-35.

[15] Quoted in Phillips, *op. cit.,* II, 1027, from Griswold MSS. in Boston Public Library.

[16] *Broadway Journal,* II, 1 (July 12, 1845).

[17] *Ibid.,* II, 168 (Sept. 20, 1845).

Edgar A. Poe. If so, and you can spare one, please inclose it to me, and receive the thanks of yours truly."

I promptly responded as follows:

"Dear Sir,—Among my literary treasures there happens to be exactly *one* autograph of our country's late lamented poet, Edgar A. Poe. It is his note of hand for fifty dollars, with my indorsement across the back. It cost me exactly $50.75 (including protest), and you may have it for half that amount. Yours respectfully."

That autograph, I regret to say, remains on my hands, and is still for sale at first cost, despite the lapse of time and the depreciation of our currency.[18]

Not Greeley alone, but others of his friends were laid under contribution by Poe to keep the *Journal* running. His cousin Neilson Poe, Dr. Griswold, and Fitz-Greene Halleck helped him out, but various others refused him loans. In November he induced Thomas H. Lane, a customs employee and a friend of Thomas Dunn English, to buy a half interest, Poe putting his work against Lane's money. But Poe's dissipation left English to fill out the paper for December 20th, and there were only two more numbers.[19]

It remains to add a note on the illustration of the *Journal*. This was a minor feature of the paper, but it has a certain importance from its emphasis upon woodcuts. "We think it the only legitimate method of illustrating printed matter," [20] said the *Journal* of wood engraving in an early issue; but it complained that good ink and suitable presses for printing woodcuts were not to be had in America.[21] Pictures were not numerous in the *Journal*, but a *portrait chargé* of Horace Greeley in the issue for February 15th may be mentioned.

[18] Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (rev. ed., New York, 1873), pp. 196-97.

[19] For a succinct outline of "Poe's movements and the incidents of the demise of the *Broadway Journal* during the last few days of 1845," see Hervey Allen, *Israfel* (New York, 1927), pp. 666-67. The account is "taken from the reminiscences of Thomas H. Lane and Thomas Dunn English."

[20] *Broadway Journal*, I, 63 (Jan. 25, 1845).

[21] *Ibid.*, I, 47 (Jan. 18, 1845).

EDITORIAL GENTLEMEN OF THE FORTIES

GEORGE R. GRAHAM — EDGAR ALLAN POE

LEWIS GAYLORD CLARK — RUFUS WILMOT GRISWOLD

All after steel engravings. Graham from *Graham's Magazine*, July, 1850. Poe from *Graham's* for February, 1845, after a painting by A. C. Smith. Clark (*Knickerbocker*) from the frontispiece to the *Knickerbocker*, Vol. XXXIV (1849). Griswold (*Graham's* and the *New-Yorker*) from *Graham's*, June, 1845.

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THE HARBINGER[1]

BY 1845 the conversion of the leading Brook Farmers to the gospel according to Fourier had become complete, and what had begun as an "Institute" had been transformed into a "Phalanx." Albert Brisbane was the messiah of Fourierism in America, and he had established the monthly *Phalanx* in New York in October, 1843, to propagate the newly discovered panacea; it was soon made a weekly, and at the beginning of 1845 was moved to Brook Farm, where it was discontinued May 28, 1845, to make way for the *Harbinger*.

June 14, 1845, the *Harbinger* was founded. It was edited and printed at Brook Farm, as a small quarto of sixteen pages, and distributed by New York and Boston publishers. "Our devotion to the democratic principle," said the prospectus,

> will lead us to take the ground of fearless and absolute independence in regard to all political parties, whether professing attachment to that principle or hostility to it. . . . In literature the *Harbinger* will exercise a firm and impartial criticism without respect of persons or parties. . . . It will receive contributions from various pens in different spheres of thought . . . all true science, all poetry and art, all sincere literature, all religion that is from the soul, all wise analyses of mind and character, will come within its province.[2]

[1] TITLE: *The Harbinger, Devoted to Social and Political Progress.*
FIRST ISSUE: June 14, 1845. LAST ISSUE: February 10, 1849.
PERIODICITY: Weekly. Two volumes yearly beginning in June and December (I-VIII). VIII contains only 15 numbers.
PUBLISHERS: Brook Farm Phalanx, West Roxbury, Mass., 1845-47; American Union of Associationists, New York, 1847-49. "Published simultaneously at New York and Boston," 1845-49.
EDITORS: George Ripley, 1845-46; George Ripley and John S. Dwight, 1846-47; George Ripley, John S. Dwight, and Parke Godwin, 1848-49.
REFERENCE: Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *George Ripley* (American Men of Letters Series, Boston, 1883).

[2] *Harbinger*, I, 16 (June 14, 1845). Reprinted in Frothingham, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-80.

To assist in this high-souled adventure were enlisted such writers as Albert Brisbane, William Henry Channing, Christopher P. Cranch, James Freeman Clarke, George William Curtis, Charles A. Dana, John S. Dwight, Parke Godwin, E. P. Grant, Horace Greeley, Frederick H. Hedge, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, James Russell Lowell, John Orvis, George Ripley, Francis G. Shaw, W. W. Story, and John G. Whittier. Not all of these were committed to the doctrines of Fourier, or even those of transcendentalism, but all sympathized with the *Harbinger's* high ideals. Emerson refused to contribute because the journal had "chosen a patron," [3] but the editors took the liberty of reprinting a few of the best from the Emerson *Poems* of 1847.

The editor was George Ripley, chief director in Brook Farm. John S. Dwight was literary and musical editor and by the end of 1846 co-editor with Ripley, and Charles A. Dana was an associate editor of the early volumes.

There was much variety in the journal. George Sand's *Consuelo* was published serially throughout the first volume, and Fourier's *Cosmogony* throughout the second—both in translation, of course. There were reports from other phalanges. There was some politics—opposition to slavery, and opposition to "this infernal war with Mexico." [4] There was much of the hard conditions of laborers. Dwight's articles on musical subjects were an excellent feature; they were enough to confer distinction on any magazine. On the whole, the *Harbinger* was interesting, in spite of the cant phrases of its special "ism"; it was vigorous and rather lively, and always high-minded. It is, of course, one of the sources for the study of New England transcendentalism.

After the crushing loss suffered by the Brook Farm Phalanx in the fire of March 3, 1846, the *Harbinger* lingered on at West Roxbury until it was transferred to the American Union of Associationists in New York in October, 1847. Though changed somewhat in form, the journal followed the same ideals after its migration to New York. Ripley and Dwight remained as editors, being paid the trifling sum of five dollars a week for their services. Parke Godwin shared their editorial labors. "It never has been

[3] George Willis Cooke, *John Sullivan Dwight* (Boston, 1898), p. 104.
[4] *Harbinger*, III, 411 (Dec. 5, 1846).

a source of private emolument," wrote Ripley shortly before the change, "but has been supported by sacrifice." [5] That it continued to lose money there can be no doubt, and in February, 1849, it was suspended.

[5] *Ibid.*, IV, 400 (May 29, 1847).

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THE LITERARY WORLD[1]

(Duyckinck's)

THE first important American weekly to be devoted chiefly to the discussion of current books was Duyckinck's *Literary World,* of New York. It was begun in 1847 by Osgood and Company, who put Evert A. Duyckinck in as editor for the first few months, and then Charles Fenno Hoffman for a year and a half; in October, 1848, Duyckinck and his brother George purchased the periodical and became both publishers and editors throughout the remainder of its existence.

The Duyckincks were to the manner born, their father having been a bookseller and publisher before them. Evert had been joint editor with Cornelius Mathews of the short-lived but brilliant *Arcturus,* and both men had a very wide literary acquaintance.

Departments of fine arts, the drama, music, and "literary intelligence" found place in the *Literary World* from the beginning. Reviews of new books were, of course, the chief staple. Evert Duyckinck was not a subtle critic by any means, nor can he indeed be rated very highly in acumen or learning. Brownson complimented him upon his "spirit, talent, and good sense," [2] and perhaps a certain vigor and homely forthrightness were his

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Literary World. A Gazette for Authors, Readers, and Publishers,* 1847-48; (2) *The Literary World: A Journal of Society, Literature, and Art,* 1848-49; (3) *The Literary World: A Journal of Science, Literature, and Art,* 1849-53.

FIRST ISSUE: February 6, 1847. LAST ISSUE: December 31, 1853.

PERIODICITY: Weekly. Quarto. I, February – July, 1847; II, August, 1847 – January, 1848; III, February – December, 1848; IV-XIII, 1849-53, regular semi-annual volumes.

PUBLISHERS: Osgood and Company, New York, 1847-48; E. A. and G. L. Duyckinck, New York, 1848-53.

EDITORS: Evert A. Duyckinck, February – April, 1847; Charles Fenno Hoffman, May, 1847 – September, 1848; Evert A. and George L. Duyckinck, October, 1848 – December, 1853.

[2] *Brownson's Quarterly,* N.S. I, 384 (July, 1847).

best characteristics. He was geographically prejudiced, commonly preferring New York over New England. He frequently had to argue with his Boston correspondent over commendations of writers suspected of transcendental infection. Transcendentalism was anathema to the *Literary World*. Lowell was disapproved. Griswold's *Prose Writers* was severely criticised.

Hoffman was a more charming writer, but he made a poorer paper. He was given to straddling. "That criticism is most true which rather *seeks* the good than the evil," wrote Hoffman, and added:

> Praise and blame are to be honestly dispensed, but of the two, and in the case of a poet or writer of true poetical temperament, without a doubt the best and kindest things should be said that can be honestly declared.[3]

In reviewing Thomas Buchanan Read's *Female Poets of America,* he said, "Their appeal to the gallantry of the reviewer is enough of itself to disarm his severer judgment."[4] He praised Poe's cosmographical lecture on hearing it, but was less friendly to *Eureka* when published. Hoffman's own tale, "The Man in the Reservoir," was printed in the *Literary World* October 21, 1848: it is perhaps its author's best piece of work.

When the Duyckinck brothers succeeded Hoffman in the editorship, a greater variety became noticeable at once. Travel sketches, portrayals of manners and amusements in New York, discussions of political and social matters in "The Colonel's Club," a few woodcuts, and some translations served to enliven the periodical. Copious quotations from the more attractive books had been used from the first.

Contributors are to a large extent unknown. Cornelius Mathews, Evert Duyckinck's former collaborator, wrote some characteristic sketches; verse by W. H. C. Hosmer and Charles T. Brooks was used; and J. K. Paulding, W. G. Simms, and Archibald Alexander were among the reviewers. Henry T. Tuckerman wrote some art criticism.

[3] *Literary World,* III, 41 (Feb. 19, 1848).
[4] *Ibid.,* III, 749 (Oct. 21, 1848).

It may be presumed that the paper's circulation was never very large. The subscription price was only three dollars, and the advertising rate was ten dollars a page through most of the paper's life; by 1851, with ten or a dozen pages of advertising, the rate was raised to $12.50, and in the next year to fifteen dollars. In 1852 the proprietors suffered a disastrous fire, and at the end of that year publication was abandoned.

The thirteen volumes of the *Literary World* contain a vast deal of matter bearing on the development of American literature for the seven years beginning in 1847. Though the New York point of view is too strongly emphasized, the material is of great value.

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THE UNION MAGAZINE[1]

THE *Union Magazine of Literature and Art,* "embellished with the finest steel, mezzotint, and wood engravings, music, and colored fashions," derived its name from the American Art-Union, an organization designed for the popularization of art which had some ten thousand members at the time.[2] It is evident that Israel Post, the founder and publisher, thought to capitalize this mass movement upon the citadels of art for his periodical; but the *Union Magazine* had no official connection with the Art-Union, which established a less pretentious *Bulletin* of its own in 1847—the same year Post's monthly was founded.

Copiously illustrated by the four methods mentioned above, royal octavo in size, and selling for three dollars a year, the *Union Magazine* appeared to be a strong competitor with such magazines as *Graham's, Godey's, Peterson's,* and *Snowden's.* But it did not prosper. Perhaps the trouble lay in the fact that the demand for such periodicals was already well supplied; at any rate, Post sold the new magazine at the end of six months to John L. DeGraw, who was hawking it in the market again before his first year was up.

The editor was the popular Caroline M. Kirkland, who had made a success with a book of western sketches, *A New Home—Who'll Follow?* some years before, and who had been praised by Poe for her freshness and originality. She wrote western stories

[1] TITLES: (1) *The Union Magazine of Literature and Art,* 1847-48; (2) *Sartain's Union Magazine of Literature and Art,* 1849-52.

FIRST ISSUE: July, 1847. LAST ISSUE: August, 1852.

PERIODICITY: Monthly. Regular semiannual volumes, I-X (July, 1847 – June, 1852); XI, July, August, 1852, only.

PUBLISHERS: Israel Post, New York, 1847; James L. DeGraw, New York, 1848; John Sartain and William Sloanaker, 1849; John Sartain and Company, 1849-52.

EDITORS: Mrs. Caroline M. Kirkland, 1847-48; John S. Hart and Mrs. Caroline M. Kirkland, 1849 – June, 1851; Reynell Coates, July – November, 1851; John Sartain, December, 1851 – August, 1852.

[2] See pp. 437-38, *supra.*

for the *Union Magazine*—inferior because more stilted, it must be admitted, than her early narratives—and she provided a magazine which was made up mostly of fiction, sketches, and poetry. The spirit of the *Union* was gay and gossipy, with a certain amount of information painlessly administered. There were the usual sentimental and very moral tales, light sketches *à la* Willis, essays on literary subjects, and short book reviews. The editor was traveling in Europe in 1848, and sent some letters home which were printed in the magazine and later published under the name *Holidays Abroad*. The list of contributors included most of the writers who were supplying the magazines mentioned in the preceding paragraph: these were T. S. Arthur, John Neal, H. T. Tuckerman, W. G. Simms, W. A. Jones, Park Benjamin, and C. F. Hoffman; besides the contingent of women writers—Mrs. Sigourney, Mrs. Osgood, Mrs. Embury, Mrs. Ellet, Mrs. Child, and the Misses Catherine Sedgwick, Hannah Gould, and "Grace Greenwood." Poe contributed "An Enigma" to the number for March, 1848, and the perfect "To Helen" in November of that year.

At the end of 1848 John Sartain, probably the best known engraver on copper in America, and William Sloanaker, who had been business manager of *Graham's*, bought the *Union Magazine* for five thousand dollars and transferred it to Philadelphia, changing the name to *Sartain's Union Magazine*. Sartain, who had had an unfortunate experience with *Campbell's Semi-Monthly* a few years before, claimed later that he went into this venture only after much urging by Sloanaker.[3] Each advanced half the purchase money, and Sartain was to manage the engraving while Sloanaker handled the business department. Professor John S. Hart, then principal of a Philadelphia high school and well known as a writer on literature and school topics, was employed as joint editor; and Mrs. Kirkland, still in Europe when surprised by the news of the change in ownership, was retained. "The Union is dissolved for Sartain!" the whilom editor had exclaimed when she heard the news.[4]

[3] John Sartain, *The Reminiscences of a Very Old Man, 1808-1897* (New York, 1899), p. 218.

[4] J. C. Derby, *Fifty Years Among Authors, Books and Publishers* (New York, 1894), p. 582.

At least three plates were furnished with each number of *Sartain's*. Colored fashions were discontinued, but there were some colored lithographs of flowers and other subjects. Woodcuts came to be used more and more, especially after the advent of *Harper's* in the field in 1850. Leslie and Traver woodcuts of Darley pictures,[5] and later cuts by Gihon, Branson, Dalziel, Williams, and others were used. John Todd's serial "Scenes in the Life of Christ" was illustrated on wood.

"But it is the literary character of *Sartain's* on which it has aimed chiefly to depend," wrote the editor in 1850.[6] Poe's "The Bells" and "The Poetic Principle" were among its most important publications; both were printed after the author's death, in November, 1849, and November, 1850, respectively. Longfellow, Lowell, Willis, Boker, Stoddard, Read, Griswold, Taylor, Saxe, and English were among the contributors, besides many of those mentioned above, and such newcomers in the magazine field as the Cary sisters, Julia C. R. Dorr, and Richard Grant White. In 1851 Sloanaker left the firm, and the editors appear to have gone about the same time. Dr. Reynell Coates then edited the magazine for a few months, after which Sartain himself took over that work. Charles Godfrey Leland followed Hart as book reviewer, and seems to have acted as assistant editor in charge of various departments.[7] J. S. Dwight wrote musical criticism, and George W. Dewey art notes. But in spite of able editors and good contributors, the magazine did not "go," and its list was turned over to the *National Magazine,* which had just been started in New York, after the issue for August, 1852.

Sartain was a fairly liberal paymaster, as liberality went in those days. Longfellow and Willis got about a cent a word for prose. Poe was paid fifteen dollars for the first version of "The Bells," consisting of "eighteen lines of small merit," but after he had rewritten it and increased its length, he was given thirty dollars more. For his long article on "The Poetic Principle" he got only thirty dollars.[8] The total cost of the magazine for

[5] Darley was paid fifteen dollars for a design, and the engravers thirty-five dollars for the cut. *Sartain's,* II, 192 (September, 1849).

[6] *Sartain's,* III, 99 (January, 1850).

[7] Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *Charles Godfrey Leland* (Boston, 1906), I, 220.

[8] Sartain, *op. cit.,* pp. 220-21.

1849 was $34,592.75, of which $7,174 went to the literary department, including editorial salaries.[9] It took poor Sartain seven years and a half to pay off the debts he had incurred in connection with his magazine.[10]

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 219. Also *Sartain's*, IX, 496 (December, 1851).
[10] Sartain, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

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FRIENDS' REVIEW[1]

THE *Friends' Review*, a Philadelphia weekly, was founded in 1847, with Enoch Lewis, the mathematician, as editor. Lewis was seventy years old at the time, and he edited the *Review* until his death ten years later. In its first number the paper declared its intention "to support the established order in its original principles," [2] but throughout its life of nearly half a century it represented the more tolerant and progressive elements of the Society of Friends.

Samuel Rhoads, grandson of the friend of Benjamin Franklin of the same name, succeeded to the editorship upon the death of Lewis in 1856, and to him fell the difficult task of conducting the journal through the Civil War. The *Review* consistently maintained its testimony against both slavery and war throughout these years. That some of the younger Quakers fell away and enlisted was a matter of sorrow to editor and correspondents,[3] and the constant advice was, from the beginning: "Let us patiently suffer whatever is allotted us in the maintenance of the principles of peace." [4] In their testimony against slavery many Friends went so far as to refuse to purchase slave-made goods, and Philadelphia dealers in "free labor groceries and cotton

[1] TITLE: *Friends' Review: A Religious, Literary and Miscellaneous Journal.* FIRST ISSUE: Ninth Month 4, 1847. LAST ISSUE: Seventh Month 5, 1894. PERIODICITY: Weekly, annual volumes. I-XLVI (1847-93), XLVII (Seventh Month 27, 1893 – Twelfth Month 28, 1893), XLVIII (First Month 4, 1894 – Seventh Month 5, 1894).

PUBLISHERS (all Philadelphia): Josiah Tatum, 1847-53; Samuel Rhoads, 1853-64; Joseph Potts, 1864-66; Alice Lewis, 1866-84; Franklin E. Paige, 1884-89; John C. Winston Company, 1890-93; Rufus M. Jones, 1893-94.

EDITORS: Enoch Lewis, 1847-56; Samuel Rhoads, 1856-67; William J. Allinson, 1867-72; Committee of Friends, 1872-74; Henry Hartshorne, 1874-76, 1884-93; James E. Rhoads, 1876-81; James E. Rhoads and Henry Hartshorne, 1881-84; Rufus M. Jones, 1893-94.

[2] *Friends' Review*, I, 2 (Ninth Month 4, 1847).

[3] *Friends' Review*, XIV, 569 (Fifth Month 11, 1861).

[4] *Ibid.*

fabrics" are advertised.[5] When emancipation came in 1863, the *Review* turned at once to projects for aiding the freedmen and filled its pages with such matters.

After the war there were three editors of the *Review*—William J. Allinson, Henry Hartshorne, and James E. Rhoads. Of these, the second had a much longer incumbency than the others, serving for about fifteen years. He was a famous physician of his times, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania and Haverford College, and a writer of talent. Upon his death in 1893, the *Review* came into the hands of Rufus M. Jones, who has since been professor of philosophy at Haverford and chief spokesman for his faith in America. The John C. Winston Company had become publishers in 1890, and upon their decision to suspend at the end of 1893, Jones carried on the publication himself for six months. Then he gave it up to start a new periodical, *The American Friend,* which thus became the successor of the *Review.*

The *Friends' Review* was a well printed small quarto of sixteen pages. It gave much of its space to reports of activities of Friends in various sections of the country. Its accounts of the beginnings of the sect in the West and the Society's "concern" for the Indians are interesting. There were also many biographical accounts, journals, and so on, usually published serially. Poems of a thoughtful or religious cast were frequently reprinted, and there was a summary of foreign and domestic news.

[5] *Ibid.*

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THE MASSACHUSETTS QUARTERLY REVIEW[1]

"WE want a tremendous journal, with ability in its arms and piety in its heart," wrote Theodore Parker to his friend John Weiss in 1847;[2] and to Charles Sumner about the same time he sent these lines: "You know better than I the *North-American Review,* the *Christian Examiner,* &c. They are not *jusqu'au niveau de l'humanité.* They will not be, cannot be. The better minds of the age cannot express their best thoughts therein."[3] There were others of the same mind with Parker about the need for a more vigorous and able review in New England. Ralph Waldo Emerson was interested, as was his young friend and disciple James Elliot Cabot, who was later to help Emerson with his manuscripts and write the authorized biography. Cabot tells in that work of meeting at the Emerson home to consider the matter of a new review; of the special interest of Parker and Samuel G. Howe; and of how Thoreau came once, but contented himself with inquiring dourly whether anybody present had any difficulty in getting his work published in the existing periodicals. Cabot recalls but little zeal for the project, though at length "it was taken for granted that the new review was to be."[4] At this distance the only enthusiasm discernible was that of Theodore Parker, who seems to have been the prime mover in the matter; Emerson, however, apparently called at the Parker home to talk the matter over at least once.[5]

[1] TITLE: *The Massachusetts Quarterly Review.*
FIRST ISSUE: December, 1847. LAST ISSUE: September, 1850.
PERIODICITY: Quarterly: December, March, June, September; I-III, four numbers each, December – September.
PUBLISHERS: Coolidge and Wiley, Boston.
EDITORS: R. W. Emerson, Theodore Parker, and J. Elliot Cabot, December, 1847 – September, 1848; Theodore Parker, December, 1848 – September, 1850.
INDEXED in *Poole.*

[2] Weiss, *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker* (New York, 1864), I, 266.
[3] *Ibid.,* I, 267.
[4] Cabot, *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1887), II, 497.
[5] Weiss, *op. cit.,* I, 265.

The journal once decided upon, there was the question of an editor. Parker appears to have proposed the editorship to Emerson, Sumner, and Weiss at various times. Cabot writes:

> Mr. Parker wished to put Emerson forward, but Emerson declined; other persons were talked of, but nothing was distinctly agreed upon, that I remember, except a committee, consisting of Emerson, Parker, and Howe, for the drafting of a manifesto to the public. This Emerson wrote, and he seems to have supposed his office thereby discharged. But when the first number of the *Massachusetts Quarterly Review* reached him in England [whither he went in the autumn of 1847], he found himself set down, with Mr. Parker and me, "assisted by several other gentlemen," as the editors. He did not like this, but suffered his name to stand upon the covers until, after his return home, the fourth number appeared with the announcement that he would now "of course" contribute regularly. Then he insisted upon withdrawing, and Mr. Parker became, what in fact he had always been, sole editor. Emerson had no part in it beyond writing the Editor's Address.[6]

Emerson had received more than enough editorial experience to last him a lifetime when he had taken over the hopelessly unprosperous *Dial* from the hands of Margaret Fuller, and there is every reason to believe with Cabot that he was represented as co-editor without his full consent. Emerson never could have been comfortable in an editorship with Parker; the one distrusted political and social reform in action, while the other was born to be a militant jouster at contemporary evils and abuses. The publishers, Coolidge and Wiley, were probably responsible for the announcement of Emerson as editor, for it is in a card signed by them that his name appears, and not on the front cover or title-page.

Emerson's opening "Address" begins by stressing the material greatness of America, and then contrasts with that the sterility of her genius: the terms are such that one surmises they may have suggested to Carlyle the indictment of his *Shooting Niagara* some years later. But Emerson's optimism then asserts itself, and he proposes a journal with "a courage and power sufficient

[6] Cabot, *op. cit.*, II, 497-98.

to solve the problems which the great groping society around us, stupid with perplexity, is dumbly exploring." He puts forward socialism, slavery, the new hypotheses in natural science, and the religious break-up as the chief problems, and ends, "We rely on the truth for and against ourselves." [7]

This is followed by a careful and eloquent discussion of the Mexican War then nearing its close. The article was from Parker's pen,—an elaboration of a sermon—and was a strong attack upon the administration for beginning the war, the purpose of which, he affirmed, was to promote the growth of the institution of slavery. It ends:

> The Nation laments the violation of her constitution, the debasement of her great men,—it was violated by slavery, and to that her sons have bowed the neck; she beholds the betrayal of her honor,—it was betrayed by slavery; she mourns for thousands of her children slain,—they were murdered by slavery—which clamors still for more. Behold the beginning of the end—which is not the end itself.[8]

Parker continued to do political articles for nearly every issue of the *Quarterly*. He "thought it necessary," he told his readers, "that certain important political questions should be discussed here, and, finding no other hand ready for that work, has turned down his own to it." [9] Perhaps the most striking of them all was one on "The Political Destination of America, and the Signs of the Times," in which the characteristics of Americanism were examined. Slavery was a major topic in the *Massachusetts Quarterly*.

Parker was also active as a reviewer. Besides doing most of the briefer reviews at the back of each issue, he did at least four notable long articles of literary criticism: two of these were on the historian Prescott and his work, and the others were discussions of Emerson and Channing. It would be difficult to find better examples of the meticulous kind of literary criticism than the two Prescott articles, while the Emerson critique is important for the independent contemporary point of view. The review

[7] *Massachusetts Quarterly*, I, 7 (December, 1847).
[8] *Ibid.*, I, 54 (December, 1847).
[9] *Ibid.*, III, 524-25 (September, 1850).

of Hildreth's *History of the United States,* and the memorial sketch of John Quincy Adams are likewise full, vigorous, and detailed.

Theodore Parker was no indolent reviewer. In Chadwick's biography of him we are told that

> Before writing the two articles on Prescott's histories he read hard for seven months upon the subjects of those histories. He read all of Prescott's own authorities except certain MSS. which were Prescott's private property. The review of Polk's administration reads as if he had read every book, congressional report, and newspaper bearing on the subject, which he treated in the largest way, reviewing the whole course of the Texan trouble from its earliest beginning to its monstrous end. . . . His introductions were commonly too long. He was never so happy in dealing with literary subjects as in dealing with those concretely ethical and political and religious, and never so happy in dealing with the large and metaphysical aspects of religion as when treating its specific manifestations. Thus, his elaborate review of Emerson's preëminent ability.[10]

Since articles in the *Quarterly* were unsigned, it is not always possible to identify the authors. Samuel G. Howe was a contributor, the article in the first number on Greek politics being certainly his; Henry James the elder is doubtless the author of an article on Swedenborg in the number for June, 1848, and the one on "The Divine Man" in December, 1849. Francis Lieber contributed the stinging article on "Postal Reform" to the December, 1848, issue. In December, 1849, James Russell Lowell reviewed Thoreau's *Week on the Concord and Merrimack,* Richard Hildreth wrote on "Sunday Contracts," and Wendell Phillips on "The Massachusetts Indians." Weiss reviewed the two new pamphlets on the Trinity for March, 1850, and wrote an article on Browning for the following number. A Major Pelt, of Leipsic, wrote two or three articles on Russia for the third volume. Parker, besides his political pieces and the reviews already mentioned, had some translations of German poetry in the issue for March, 1850—the sole presentation of poetry by the *Quarterly* outside its reviews. Parker is said to have prepared three lists

[10] John White Chadwick, *Theodore Parker* (Boston, 1900), p. 152-53.

of contributors, one of them headed "Certain and Valuable"—and that must have been brief,—a second headed "Valuable but Uncertain," and a third called "Certain but Not Valuable." [11]

The *Massachusetts Quarterly* was always well printed, royal octavo size, and bound in a light brown cover. The *Literary World,* of New York, which was never friendly to it, was quick to announce, upon its demise in September, 1850, that it had been "discontinued for want of support." [12] But Parker is quoted as having said that it "came to an end directly through the failure of the publishers, though they had always found the *Review* profitable to them." [13] The *World,* unwilling to speak ill of the dead, continued its obituary: "It was an able production, and some of its vigor, without its ultraism, would be a desirable legacy for some of its survivors." Then it quoted H. J. Raymond, who had written in the *Courier* to the effect that society was merely protecting itself against the attacks of such magazines when its members stopped buying subscriptions.

Though the *Massachusetts Quarterly Review* is sometimes spoken of as the successor of the *Dial,* it was very different from that publication: it was more vigorous, far more political, and more masculine in every respect. Somebody once called it "the *Dial* with a beard."

[11] Weiss, *op. cit.,* I, 268.
[12] *Literary World,* V, 195 (Sept. 7, 1850).
[13] Chadwick, *op. cit.,* p. 149.

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THE JOHN-DONKEY[1]

SEVERAL comic papers had already failed after short lives but merry when the *John-Donkey* sprang into the arena, kicking right and left and braying fearsomely. The conductors of the animal were George G. Foster, formerly of the *Yankee Doodle* and a well known newspaper wit, and Thomas Dunn English, whose *Aristidean* Poe had satirized in his article "Thomas Dunn Brown" in *Godey's*. The paper was weekly, and the list of "publishers" on the cover included booksellers from the leading American cities. It appears that the chief backer, however, was G. B. Zieber, of Philadelphia: he alone, of all the publishers, is represented as following *John's* hearse at the end of the volume. But the paper was quite as much a New York production as a Philadelphian, and undoubtedly most of it was written in New York.

John-Donkey always maintained the tradition of his stupidity. When his enemies said he was not funny, he replied that he never pretended to be, that he claimed only to be stupid and was continually trying to prove his stupidity. Another artful dodge of *John's* was the talk about his "single subscriber." A later commentator claims that the paper's circulation went to twelve thousand,[2] but the editors had great fun directing the attention of their "one subscriber" to this and that. Clever also was the fiction that they had started the *Elephant*, a rival comic published for a few months by Cornelius Mathews, as a foil to show off even better their own abysmal stupidity.

[1] TITLE: *The John-Donkey.*
FIRST ISSUE: January 1, 1848. LAST ISSUE: July 15, 1848.
PERIODICITY: Weekly. I, twenty-six numbers Jan. 1 – June 24; II, only three numbers July 1, 8, and 15. Quarto.
PUBLISHERS: George Dexter and others, New York; and G. B. Zieber, Philadelphia.
EDITORS: Thomas Dunn English and George G. Foster.

[2] A. H. Smyth, *Philadelphia Magazines and Their Contributors* (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 235.

Most of *John-Donkey's* articles, long and short, were satires upon contemporary events or fads, upon organizations, movements, and persons. Politics were prominent, both Whigs and Democrats being almost equally the targets for *John's* hoofs. "King" Polk, "Harry" Clay, "Mrs." Calhoun, Lewis C-ass, "Zach" Taylor, "Black Dan" Webster, and many others were pilloried—sometimes in very unparliamentary language. *John* was ever fond of calling those whom he wished to condemn his brothers, his cousins, or relatives. Though he made some fun of the heroes of the Mexican War, it was the critics of that war whom he attacked most enthusiastically. Fourierism, teetotalism, and abolitionism he despised: he spoke of "our beloved brother William Lloyd Garrison, with his associate madmen." [3]

Another class of persons who suffered from the hoofs of *John-Donkey* was the *literati* of the country. Among the chief victims were Horace Greeley, who was the hero of a serial romance "Don Key Haughty"; Epes Sargent, at the time editor of the Boston *Transcript,* who was punished weekly for an early criticism of *John* and his ways; Cornelius Mathews, who was responsible for *John's* most immediate rival; and Edgar Allan Poe, who had done Thomas brown two years before. The lengths to which the paper went in its abuse of gentlemen who had chanced to arouse its ire are amazing. For example, when the New York *Sun* copied some items from the *John-Donkey* without giving the proper credit, the editors of the latter were not satisfied with rebuking their ungenerous contemporary sharply; but they accused Moses Y. Beach, the editor of the *Sun,* of certain specific crimes and turpitudes the revelation of which surely would have banished him from decent society and commended him to a grand jury if the charges had been taken at all seriously.[4]

Poor Poe, who had abandoned his *Broadway Journal* two years before and had come to the erratic finale of his ill-starred life, offered an easy mark to a smarting editor. In the very first number of the paper, and its first page of text, is a dig at Poe, the precise meaning of which is not clear at this distance; the implications in the following from the sixth number are plainer:

[3] *John-Donkey,* I, 331 (May 20, 1848).
[4] *Ibid.,* I, 367 (June 3, 1848).

Mr. Poe, who used to flourish in this city, is announced to deliver a lecture on the "Universe," at the N. Y. Society Library. Some of our friends say that they hope he will not disappoint his auditors, as he did once before. We suspect he will, whether he delivers his lecture or not.[5]

The next number contains an installment of the Don Quixote travesty in which the hero is thrown into jail, and there finds "the minstrel of the Raven," who is described as "a melancholy little man, in a rusty suit of black, whose spade-shaped countenance seemed as though soap and razors had been lost to the world," and who insisted upon laying down the rules of poesy and reading his own efforts.[6] In another place Poe is called, not quite directly, an "impudent and contemptible mountebank," who has chosen "to slander a lady, and then plead insanity to shelter himself from the vengeance of her relatives."[7] And there are other equally unpleasant references which we may be excused from exhuming.[8]

The first page of each issue bore a series of pictures of John Donkey himself in various attitudes, from a woodcut by C. A. Hinckley. Hinckley was the paper's chief, if not sole, engraver. Each number contained a political cartoon, full page in size and printed on an unbacked leaf. F. O. C. Darley probably drew most of them. Several smaller cuts were printed in each number. Some clever illustrations of scenes from Shakespeare appeared serially, in which the characters were translated into the idiom of 1848.

The price of *John-Donkey* was three dollars a year, with reduction for clubs, or six cents a number. The printing was good, considering the poor quality of paper used; and the typography was fair.

It has been said that the paper suspended because "Zieber failed, and Foster went out."[9] But Zieber was still a going concern when the paper published its last number. It is very prob-

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 96 (Feb. 5, 1848).
[6] *Ibid.*, I, 99 (Feb. 12, 1848).
[7] *Ibid.*, I, 364 (June 3, 1848).
[8] *Ibid.*, I, 245, 382 (April 15, June 10, 1848).
[9] Smyth, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

able that the seven libel suits filed against the *John-Donkey* in May [10] had something to do with its demise.

One of the best jokes the paper printed was among its last. It had evidently been decided to cease publication with the end of the volume, and so the twenty-sixth number contained an account of the death and funeral of *John-Donkey*, and a list of the mourners in procession, led by the publishers, editors, engraver and artist, and brought up by "OUR SUBSCRIBER." But the joke is that *John* was not dead. In the next number he kicks up his heels as vigorously as ever, and the "inky tears" shed for him are wasted. Perhaps not wholly wasted, however, for after three numbers of a second volume, *John* passed to what the color-blind writer of his obituary had called the green pastures of the skies quite without announcement.

[10] *John-Donkey*, I, 317, 328 (May 13, May 20, 1848).

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF MAGAZINES

The following list includes practically all the periodicals which for one reason or another are mentioned in the preceding pages, with dates of beginning and ending. The list might be indefinitely extended by the use of Gregory's *Union List of Serials*, but it has been thought best to limit it to such periodicals as have seemed important enough in some respect for treatment (or at least enumeration) in the text. Only the most important title variations are given. The place of publication named is that at which the periodical was begun. It is unnecessary to record here the names of the libraries in which files of magazines are to be found, as that service is competently performed in the *Union List*.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF MAGAZINES

1741

January — *American Magazine, or Monthly View* (Philadelphia). March, 1741.

January — *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* (Philadelphia). June, 1741.

1743

March 2 — *Boston Weekly Magazine* (Boston). March 16, 1743.

March 5 — *Christian History* (Boston). February 23, 1745.

September — *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle* (Boston). December, 1746.

1752

November 30 — *Independent Reflector* (New York). November 22, 1753.

1753

September 7 — *Occasional Reverberator* (New York). October 5, 1753.

1755

March 6 — *Instructor* (New York). May 8, 1755.

April 9 — *John Englishman* (New York). July 5, 1755.

1757

October — *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle* (Philadelphia). October, 1758.

1758

January — *New American Magazine* (Woodbridge, N. J.). March, 1760.

August — *New-England Magazine* (Boston). No. 3, undated.

1769

January — *American Magazine or General Repository* (Philadelphia). September, 1769.

1771

November 23 — *Censor* (Boston). May 2, 1772.
No Month — *Royal Spiritual Magazine* (Philadelphia). 1771.

1774

January — *Royal American Magazine* (Boston). March, 1775.

1775

January — *Pennsylvania Magazine* (Philadelphia). July, 1776.

1779

January — *United States Magazine* (Philadelphia). December, 1779.

1783

October — *Boston Magazine* (Boston). October, 1786.

1784

May — *Gentlemen and Lady's Town and Country Magazine* (Boston). December, 1784.

1785

October — *American Monitor* (Boston). One number only.

1786

February 16 — *New-Haven Gazette and the Connecticut Magazine* (New Haven). June 18, 1789.
April — *Worcester Magazine* (Worcester, Mass.). March, 1788.
September — *Columbian Magazine,* later *Universal Asylum, and Columbian Magazine* (Philadelphia). December, 1792.
December — *New Jersey Magazine* (New Brunswick). February, 1787.
No Month — *American Musical Magazine* (New Haven). 1786.

1787

January — *American Museum* (Philadelphia). December, 1792.
December — *American Magazine* (New York). November, 1788.

1789

January — *Arminian Magazine* (Philadelphia). December, 1790.
January — *Children's Magazine* (Hartford). March, 1789.
January — *Massachusetts Magazine* (Boston). December, 1796.
February — *Gentlemen and Ladies Town and Country Magazine* (Boston). August, 1790.
April — *Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's Magazine* (Elizabethtown, N. J.). March, 1791.

1790

January — *New-York Magazine* (New York). December, 1797.

1792

January 6 — *American Apollo* (Boston). September 28, 1792.
June — *Lady's Magazine* (Philadelphia). May, 1793.

1793

January — *Columbian Museum* (Philadelphia). One number only.
April 11 — *New-Hampshire Journal: or Farmer's Weekly Museum* (Walpole, N. H.). October 15, 1810.
June — *Free Universal Magazine* (Baltimore). 1794.
June — *New Hampshire Magazine* (Concord). November, 1793.
December 9 — *American Minerva* (New York). October 2, 1797.

1794

April — *Monthly Miscellany and Vermont Magazine* (Bennington). September, 1794.
April — *United States Magazine* (Newark, N. J.). August, 1794.

1795

January — *American Monthly Review* (Philadelphia). December, 1795.
January — *Rural Magazine* (Rutland, Vt.). December, 1796.
February 7 — *Philadelphia Minerva* (Philadelphia). July 7, 1798.
May 9 — *Tablet* (Boston). August 11, 1795.

July 1 — *New-York Weekly Magazine,* later *Sentimental and Literary Magazine* (New York). August 23, 1797.
July — *Theological Magazine* (New York). February, 1799.

1796

February 2 — *New Star* (Hartford). One issue only.
March — *Prospect from the Congress Gallery,* later *Political Censor* (Philadelphia). March, 1797.
May — *Experienced Christian's Magazine* (New York). April, 1797.
May 10 — *Nightingale* (Boston). July 30, 1796.
June — *Long Island Magazine* (Sagg Harbour). One issue only.
August — *Lady & Gentleman's Pocket Magazine* (New York). November, 1796.
No Month — *Monthly Military Repository* (New York). 1797.
No Month. — *United States Christian Magazine* (New York). 1796.

1797

January — *Literary Museum* (West-Chester, Pa.). June, 1797.
January — *Methodist Magazine* (Philadelphia). August, 1798.
January — *South Carolina Weekly Museum* (Charleston). July, 1798.
January — *Weekly Museum* (Baltimore). February, 1797.
January 1 — *Remembrancer* (Exeter, N. H.). February, 1797.
January 2 — *American Universal Magazine* (Philadelphia). March 7, 1798.
March 13 — *Time Piece; and Literary Companion* (New York). August 30, 1798.
April 11 — *New Star* (Concord, N. H.). October 3, 1797.
July — *Medical Repository* (New York). 1824 (no month).
July — *New Hampshire and Vermont Magazine* (Haverhill, N. H.). October, 1797.
July 3 — *American Moral and Sentimental Magazine* (New York). May 21, 1798.

1798

January — *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine* (Philadelphia). December, 1798.
January — *Thespian Oracle* (Philadelphia). One issue only.
January 13 — *Key* (Fredericktown, Md.). July 14, 1798.
February 3 — *Weekly Magazine* (Philadelphia). June 1, 1799.
February 17 — *Rural Magazine* (Newark, N. J.). February 9, 1799.

April 7	*Religious Monitor* (Danbury, Conn.). September 22, 1798.
May 12(?)	*Humming Bird* (Newfield, Conn.). June 9, 1798.
June	*General Magazine and Impartial Review* (Baltimore). August, 1798.
July 14	*Dessert to the True American* (Philadelphia). August 19, 1799.
October 1	*Scourge of Aristocracy* or *A Republican Magazine* (Fairhaven, Vt.). December 15, 1798.
No Month	*Christian's Monitor* (Portland, Me.). 1799.

1799

January	*Philadelphia Magazine and Review* (Philadelphia). June, 1799.
April	*Monthly Magazine and American Review* (New York). December, 1800.
June 1	*National Magazine* (Richmond). 1800.

1800

January	*Columbian Phenix* (Boston). July, 1800.
January	*New-York Missionary Magazine* (New York). December, 1803.
January 6	*Press* (Richmond). One issue only.
February 15	*Ladies' Museum* (Philadelphia). June 7, 1800.
February 15	*Rush-Light* (New York). August 30, 1800.
April 26	*Baltimore Weekly Magazine* (Baltimore). May 27, 1801.
July	*Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* (Hartford). December, 1815.
October	*American Musical Magazine* (Northampton, Mass.). January, 1801.
November	*Child of Pallas* (Baltimore). January, 1801.
November 15	*Philadelphia Repository and Weekly Register*, later *Repository and Ladies' Weekly Museum* (Philadelphia). April 5, 1806.

1801

January	*Ladies' Magazine and Musical Repository* (Philadelphia). December, 1801.
January-March	*American Review and Literary Journal* (New York). October-December, 1802.
January 3	*Port Folio* (Philadelphia). December, 1827.
October	*National Magazine, or Cabinet of the United States* (Washington). January, 1802.

1802

January (?)	*Juvenile Magazine, or Miscellaneous Repository of Useful Information* (Philadelphia).
January 5	*Balance and Columbian Repository* (Hudson, N. Y). December 27, 1808.
April	*New-England Quarterly Magazine* (Boston). December, 1802.
May	*Georgia Analytical Repository* (Savannah). April, 1803.
July 7	*Wasp* (Hudson, N. Y.). January 26, 1803.
October 30	*Boston Weekly Magazine* (Boston), later *Boston Magazine.* April 26, 1806.
(?)	*Juvenile Olio* (Philadelphia).

1803

January	*Medley, or Monthly Miscellany* (Lexington, Ky.). December, 1803.
May	*Massachusetts Missionary Magazine* (Boston). May, 1808.
September	*Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* (Boston), later *The American Baptist Magazine.* December, 1909.
October	*Literary Magazine and American Register* (Philadelphia). December, 1807.
November	*Monthly Anthology and Boston Review* (Boston). June, 1811.

1804

March 28	*Corrector* (New York). April 26, 1804.
May (?)	*Alethian Critic, or Error Exposed* (Lexington).
September 17	*Philadelphia Medical Museum* (Philadelphia). 1811.
November 3	*Companion and Weekly Miscellany*, later *Observer* (Baltimore). October 25, 1806.
December 15	*Evening Fireside, or Literary Miscellany* (Philadelphia). December 27, 1806.

1805

January	*Monthly Register and Review,* or *Monthly Review and Literary Miscellany of the United States* (Charleston). December, 1807.
April	*Lady's Weekly Miscellany* (New York). October, 1808.
June	*Panoplist,* later *Panoplist and Missionary Magazine* (Boston). December, 1820.

December — *Polyanthos* (Boston). September, 1814.
December 9 — *Theatrical Censor* (Philadelphia). November 17, 1806.
December 28 — *Thespian Mirror* (New York). May 31, 1806.
No Month — *Literary Miscellany* (Boston). 1806.

1806

May 3 — *Emerald* (Boston). October 15, 1808.
September 27 — *Theatrical Censor* (Philadelphia). December 30, 1806.
November 15 — *Literary Cabinet* (New Haven). October, 1807.
November 29 — *Observer* (Baltimore). December 26, 1807.
No Month — *Christian's Magazine* (New York). December, 1811.

1807

January — *American Gleaner and Virginia Magazine* (Richmond). 1807.
January 24 — *Salamagundi* (New York). January 25, 1808.
September 16 — *Tickler* (Philadelphia). November 17, 1813.
No Month — *American Register or General Repository of History, Politics and Science* (Philadelphia). 1810.

1808

January — *American Law Journal* (Philadelphia). December, 1817.
April — *Medical and Physical Recorder* (Baltimore). August, 1809.
September 1 — *Herald of Gospel Liberty* (Portsmouth, N. H.). Current.

1809

January — *Ordeal* (Boston). June, 1809.
January — *Select Reviews and the Spirit of the Foreign Magazines* (Philadelphia). December, 1812.
February 11 — *Visitor* (Richmond). August 18, 1810.
November 18 — *Something* (Boston). May 12, 1810.
November 25 — *Thespian Monitor and Dramatick Miscellany* (Philadelphia). December 16, 1809.
No Month — *Rambler's Magazine and New York Theatrical Register for the Season 1809-10* (New York). 1810.

1810

January — *American Mineralogical Journal* (New York). Undated, No. 4.
January — *Mirror of Taste and Dramatic Censor* (Philadelphia). December, 1811.

May 26	*Scourge* (Baltimore). October 13, 1810.
July 4	*Agricultural Museum* (Georgetown, D. C.). May, 1812.
July 14	*Harvard Lyceum* (Cambridge). March 9, 1811.
October	*Eclectic Repertory and Analytic Review, Medical and Philosophical* (Philadelphia). October, 1824.
No Month	*Theophilanthropist* (New York). 1810.

1811

January	*American Review of History and Politics* (Philadelphia). October, 1812.
January	*Juvenile Monitor, or Educational Magazine* (New York). 1811.
January	*Repertory of Papers on Literature and Other Topics* (Baltimore). June, 1811.
August 10	*Scourge* (Boston). December 28, 1811.
September 7	*Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore). September 19, 1849.

1812

January	*Evangelical Record and Western Review* (Lexington, Ky.). 1813.
January	*General Repository and Review* (Cambridge). October, 1813.
January	*New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery* (Boston). December, 1826.
January 16	*Satirist* (Boston). May 9, 1812.
May	*Emporium of Arts and Sciences* (Philadelphia). October, 1814.
August 17	*Military Monitor* (New York). April 2, 1814.
October 30	*Juvenile Port Folio* (Philadelphia). December 7, 1816.

1813

January	*Analectic Magazine,* later *Literary Gazette* (Philadelphia). December 29, 1821.
May	*Christian Disciple* (Boston). November-December, 1823.
September 4	*Religious Remembrancer,* later *Christian Observer* (Philadelphia). Current.

1814

January 1	*Boston Spectator* (Boston). February 25, 1815.
April	*Almoner* (Lexington, Ky.). May, 1815.

May — *New York Weekly Museum, or Polite Repository of Amusement and Instruction* (New York). October, 1817.

May 14 — *Whim* (Philadelphia). July 16, 1814.

July 5 — *Weekly Recorder,* later *Presbyterian Banner* (Chillicothe, O.). Current.

1815

May — *North-American Review and Miscellaneous Journal* (Boston). Current.

July — *Luncheon* (Philadelphia). January, 1816.

1816

January — *Portico* (Baltimore). June, 1818.

January 3 — *Recorder,* later *Boston Recorder* (Boston). August 30, 1867.

January 6 — *Cobbett's American Political Register* (New York). January, 1818.

March 30 — *Christian Herald,* later *Christian Herald and Seaman's Magazine* (New York). March, 1824.

1817

January — *Atheneum or Spirit of the English Magazines* (Boston). December, 1832.

January 22 — *Christian Journal and Literary Register* (New York). December, 1830.

March 20 — *Independent Balance* (Philadelphia).

May — *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review* (New York). April, 1819.

October 10 — *New-England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine,* later *New England Galaxy and United States Literary Advertiser* (Boston). November 8, 1834.

No Month — *American Register* (Philadelphia). 1818.

1818

January — *American Medical Recorder* (Philadelphia). July, 1829.

January — *Methodist Magazine,* later *Methodist Review* (New York). Current.

January — *Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine,* later *Evangelical and Literary Magazine* (Richmond). December, 1828.

February 7 — *Academician* (New York). January 29, 1820.
July — *American Journal of Science* (New Haven). Current.
December 11 — *Philanthropist* (Mount Pleasant, O.). May 15, 1822.

1819

January — *Christian Spectator* (New Haven). November, 1838.
January — *Philadelphia Register and National Recorder* (Philadelphia). June, 1819.
January 1 — *Ladies' and Gentlemen's Weekly Literary Museum and Musical Magazine* (Philadelphia). 1819.
May 15 — *Ladies' Literary Cabinet* (New York). December 14, 1822.
April 2 — *American Farmer* (Baltimore). February, 1897.
May 29 — *Christian Watchman,* later *Watchman and Reflector,* later *Watchman-Examiner* (Boston). Current.
June 5 — *Plough Boy,* later *Plough Boy and Journal of the Board of Agriculture* (Albany). June 17, 1823.
July — *National Recorder,* later the *Saturday Magazine* (Philadelphia). June, 1821.
July 3 — *Universalist Magazine,* later the *Trumpet,* later the *Universalist Leader* (Boston). Current.
August — *Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine* (Lexington). July, 1821.
November 20 — *Journal of Belles Lettres* (Lexington). February 26, 1820.
No Month — *Red Book* (Baltimore). 1821.
No Month — *Sketch Book* (New York). 1820.

1820

January — *Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences* (Philadelphia). December, 1827.
January 29 — *Critic* (Philadelphia). May 10, 1820.
June — *Literary and Scientific Repository* (New York). May, 1822.

1821

January — *Churchman's Magazine* (Hartford). December, 1823.
January — *Columbian Star,* later *Christian Index* (Washington). Current.
January — *Genius of Universal Emancipation* (Mount Pleasant, Ohio). 1839.
January — *Journal of Foreign Medical Science and Literature* (Philadelphia). October, 1824.

January — *Presbyterian Magazine* (Philadelphia). December, 1822.
January — *Unitarian Miscellany and Christian Monitor* (Baltimore). December, 1824.
January — *Journal of Jurisprudence* (Philadelphia). December, 1821
January — *Western Minerva* (Lexington). One number only.
April 20 — *Christian Register* (Boston). Current.
July — *Masonic Miscellany and Ladies' Literary Magazine* (Lexington). June, 1823.
August 18 — *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia). Current.
No Month — *Idle Man* (New York). 1822.

1822

January — *New York Medical and Physical Journal.* December, 1830.
April 6 — *Minerva* (New York). September 3, 1825.
May — *Abolition Intelligencer and Missionary Magazine* (Shelbyville, Ky.). April, 1823.
June — *Christian Register* (Lexington). May, 1823.
June 5 — *United States Catholic Miscellany* (Charleston). December, 1832.
June 22 — *Albion* (Boston). December, 1875.
July — *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science* (Philadelphia). December, 1842.
August 3 — *New England Farmer* (Boston). June 24, 1846.
December(?) — *Philadelphia Recorder,* later *Episcopal Recorder* (Philadelphia).
No Month — *Western Quarterly Reporter of Medical, Surgical and Natural Science* (Cincinnati). 1823.

1823

January — *Boston Medical Intelligencer* (Boston). January, 1828.
January — *Christian Advocate* (Philadelphia). December, 1834.
January — *New York Observer.* May 30, 1912.
January 9 — *Zion's Herald* (Boston). Current.
May — *Boston Journal of Philosophy and Arts* (Boston). December, 1826.
August 2 — *New York Mirror* (New York). 1857 (?).
December — *American Sunday-School Magazine,* later *Quarterly Sunday-School Magazine.* January, 1832.
December(?) — *Teacher's Offering,* later *Youth's Friend and Scholar's Magazine* (Philadelphia). 1864.

1824

January	*American Monthly Magazine* (Philadelphia). December, 1824.
January	*Christian Examiner* (Boston). November, 1869.
January	*Hopkinsian* (Providence). December, 1832.
January 1	*Cincinnati Literary Gazette* (Cincinnati). October 29, 1825.
April 1	*United States Literary Gazette* (Boston), later *United States Review and Literary Gazette*. September 1826.
May	*Atlantic Magazine* (New York). April, 1825.
July 14	*Western Luminary* (Lexington). October 21, 1835.

1825

January	*Biblical Repertory,* later *Princeton Review* (Princeton). December, 1884.
February 5	*American Mechanics' Magazine* (Philadelphia). February 11, 1826.
March	*African Repository* (Washington). January, 1892.
June	*Boston Monthly Magazine* (Boston). July, 1826.
June	*New York Review and Atheneum Magazine* (New York). May, 1826.
September 10	*New York Literary Gazette*. March 11, 1826.
October 1	*New-Harmony Gazette,* later *Free Enquirer* (New Harmony, Ind.). June 28, 1835.
December	*Journal of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy,* later *American Journal of Pharmacy* (Philadelphia). Current.

1826

January	*American Journal of Education,* later *American Annals of Education* (Boston). December, 1839.
January	*Casket: Flowers of Literature, Wit and Sentiment.* (Philadelphia). December, 1840.
January	*Franklin Journal,* later the *Journal of the Franklin Institute* (Philadelphia). Current.
January	*North American Medical and Surgical Journal* (Philadelphia). October, 1831.
April 1	*Ohio Medical Repository of Original and Selected Intelligence* (Cincinnati). April 18, 1827.
June	*National Preacher* (Philadelphia). 1866.
June 7	*Album and Ladies' Literary Gazette,* later *Philadelphia Album and Ladies' Literary Port Folio* (Philadelphia). December, 1834.

September	*Juvenile Miscellany* (Boston). 1834.
September 9	*Christian Advocate* (New York). Current.
October	*United States Review and Literary Gazette* (Boston). October, 1827.

1827

January	*Investigator and General Intelligencer,* later the *National Philanthropist and Investigator,* later *Genius of Temperance* (Providence). 1833(?).
January(?)	*Journeyman Mechanic's Advocate* (New York).
January	*New England Medical Review and Journal* (Boston). October, 1827.
March	*American Quarterly Review* (Philadelphia). December, 1837.
March	*Harvard Register* (Cambridge). February, 1828.
March 26	*Episcopal Watchman* (New York). October, 1833.
April	*Western Medical and Physical Journal, Original and Eclectic* (Cincinnati). July, 1838.
April 16	*Youth's Companion* (Boston). August, 1929.
April 21	*Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate* (Utica, N. Y.). 1843.
May	*Western Magazine and Review,* later *Western Monthly Review* (Cincinnati). June, 1830.
July	*American Quarterly Register* (Andover). May, 1843.
October	*Philadelphia Monthly Magazine* (Philadelphia). 1830.
October 13	*Friend* (Philadelphia). Current.
November	*American Journal of the Medical Sciences* (Philadelphia). Current.
November 18	*Unitarian* (New York). February 15, 1828.

1828

January	*Anti-Masonic Review and Magazine* (New York). December, 1830.
January	*Emerald and Baltimore Literary Gazette* (Baltimore). December, 1828.
January	*Ladies' Magazine* (Boston). December, 1836.
January	*New York Farmer* (New York). December, 1837.
January	*Yankee,* later *Yankee and Boston Literary Gazette* (Portland). December, 1829.
January	*Southern Agriculturist* (Charleston). December, 1846.
January	*Spirit of the Pilgrims* (Boston). December, 1833.
February	*Transylvania Journal of Medicine and the Associated Sciences* (Lexington, Ky.). March, 1839.

February — *Southern Review* (Charleston). February, 1832.
February 19 — *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (Boston). Current.
September — *Opera Glass.* 1829(?).
September — *Southern Literary Gazette* (Charleston). October, 1829.
October 1 — *Theatrical Censor and Musical Review* (Philadelphia). November 29, 1828.
November 1 — *Critic* (New York). May 2, 1829.
December — *Baltimore Minerva,* later the *Minerva and Saturday Post* (Baltimore). 1830.
December 10 — *Ladies' Literary Port Folio* (Philadelphia). 1829(?).

1829

January — *American Jurist and Law Magazine* (Boston). January, 1843.
January — *Law Intelligencer,* later the *United States Law Intelligencer and Review* (Providence). December, 1831.
April — *American Monthly Magazine* (Boston). July, 1831.
June 17 — *Virginia Literary Museum* (Charlottesville). June 9, 1830.
August — *American Turf Register* (New York). 1844.
September 5 — *Jesuit,* later *Pilot* (Boston). December 27, 1834.
September — *Collegian* (Cambridge). December, 1830(?).
September 9 — *Journal of Health* (Philadelphia). August, 1833.
October 31 — *Workingman's Advocate* (New York). December, 1844.

1830

January — *New York Evangelist* (New York). March, 1902.
February — *Baltimore Monthly Journal of Medicine and Surgery* (Baltimore). January, 1831.
February — *Mechanics' Magazine* (Boston). January, 1831.
June 15 — *Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge* (Boston). May, 1831.
July — *Lady's Book,* later *Godey's Lady's Book* (Philadelphia). August, 1898.
October — *Illinois Monthly Magazine* (Vandalia, Ill.). September, 1832.
November — *National Magazine, or Lady's Emporium* (Baltimore). July, 1831.

1831

January — *Biblical Repository* (Andover). December, 1850.
January(?) — *Boston Pearl* (Boston). 1836.

January(?) *Expositor and Universalist Review* (Boston). 1840.
January *Genesee Farmer* (Rochester, N. Y.). 1839.
January(?) *Scriptural Interpreter* (Boston). 1836.
January 1 *Liberator* (Boston). 1865.
July *New-England Magazine* (Boston). December, 1835.
July *Monthly American Journal of Geology and Natural Science* (New York). June, 1832.
October *Farmer's Reporter and United States Agriculturist* (Cincinnati). February, 1833.
October 1 *Cincinnati Mirror* (Cincinnati). September 17, 1836.
October 22 *Catholic Telegraph* (Cincinnati). Current.
December 3 *Paul Pry* (Washington). November 19, 1836.
December 10 *Spirit of the Times* (New York). June 22, 1861.

1832

January *American Monthly Review* (Cambridge). December, 1833.
January(?) *Southern Rosebud,* later *Southern Rose* (Charleston). August 17, 1839.
January *Young Mechanic,* later *Boston Mechanic* (Boston). January, 1836.
August 18 *Family Lyceum* (Boston). August 10, 1833.
October(?) *American Rail-Road Journal,* later the *American Engineer and Railroad Journal,* later the *Railway Age, Mechanical Edition* (New York). Current.
October(?) *Richmond Christian Advocate,* later *Baltimore and Richmond Christian Advocate* (Richmond). Current.
November *North American Magazine,* later *North American Quarterly* (Philadelphia). June, 1838.
December *Baltimore Saturday Visiter* (Baltimore). 1850(?).

1833

January(?) *Catholic Herald* (Philadelphia). 1860.
January(?) *Catholic Journal* (Washington).
January *Farmer's Register* (Shellbanks, Va.). 1842.
January *Knickerbocker Magazine* (New York). October, 1865.
January(?) *Maine Farmer* (Augusta). January 1924(?).
January *Mechanics' Magazine and Journal of the Mechanics Institute* (New York). May, 1837.
January *Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature* (Boston). October, 1834.
January *Western Monthly Magazine* (Cincinnati). 1837.
February 18 *Man* (New York). July 6, 1835.

March — *American Monthly Magazine* (New York), October, 1838.
March — *Military and Naval Magazine* (Washington). February, 1836.
March 16 — *Parley's Magazine* (New York). December, 1844.
April — *Colonizationist and Journal of Freedom* (Boston). April, 1834.
April 20 — *Family Magazine Weekly Abstract of General Knowledge* (New York). May, 1841.
May 4 — *Emancipator* (New York). March 18, 1842.
June — *Anti-Slavery Reporter* (New York). November, 1833.
June — *Farmer's Register* (Shellbanks, Va.). December, 1842.
July — *American Quarterly Observer* (Boston). October, 1834.
October — *Baltimore Medical and Surgical Journal and Review* (Baltimore). September, 1834.

1834

January — *American Anti-Slavery Reporter* (New York). August, 1834.
January(?) — *Cultivator* (Albany). December, 1865.
January — *Literary and Theological Review* (New York). December, 1839.
January — *Western Christian Advocate* (Cincinnati). Current.
January 1 — *Western Examiner* (St. Louis). December 10, 1835.
May — *Ladies' Companion* (New York). October, 1844.
August — *Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond, Va.). June, 1864.
September — *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge* (Boston). September, 1837.
September — *Thistle* (Princeton). 1835.
October — *American Musical Journal* (New York). November, 1835.
October — *North American Archives of Medical and Surgical Science* (Baltimore). September, 1835.
October — *Portland Magazine* (Portland, Me.). June, 1836.
December — *Tennessee Farmer* (Jonesborough, Tenn.). December, 1840.

1835

January — *American Journal of Homeopathia* (New York). October, 1835.
January — *Anti-Slavery Record* (New York). December, 1837.
January — *Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine* (Baltimore). December, 1841.

January — *Horticultural Register and Gardener's Magazine* (Boston). December, 1838.
January 1 — *Gentleman's Vade-Mecum* or the *Sporting and Dramatic Companion* (Philadelphia). June 25, 1836.
January 3 — *Army and Navy Chronicle* (Washington). May 21, 1842.
May — *Fessenden's Silk Manual and Practical Farmer* (Boston). April, 1837.
May — *Musical Magazine* (New York). April, 1837.
June — *Western Messenger* (Cincinnati). April, 1841.
July — *Eastern Magazine* (Bangor, Maine). June, 1836.
September(?) — *Chameleon* (Princeton). 1836.
September(?) — *Harvardiana* (Cambridge). June, 1838.
September — *Southern Literary Journal* (Charleston). December, 1838.
September 26 — *Ohio Medical Repository* (Cincinnati). January, 1836.

1836

January(?) — *Anti-Slavery Examiner* (New York). 1845.
January — *Common School Assistant* (Albany). April, 1840.
January — *Naval Magazine* (New York). November, 1837.
January(?) — *Philanthropist* (Cincinnati). 1846.
January — *Saturday Chronicle* (Philadelphia). December, 1840.
January — *Weekly Messenger* (Philadelphia). 1848.
February — *Yale Literary Magazine* (New Haven). Current.
March — *Christian Review* (Boston). October, 1863.
March 26 — *New-Yorker* (New York). September 11, 1841.
June — *Western Literary Journal and Monthly Review* (Cincinnati). November, 1836.
July — *Every Bodie's Album* (Philadelphia).
July — *Maine Monthly Magazine* (Portland). June, 1837.
July 1 — *Farmers' Cabinet and American Herd Book* (Philadelphia). July 15, 1848.
October 8 — *Baltimore Monument* (Baltimore). September 29, 1838.
December 2 — *Huntress* (Washington). July 24, 1854.

1837

January — *Common School Advocate* (Cincinnati). 1841.
January 6 — *Waldie's Literary Omnibus* (Philadelphia). July 20, 1838.
February — *Western Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* (Cincinnati). June, 1837.
March — *Western Academician and Journal of Education and Science* (Cincinnati). February, 1838.

April — *American Medical Library and Intelligencer,* later *American Medical Intelligencer* (Philadelphia). December, 1842.
March — *New York Review.* April, 1842.
April — *Graham Journal of Health and Longevity* (Boston). December, 1839.
April 15 — *Ladies' Garland* (Philadelphia). June(?), 1849.
July — *Gentleman's Magazine,* later *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine* (Philadelphia). December, 1840.
October — *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* (Washington). October, 1859.

1838

January — *Boston Quarterly Review* (Boston). October, 1842.
January — *Louisville Journal of Medicine and Surgery* (Louisville, Ky.). April, 1838.
January — *Medical Examiner* (Philadelphia). December, 1856.
January — *Pennsylvania Freeman* (Philadelphia). 1854.
March — *Journal of Education* (Detroit). February, 1840.
March — *Ohio Common School Director* (Columbus). November, 1838.
May — *Hesperian* (Columbus, O.). November, 1839.
August — *American Journal of Homeopathy* (New York). July, 1839.
August — *Connecticut Common School Journal* (Hartford). December, 1866.
September — *American Museum* (Baltimore). June, 1839.
October — *Phrenological Journal* (Philadelphia). January, 1911.
November — *Common School Journal* (Boston). December, 1852.

1839

January(?) — *Boston Cultivator,* later *American Cultivator.* September, 1915.
January(?) — *Literary and Scientific Review* (New York). 1840.
January — *Massachusetts Abolitionist* (Boston). 1841.
January 5 — *Musical Magazine* (Boston). April 24, 1842.
March — *Military Magazine* (Philadelphia). 1842.
March 16 — *Corsair* (New York). March 7, 1840.
April — *Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters* (Boston). December, 1843.
May — *Literary Examiner and Western Monthly Review,* later *Examiner and Hesperian* (Pittsburgh). February, 1840.
July — *Brother Jonathan* (New York). 1845(?).

July	*Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review,* later *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* (New York). December, 1870.
September	*Western Farmer and Gardener* (Cincinnati). July, 1845.

1840

January(?)	*Literary Casket* (Chicago). 1843.
January	*Massachusetts Ploughman* (Boston). November 17, 1906.
January	*New Genesee Farmer and Gardener's Journal* (Rochester, N. Y.). 1865.
January	*Southern Ladies' Book,* later the *Magnolia* (Savannah, Ga.). June, 1843.
January	*Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery* (Louisville, Ky.). December, 1855.
March	*District School Journal for the State of New York* (Albany). April, 1852.
June	*Ladies' Pearl* (Lowell, Mass.). July, 1843.
June 6	*New World* (New York). May 10, 1845.
July	*Dial* (Boston). April, 1844.
October	*Lowell Offering* (Lowell, Mass.). 1845.
October	*Union Agriculturist,* later *Prairie Farmer* (Chicago). November, 1840.
December	*Graham's Magazine* (Philadelphia). December, 1858.
December	*Arcturus* (New York). May, 1842.

1841

January	*American Eclectic* (New York). November, 1842.
January	*Dollar Magazine* (New York). December, 1842.
January	*Ladies' Repository* (Cincinnati). December, 1876.
January(?)	*Southern Planter* (Richmond, Va.). Current.
February	*Robert Merry's Museum* (Boston). June, 1872 (?).
July	*Musical Cabinet* (Boston). June, 1842.
August 14	*Dramatic Mirror and Literary Companion* (New York and Philadelphia). May 7, 1842.
November 20	*New York State Mechanic* (Albany). June 17, 1843.

1842

January	*American Pioneer* (Cincinnati). October, 1843.
January	*Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion* (Boston). February, 1843.
January (?)	*Pictorial Wag* (New York). 1843 (?).

January *Pennsylvania Law Journal,* later *American Law Journal* (Philadelphia). 1852.
January *Peterson's Ladies' National Magazine* (Philadelphia). April, 1898.
January *Religious Cabinet,* later *United States Catholic Magazine* (Baltimore). December 26, 1849.
January *Rutgers Literary Miscellany* (New Brunswick, N. J.). December, 1842.
January *Self-Instructor and Journal of the Universal Lyceum* (New York). 1843.
January *Southern Quarterly Review* (New Orleans). February, 1857.
January *Spirit of the XIX Century* (Baltimore). December, 1843.
March *Orion* (Penfield, Ga.). June, 1844.
April *American Agriculturist* (New York). Current.
September *Campbell's Foreign Monthly Magazine* (Philadelphia). Title varies. August, 1844.
October (?) *Nassau Monthly,* later *Nassau Literary Magazine* (Princeton). Current.
October 1 *New York Legal Observer* (New York). 1854.
(?) *Philadelphia Home Weekly* (Philadelphia). 1872 (?)

1843

January *Eclectic Museum of Foreign Literature, Science and Art* (Philadelphia). January, 1844.
January *Medical News and Library* (Philadelphia). December, 1879.
January(?) *Michigan Farmer* (Detroit). Title varies. Current.
January *Miss Leslie's Magazine,* later *Arthur's Ladies' Magazine* (Philadelphia). July, 1846.
January *New Monthly Family Magazine,* later *Sears' Pictorial Magazine* (New York). 1849.
January *Pioneer* (Boston). March, 1843.
January *Sargent's New Monthly Magazine of Literature, Fashion and the Fine Arts* (New York). June, 1843.
January *Southern Cultivator,* later *Southern Cultivator and Dixie Farmer* (Athens, Ga.). Current.
January 12 *Army and Navy Chronicle and Scientific Repository* (Washington). June 27, 1844.
February *Bibliotheca Sacra* (New York). Current.
March *New Englander,* later *Yale Review* (New Haven). Current.
March 24 *Rover* (New York). September 13, 1844.
July(?) *American Law Magazine* (Philadelphia). 1846.

July — *New York Journal of Medicine* (New York). June, 1860.
October — *Child's Friend* (Boston). 1858.
October 5 — *Phalanx* (West Roxbury, Mass.). May 28, 1845.
October — *Western Law Journal* (Cincinnati). October, 1853.

1844

January — *Brownson's Quarterly Review* (Boston). October, 1875.
January — *Columbian Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine* (New York). February, 1849.
January — *Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science and Art* (New York). June, 1907.
January(?) — *Literary News Letter* (New York).
January — *Monthly Religious Magazine* (Boston). February, 1874.
January — *Universalist Quarterly* (Boston). October, 1891.
May — *Christian Parlor Magazine* (New York). April, 1854.
May — *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal* (New Orleans). Current.
May 11 — *Littell's Living Age* (Boston). Current.
May 29 — *Gem of the Prairie* (Chicago). 1852.
November — *Western Literary Journal and Monthly Magazine* (Cincinnati). April, 1845.

1845

January — *American Review; A Whig Journal of Politics, Literature, Art and Science,* later *The American Whig Review* (New York). December, 1852.
January — *Cumberland Presbyterian Review* (Uniontown, Pa.). Current.
January — *Indiana Farmer and Gardener* (Indianapolis), later the *Western Farmer and Gardener.* June, 1847.
January — *Jester* (Boston). 1845.
January(?) — *Liberal Christian* (New York). 1877.
January — *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review* (Charleston). December, 1845.
January — *Young America* (New York). July, 1847.
January 4 — *Broadway Journal* (New York). January 3, 1846.
February 1 — *Indiana Farmer* (Indianapolis). December 1, 1917.
February 8 — *American Penny Magazine,* later *Dwight's American Magazine* (New York). July, 1851.
March — *Aristidean, A Magazine of Reviews, Politics and Light Literature* (New York). December, 1845.
May — *Mechanic-Apprentice* (Boston). April, 1846.
June 14 — *Harbinger* (West Roxbury, Mass.). February 10, 1849.

July — *Journal of Agriculture* (Baltimore). June, 1848.
July(?) — *Water-Cure Journal,* later *Herald of Health,* etc. (New York). December, 1910.
August 28 — *Scientific American* (New York). Current.
September — *National Police Gazette* (New York). Current.
September 1 — *Boston Musical Review* (Boston). November 1, 1845.
September 20 — *New York Illustrated Magazine* (New York). March 20, 1847.
October — *Western Magazine* (Chicago). September, 1846.
November — *Journal of the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction* (Providence). January, 1849.

1846

January(?) — *Christian Inquirer* (New York). 1866.
January — *Commercial Review of the South and West,* later *De-Bow's Review* (New Orleans). June, 1880.
January — *Flag of Our Union* (Boston). 1865.
January — *Olden Time* (Pittsburgh). December, 1847.
January — *Quarterly Journal and Review* (Cincinnati). October, 1846.
January (?) — *Western Continent* (Baltimore). 1846 (?).
February 14 — *Home Journal* (New York). March 23, 1901.
April — *American Journal of Homeopathy* (New York). August, 1854.
April(?) — *Judy* (New York). March, 1847.
May — *Ladies' Wreath* (New York). August, 1855 (?).
July — *Banker's Magazine* (New York). Current.
July — *Horticulturist and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste* (Albany). December, 1875.
October — *Yankee Doodle* (New York). October, 1847.
December 10 — *Mechanic's Advocate* (Albany). 1848 (?).

1847

January — *Herald of Truth* (Cincinnati). July, 1848.
January(?) — *National Era* (Washington). 1860.
January — *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (Boston). Current.
January — *New England Mechanic* (Boston). December, 1865.
January — *New York Picayune* (New York). February 18, 1860.
February 6 — *Literary World* (New York). December 31, 1853.
June 5 — *American Mail* (New York). August 21, 1847.
July — *American Literary Magazine* (Albany). August, 1849.
July — *Union Magazine of Literature and Art,* later *Sartain's Union Magazine* (Philadelphia). August, 1852.

September 4 — *Friends' Review* (Philadelphia). July 5, 1894.
December — *Massachusetts Quarterly Review* (Boston). September, 1850.

1848

January — *Boys' and Girls' Magazine and Fireside Companion,* later *Forrester's Boys' and Girls' Companion* (Boston). 1857.
January — *Elephant* (New York). 1848.
January — *Holden's Dollar Magazine* (New York). 1851.
January — *John-Donkey* (Philadelphia). August, 1848.
January — *Massachusetts Teacher* (Boston). December, 1874.
January (?) — *New Orleans Miscellany.* 1848 (?).
January — *Ohio Farmer* (Cleveland). Current.
January — *Plough, the Loom and the Anvil,* later the *American Farmer's Magazine* (Philadelphia). December, 1859.
January — *Valley Farmer,* later *Colman's Rural World* (St. Louis). May, 1916.
January — *Virginia Historical Register and Literary Companion* (Richmond, Va.). October, 1853.
January — *Western Journal and Civilian* (St. Louis). March, 1856.
February — *Lady's Dollar Newspaper* (Philadelphia).
April — *Church Review* (New York). October, 1891.
May — *American Quarterly Register and Magazine,* commonly called *Stryker's American Register* (Philadelphia). 1851.
July — *Theological and Literary Journal* (New York). April, 1861.
September — *Ohio Medical and Surgical Journal* (Columbus). November, 1864.
December — *Lady's Western Magazine* (Chicago). 1849.
December 7 — *Independent* (New York). Oct. 10, 1928.
December 9 — *New England Farmer* (Boston). December, 1871.

1849

January — *Mercersburg Review,* later *Reformed Church Review* (Mercersburg, Pa.). October, 1926.
January (?) — *Ohio Cultivator* (Columbus). 1864 (?).
January(?) — *Saroni's Musical Times* (New York). March, 1852.

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